RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE NINTH

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

TRIVANDRUM

DECEMBER 1937

TRIVANDRUM:
PRINTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PRESS.
1940

RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE
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OF THE

NINTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

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DECEMBER 20TH TO 22ND, 1937

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PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF TRAVANCORE





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TRIVANDRUM
1940



PATRON:

HIS HIGHNESS SIR BALA RAMA VARMA, G. C. I. E., D. Litt.

MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE.

FOREWORD

The Ninth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference was held on the 20th, 21st and 22nd December 1937 at Trivandrum, under the auspices of the Government of Travancore. Owing to the delay in the receipt of the various papers recommended for publication and of the presidential addresses, it was not possible to take up the printing of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Conference until after the 31st January 1939.

The publication of the Volume of Proceedings and Transactions of the Conference has been a particularly difficult task because of the various and conflicting methods of transliteration employed by the contributors. No attempt has been made to regularise transliteration by the adoption of a uniform method; but care has been taken to retain the system used by the authors. Everyone of the contributors was given an opportunity of correcting the proofs.

The printing of this Volume has been completed with remarkable expedition; and I cannot be sufficiently thankful to the Superintendent, Government Press, and to the members of his staff for their diligent and willing co-operation. My grateful acknowledgments are also due to Vidyabhushana V. Venkitarama Sharma for correcting the proofs, and Mahopadhyaya K. Sivaramakrishna Sastri for preparing the Index. Mr. M. A. Bharathan too deserves my sincere thanks

for all his assiduous and whole-hearted service as Clerk and Shorthand-Typist. Above all, I desire to express my indebtedness to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore and to Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan, to whose kindly interest and encouragement the success of the Conference was in no small measure due.

R. VASUDEVA PODUVAL,
Local Secretary.

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(h) Concluding Remarks of the General President

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(j) Summary of Lecture by Dr. C. Meenakshi on the 'Coronations of Pallava Kings' ...

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PART II.

Papers and Presidential Addresses ...



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NINTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, 1937.

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11. Excursions.

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12. Medical Relief and Sanitation.

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13. Transport.

Dr. A. Sivaramasubramony Iyer, M. A., Ph. D. (*Convener*).

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3. Government of Pudukkottah.
4. Government of Cochin.
5. Government of Gwalior.
6. Government of Bihar.
7. Government of Junagadh.
8. Government of H. E. H. The Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad.
9. Government of Baroda.
10. Government of Jaipur.
11. Muzari Department, Government of Mysore.
12. University of Oxford.
13. Yale University, New Haven.
14. The University of Bonn.
15. The University of Paris.
16. The University of Bombay.
17. Nagpur University.
18. Lucknow University.
19. The University of Madras.
20. Annamalai University.
21. Benares Hindu University.
22. Allahabad University.
23. Patna University.
24. Punjab University.
25. Calcutta University.
26. Agra University.
27. Mysore University.
28. Osmania University.
29. Dacca University.
30. School of Oriental Studies, London.
31. H. H. The Maharaja's College for Women, Trivandrum.
32. H. H. The Maharaja's College of Science, Trivandrum.
33. H. H. The Maharaja's College of Arts, Trivandrum.
34. St. Berchman's College, Changanacherry, Travancore.
35. St. Xavier's College, Palamcottah.

36. The National College, Trichinopoly.
37. The Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
38. The Government College, Kumbakonam.
39. The Andhra Girvana Vidyapitham, Kovvur.
40. The Sharadasram, Yeotmal.
41. The Rameswaram Devasthanam Pathasala, Madura.
42. The Observatory, Trivandrum.
43 The Adyar Library, Theosophical Society, Madras.
44. The Provincial Museum, Lucknow.
45. The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
46. The Curzon Museum of Archæology, Muttra.
47. The Watson Museum, Rajkot.
48. The Oriental Book Agency, Poona.
49. The Greater India Society, Calcutta.
50. The Mythic Society, Bangalore.
51. The United Provinces Historical Society, Lucknow.
52. The Karnataka Historical Research Society, Dharwar.
53. K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay.
54. The Anthropological Society, Bombay.
55. The Telugu Academy, Cocanada.
56. The Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajamundry.
57. The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
58. The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay
59. The Varendra Research Society, Rajashahi, Bengal.
60. The Indian Research Institute, Calcutta.
61. The Mahakosala Historical Society, Bilaspur.
62. The Samskrita Academy, Madras.
63. The Rama Varma Research Institute, Trichur.
64. The Andhra Bhasa Samsodhaka Mandali, Guntur.
65. The Kamarupa Anusandhana Samiti, Gauhati, Assam.
66. The All-Kerala Cultural Association, Kottayam.
67. The Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
68. All India Hereditary Ayurvedic Doctors' League, Guntur
69. The American Oriental Society, New Haven.
70. The India Society, London.
71. The Kern Institute, Leyden, Holland.
72. Institute des etudes Islamiques, Paris University.
73. The Royal Batavia Society of Arts and Science, Batavia.
74. The French Institute of Indianism, Karikal.
75. The Islamic Research Association, Bombay.
76. Morris College, Nagpur.
77. The Union Christian College, Alwaye, Travancore.

78. The Java Institute, Java.
79. The American College, Madura.
80. The Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
81. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
82. Madras Government Museum.
83. The Iran League, Bombay.
84. The Oriental Society of Ceylon, Colombo.
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86. The Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Colombo.
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88. Andhra University, Waltair.
89. Muslim University, Aligarh.
90. Visvabharati, Santiniketan, Bolpur.
91. Delhi University.
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93. Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta.
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57	Rao Bahadur S. K. Belvalkar, Hindu University, Benares.	Do.

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No.	Name and Address.	Status.
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59	P. V. Kane, Esq., M. A., LL. M., Angre's Wadi, Girgaum, Bombay.	Do.
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94. A. Rangaswamy Iyengar, Avl., Sanskrit Pathasala, Srirangam.

95. The Adhyaksha, Sri Chamarajendra Veda Mahapathasala, Chamarajapuram, Mysore.

96. The Adhyaksha, Sanskrit Pathasala, Belur.

97. The Agent, Sri Srngeri Mutt, Srngeri.

98. Dr. Godavarma, Principal, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum.

99. The Secretary, Advanced Sanskrit School, Jami, Vizianagaram.

100. The Headmaster, Advanced Sanskrit School, Trithalam.

101. V. Sankara Iyer, Esq., M. A., L. T., Sanskrit Lecturer, College of Science, Trivandrum.

102. Vidyasagara Vidyavachaspati Prof. P. P. S. Sastri, M. A., Madras.

103. K. Sambasiva Sastry, Avl., Curator; Oriental Manuscripts Department, Trivandrum.

104. Vidvan V. R. Parameswaran Pillai, Curator; Palace Museum, Padmanabhapuram.

105. R. Ramakrishna Sastri, Avl., Arts College, Trivandrum.

106. S. Padmanabha Sastri, Avl., Vyakarana Pandit, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum.

107. A. Parameswara Sastri, Avl., Tarka Pandit, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum.

108. K. Ramakrishna Sastri, Avl., Pandit, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum.

109. K. N. Padmanabha Panicker, Avl., Vyakarana Pandit, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum.

110. S. Nilakanta Sastri, Avl., Tarka Pandit, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum.

111. Ravi Varma Tampan, Avl., Vyakarana Pandit, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum.

112. M. Sivasubramania Sastri, Avl., Vyakarana Pandit, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum.

113. K. Mahadeva Sastri, Avl., Tarka Pandit, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum.

114. Balarama Panicker, Avl., Kavya Teacher, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum.

115. Srinivasa Sarma, Avl., Kavya Teacher, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum.

116. K. Yegnanarayana Sastri, Avl., Kavya Teacher, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum.

117. K. Velayudhan Pillai, Avl., Kavya Teacher Sanskrit College, Trivandrum

118. M. H. Sastri, Avl., Kavya Teacher, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum.

119. K. Mahadeva Sastri, Avl., Head Pandit, Curators' Office, Trivandrum.

120. N. Rama Sastri, Avl., Assistant Pandit, Curator's Office, Trivandrum.

121. E. Narayana Sastri, Avl., Assistant Pandit, Curator's Office, Trivandrum.

122. K. S. Mahadeva Sastri, Avl., Assistant Pandit, Curator's Office, Trivandrum.

123. Srimati L. Bhavani, Assistant Pandit, Curator's Office, Trivandrum.

124. K. Gopala Pillai, Avl., B. A., Pandit, Curator's Office, Trivandrum.

125. T. Narayana Kurup, Avl., M. A., Assistant Pandit, Curator's Office, Trivandrum.

126. A. Ramaie, Avl., B. A., Assistant Pandit, Curator's Office, Trivandrum.

127. Subbarayacharlar, Avl., Assistant Pandit, Curator's Office, Trivandrum.

128. N. Viswanatha Sastri, Avl., Assistant Pandit, Curator's Office, Trivandrum.

129. V. Rama Sarma, Avl., Pandit, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum.

130. Rama Sastri, Avl., Ayurveda Siromani, Assistant Pandit, Curator's Office, Trivandrum.

131. Brahmasri, Mahavidvan, L. Subramanya Jyotsyar, Avl., Retd. Government Astrologer, Trivandrum.

132. S. Sankaranarayana Dikshitar, Avl., Retd. Sanskrit College Pandit, Trivandrum.

133. Parvathinatha Sastrial, Avl., Retd. Munshi, Kanamanai, Trivandrum.

134. N. Narayana Sastri, Avl., Vyakarana Siromani, Trivandrum.

135. V S. Rama Aiyar, Avl., Ayurveda Physician, Valia Chalai Street, Trivandrum.

136. T. S. Sethuraman, Avl., Pandit, Scott Christian College, Nagercoil.

137. Pandit Sankarasubramania Sastri, Retd. Sanskrit Pandit, St. Joseph's High School, Trivandrum.

List of inviting bodies, past Presidents,

Serial No.	Place.	Inviting Body or Institution.	Period of Session	General President.
I	Poona	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute	5th, 6th and 7th November 1919	Sir Ramakrishna G. Bhandarkar, Poona (Deputy President Dr A. C. Woolner)
II	Calcutta	Council of Post-Graduate Teaching, Calcutta University.	28th January to 1st February 1922	Prof. Sylvain Levi, Paris
III	Madras	Madras University	22nd, 23rd and 24th December 1924	Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, Allahabad
IV	Allahabad	University of Allahabad	5th, 6th and 7th November 1926	Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. J. J. Modi, Bombay
V	Lahore	University of Punjab	19th, 20th, 21st and 22nd November 1928	Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad, Shastri, Calcutta
VI	Patna	Bihar and Orissa Research Society	17th, 18th, 19th and 20th December 1930	Rai Bahadur Hiralal, Katni
VII	Baroda	Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar, Baroda	27th, 28th, 29th and 30th December 1933	Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, Bar-at-Law, Patna
VIII	Mysore	University of Mysore	29th, 30th and 31st December 1935 and 1st January 1936	Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Madras
IX	Trivandrum	Government of H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore	20th, 21st, and 22nd December 1937	Dr. F. W. Thomas, Oxford

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H. E. Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, Governor, Bihar and Orissa	Dr. K. P. Jayaswal Bar-at Law	Principal D. N Sen	1 S. Krishnaswami 2 S. K. Belvalkar 3 Dr. Hari Chand (L.)	VI
H. H. The Maharaja Sayajirao III, The Gaekwar of Baroda	Sir V. T. Krishnamachari†	Dr A. C. Woolner	1 S. K. Belvalkar 2 S. Krishnaswami 3 B. Bhattacharya (L.)	VII
H. H. The Maharaja Sir Krishnarajendra, Mysore	Dr. E. P. Metcalfe	Dr. A. C. Woolner and Professor A. B Dhruva‡	1 S. K. Belvalkar 2 B. Bhattacharya 3 M. H. Krishna (L.)	VIII
H. H. The Maharaja of Travancore Sir Bala Rama Varma G. C.I. E.	C. V. Chandrasekharan	Dr. A. B. Dhruva	1 S. K. Belvalkar 2 M. H. Krishna 3 R. V Poduval (L.)	IX

* Could not open the Session in person.
† Functioned as such, though not under this title.
‡ Took charge after the death of Dr. Woolner.

List of

Section.	President I, Poona, 1919	President II, Calcutta, 1922	President III, Madras, 1924
1 Veda	R. Zimmermann	S. K. Belvalkar	(Joined to 3)
2. Avesta (Iranian)	J. J. Modi	I. J. S. Taraporewalla	Ganganath Jha
3. Sanskrit Literature	S. Kuppuswami Sastri	Haraprasad Shastri	Do.
4. Persian and Arabic	S. Khuda Bakhsh	G. S. Rankin	Do.
5. Philosophy and Religion	Ganganath Jha	S. Kuppuswami Sastri	Do.
6. Technical Sciences	G. R. Kaye	Jogesh Chandra Rai	Do.
7. History, Geography and Chronology	S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar	a. Pol. Hist. and Chronology R. Narasimhachar b. Soc. and Rel. Hist. R. Shamasastri c. Ane Geography K. P. Jayaswal	R. C. Majumder
8. Anthropology (Sociology, Ethnology, Folklore)	J. J. Modi	L. K. Anantha-krishna Iyer	Do.
9. Archaeology, Epigraphy, Numismatics.	D. R. Bhandarkar	D. B. Spooner	Do.
10. Fine Arts.	..	..	Do.
11. Pali and Buddhism	Satis Chandra Vidyabhushan	Anangarika Dhammapala	S. K. Aiyangar
12. Ardhamagadhi (Prakrta) and Jainism	V. K. Rajwade	Haraprasad Shastri (Prakrta)	Do.
13. Philology (Linguistics)	Do.	L. C. Turner	Do.
14. Modern Indian Languages— a. General.	..	..	Do.
15. Modern Indian Languages— b. Provincial.	..	..	Do.

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S. K. Belvalkar	A. C. Woolner	Vidhushekhara Shastri	A. C. Woolner
Do.	(Joined to 4)	...	I. J. S. Taraporewalla
Haraprasad Shastri	S. Kuppuswami Sastri	Pt. Vanamali	(Joined to 1)
A. Siddiqui	Mahammed Iqbal	Hidayat Hussain	Pour-e Davoud
S. Kuppuswami Sastri	S. N. Das Gupta	S. K. Belvalkar	A. B. Dhruva
..	...	..	..
Dayaram Sahni	S. K. Aiyengar	Hiranand Shastri	Gaurishankar Ojha
J. J. Modi	Haraprasad Shastri	Sarat Chandra Ray	Sarat Chandra Ray
(Joined to 8)	(Joined to 8)	(Joined to 8)	G. Yazdani
	C. C. Ganguly	Ajit Ghosh	N. C. Mehta
(Joined to 13)	(Joined to 13)	(Joined to 13)	(Joined to 13)
Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
A. C. Woolner	S. K. Chatterji	I. J. S. Taraporewalla	Siddheswar Varma
Mirza Muhammed Hadi (Urudu)	Nawab Sadar Yar Jang (Urdu)	S. Khuda Bukhsh (Urdu)	Abdul Haq (Urdu)
Jagannath Das (Hindi)	L. Sita Ram (Hindi) Ch. Shahabuddin (Bengali)	Shyam Sundar Das (Hindi)	Rahula Sankrityayana (Bengali)
		Nagendranath Vasu (Panjabi)	V. P. Vaidya (Gujarati)
			S. V. Ketkar (Marathi)

Section.	President VIII, Mysore. 1935	President IX, Trivandrum. 1937
1. Vedic (including Indo-Aryan Origin)	L. Sarup	K. C. Chattopadhyaya
2 Iranian (including Avesta and Old and Middle Iranian)	B. T. Anklesaria	S. J. Bulsara
3. Islamic (including Arabic, Persian and Urdu)	A. H. M. Nizamuddin	Muhammed Shafi
4. Classical Sanskrit	S. K. De	F. W. Thomas
5. Philosophy and Religion	M. Hiriyanna	S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri
6. Ardhamagadhi, Pali and Prakrits (Jainism and Buddhism)	P. L. Vaidya	N P Chakravarti
7. History (including Ancient Geography)	Radha Kumud Mukerji	R.C. Majumdar
8. Archaeology, Epigraphy and Numismatics	K. N Dikshit	M. H. Krishna
9. Ethnology and Folklore	Ram Prasad Chanda	G. S. Ghurye
10. Fine Arts (including Architecture Iconography and Music)	Shahid Suhrawardy	*A. General* Dr. Stella Kramrisch *B. Kerala Art and culture* A. Gopala Menon
11. Technical Sciences (including Ayurveda)		Dr. L. A. Ravi Varma
12. Philology and Indian Linguistics	V. S. Sukthankar	S. M. Katre
13. Modern Indian Languages (General)		L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar
14. Modern Indian Languages (Provincial)	R. Narasimhacharya	Rao Sahib, Mahakavi, Ulloor S. Parameswara Aiyar

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL UNDER RULE 7 (a).*

Name.	Sessions attended	Papers.
Acharya, G. V.	I, III, VII, VIII	3, 7
Acharya, P. K	II, IV, V	2, 3, 4, 5, 6
Aiyangar, R. S. Raghava	I, II, III, VI, VIII	2, 3, 4, 5
Aiyangar, S. Krishnaswami	I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII	1, 2, 8
Ali, Z. Hasan	I, II, IV, VII	5
Anklesaria, B. T.	I, IV, VII, VIII	4, 8
Bapat, P. V.	I, II, VII, VIII	7
Belvalkar, S. K.	I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII	1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8
Bhandarkar, D. R.	I, II, IV, V, VII	1, 4
Bhatt, G. H.	IV, VI, VII	4, 7, 8
Bhattacharya, Binoytosh	II, III, IV, V, VI, VII	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Bhattacharya, V. C.	III, IV, V	3, 4, 5, 6
Bhonsle, R. Krishnarao	III, VI, VII	3, 7
Chaghtai, M. Abdulla	V, VI, VII, VIII	5, 6, 7, 8
Chatterji, Suniti kumar	IV, V, VI, VII, VIII	4, 5, 6, 7
Chattopadhyaya, K.	IV, V, VI, VII, VIII	3, 4, 6
Chaturvedi, S. P.	VI, VII, VIII	8
Chaudhuri, H. C. Roy	II, VI, VII, VIII	2, 8
Chengalvarayan, N.	III, IV, V, VI, VIII	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
Daruvala, P. N.	I, II, III	1, 3
De, S. K.	III, IV, V, VII, VII	3, 4, 5, 8
Dhruva, A. B.	I, II, VI, VII	1, 3
Dikshit, K. N.	I, VI, VII, VIII	1, 2, 7, 8
Dikshitar, V. R. R.	III, VI, VII, VIII	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
Diskalkar, D. B.	I, IV, VII	2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8
Divekar, H. R.	III, VI, VII, VIII	5, 7, 8
Ghosh Ajit	V, VI, VII	5
Ghosh Manoranjan	II, VI, VII, VIII	2, 4, 6, 7, 8
Huq, Abdul	II, IV, V, VI, VII	6
Heras, Rev. H.	III, IV, VII	3, 4, 5, 7
Hiriyanna, M.	I, III, V, VII, VIII	1, 2, 3, 4, 8
Iyer, S. V. Viswanatha	I, II, III, V	1, 2, 3, 4
Jayaswal, K. P.	II, VI, VII, VII	2, 6
Jha, Ganganath	I, II, IV	1, 4
Kane, P. V.	I, III, VI, VII	1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8
Karmarkar, R. D.	I, II, III, VIII	1, 2, 3
Kunhan Raja, C.	V, VI, VII, VIII	5, 6, 7, 8
Kuppuswami Sastri, S.	I, II, IV, V, VIII	2, 3, 4, 8
Law Narendranath	I, II, VII	1, 2
Majumdar, R. C.	I, II, III, IV, VIII	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8
Mirashi, V. V	I, II, IV, VI, VIII	2, 3, 6, 7, 8
Misra, Umesh	IV, VI, VII	4, 5, 6, 7, 8

*Based on the list given in the Mysore Conference Report

Name	Sessions attended	Papers
Modi, P. M.	IV, V, VII	4, 5, 7
Mohamed, Sahibulla	I, II, III, VI	2, 3, 6
Mukherji, Radha Kumud	I, II, IV, V, VI, VIII	1, 2, 3, 4, 5 6, 8
Nizamuddin, A. H. M	IV, V, VI, VIII	5, 6, 8
Paranjape, V. G.	I, IV, VI	1, 4
Pisharoti, K. Rama	III, IV, V, VI, VIII	3, 4, 5, 6, 8
Prasad, Durga	VI, VII, VIII	8
Prayag Dayal	II, III, IV, V, VI, VII VIII	4, 8
Rama Rao, M.	VI, VII, VIII	7, 8
Rea, Bishveswaranath	I, V, VI, VII	2, 5, 6, 7, 8
Shah, R. N.	II, IV, VI	2, 4, 5, 6
Sahani Dayaram	I, II, IV, VI, VII	2, 5
Saksena, Babu Ram	IV, V, VI	4, 5, 6, 7, 8
Sarup, L.	III, IV, V, VI, VII VIII	4, 5, 6, 8
Sarma, Har Datt	IV, V, VI, VII, VIII	5, 6, 7, 8
Sen, D. N.	II, IV, VI	2, 4
Sen, K. M	V, VI, VII	5, 6, 7
Shafi, Mohamed	II, III, IV, VII, VIII	3, 4, 5, 8
Shah, Hiralal Amritlal	I, III, VII, VIII	1, 3, 7, 8
Shaikh, A. K.	I, II, VI	1
Shama Sastry, R.	I, II, III, VIII	2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8
Shastri, Hiranand	III, V, VI, VII	2, 3, 5, 7
Sastri Mangaldev	IV, V, VI, VII	4, 5, 6, 7
Sastri, P. P. S.	III, IV, VI, VII, VIII	3
Siddiqi, M. Z.	IV, V, VI, VIII	5, 8
Sinha Kumar Ganganand	II, III, VII	2, 3
Srinivasachari, C. S.	I, III, IV, V, VII, VIII	2, 3, 7, 8
Subba Rao, B.	II, III, IV, V, VI, VII & VIII	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
Subrahmania Iyer, K. A.	II, III, IV, V, VI, VII. VIII	3, 4, 5, 7
Tandan, Hariharnath	VI, VII VIII	8
Taraporewala, I. J. S.	I, V, VI, VII, VIII	2, 4, 5
Tritton, A. S.	III, IV, V	2, 3, 5
Utgikar, N. B.	I, II, III, IV	1, 2, 4
Vaidya, P. L.	I, III, V, VIII	8
Vaidya, V. P.	I, IV, VII	2, 5
Varma, Siddheswar	V, VI, VII	1, 5, 6, 7, 8
Venkateswara Iyer, S. V	I, II, III, V	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
Woolner, A. C.	I, IV, V, VII	1, 6
Yazdani, G.	I, II, VII	7

LIST OF PAPERS.

Section I—Vedic including Indo-Aryan.

President : Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyaya, M. A.

1.	M. A. Krishnaswami, B. A. (Hons.)	Etymological Speculations in the Brâhmanas.
2.	Prof. N. N. Chandhari, M. A., Ph. D.	The Interpretation of some of the Obscure Vedic words and Hymns.
3.	Dr. R. Shama Sastry, B. A., Ph. D.	Vishnu's Incarnations.
4.	Dr. R. Shama Sastry, B. A., Ph. D.	Vishnu's Strides.
5.	Dr. R. Shama Sastry, B. A., Ph. D.	The Vedic Cycle and Era of Thirty-three Years.
6.	N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu, M. A., L. T.	The Evolution of Animal Offering.
7.	N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu, M. A., L. T.	The Mystic Significance of Pranava—Om.
8.	K. Chidambara Vadhyar, B. A.	Comparative Sphageology.
9.	T. R. Chintamani, M. A., Ph. D.	The Kauṣitakins and Śâṅkhâyanas.
10.	Lachmidhar Shastri, M. A., M. O. L.	Who were the Arurmaghas ?
11.	Hiralal Amrithal Shah, B. A.	Vedic Loros.
12.	N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu, M. A., L. T.	The Place of the Atharva Veda in Vedic Literature.
13.	M. R. Jambunathan B. A.	Taittiriyas.
14.	Dharmadeva Siddhântâlankara.	Vaidikayajnâhimsâtmakatvam.
15.	Dr. Lakshmana Sarup.	Problem of the Textual Criticism of the Nirukta.
16.	Manilal Patel.	A Study of Rgveda x. 71.
17.	N. Mallikarjuna Sastri.	Comparative Study of the Taittiriya-prâtiśâkhya and the Vyâsaśikshâ.

Section II—Iranian and Zoroastrian Languages and Literature.

President : S. J. Bulsara, M. A.

Secretary : J. B. Vakil, B. A.

1.	Sohrab Jamshedji Bulsara Esq., M. A., Hill View Cottage, Jogeshwari, Bombay.	Iran and India (An Unceasing Friendly Contact Between the Great Aryan Races.)
2.	Jehangir B. Vakil Esq., B. A., 81 Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay I.	Ideals of Life in the Zoroastrian Religion.
3.	Kaikhosrow Ardeshir Fitter Esq., Secretary, Iran League. Bombay.	Reference to Eagle and Other Mysterious Birds in Ancient Literature.

4.	B. T. Anklesaria Esq., Mehervilla, Basant Road, Santacruz, Bombay.	The term 'Deva'. The Evolution in Meaning it has Undergone.
5.	Professor Dr. Manilal Patel, ph. D. (Marburg), Visva Bharati.	Zarathustra's Doctrine of Evil.

Section III—Islamic Culture and religion, including Pre-Islamic, Arabic, Hebrew and Syriac.

President : Prof. Mahommed Shafi, M. A. (Cantab.).

1.	Dr. Zahiruddin Ahmad, Al Jamal, M. A., L. T., D. Litt. (Cairo).	Islam's Fillip to Human Progress.
2	Rev. Fr. Cerien.	Outline of the Essay on Syriac.
3.	Kazi Ahmad Mian Akhtar, Junagadh.	More About the Art of Waraqaat. (During the Abbaside Period.)
4.	Dr. Muhammad Hamidullah, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil.,	The City-State of Mecca just Before Islam and its Comparison with Greek City-States of Yore.
5.	Khwajah Qutbuddin Quari, B. A. (Os.), M. A. (Egypt.).	The Relation of Philosophy with Religion—Islam.
6.	S. Mohiuddin Quadri, M. A., ph. D.	Hindu Element in the Urdu Poetry of Sultan Muhammad Quli of Golconda.
7.	K. Muhammad, M. A.	Dr. Taha Husain and Pre-Islamic Arabic Poetry.
8.	Abdul Quadir Sarvari, M. A., LL. B.	Some important features of the Ancient Language developed at Bijapur and Golconda.
9.	Prof. H. K. Sherwani, M. A., F. R. Hist. S.	Al-Farabi's Political Philosophy.
10.	M. Abdul Aziz al-Mal Mani.	Some Libraries of Istambal.
11.	Dr. S. M. Husain. M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon.)	Talbiyat al-Jahilia.
12.	Dr. M. Nizam-ud-Din, ph D. (Cantab.)	Modernising Forces in Iran.
13.	Dr. Abdul Haq, D. Phil (Oxon.)	The Kharjite Poetry.

Section IV—Classical Sanskrit.

President : Prof. F. W. Thomas, M. A., Ph. D., C. I. E.

Secretary : N. Gopala Pillai. M. A.

1.	M. Sivasubramanya Sastri.	Patanjali.
2.	P. R. D. Sharma.	A Passage in the Dhvanyaloka interpreted.
3.	S. Lakshmipati Sastri.	A Note on Udbhata, the Rhetorician.

4.	Har Dutt Sharma, M. A.	Nirnayakaustubha or Laghunirnaya-kaustubha of Visveswarabhatta : Its Date and Contents.
5.	Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, M. A., B. L.	Hindu Pilgrimages of the Fifteenth Century.
6.	Professor N. B. Purohit, M. A., B. T.	The Apavārita speech in the Sanskrit Drama.
7.	B. Venkataramanayya.	The Soul of the Kāvya.
8.	A. D. Pusalkar, M. A., LL. B., M. N. S.	Are there two Bāṇacaritas?
9.	A. D. Pusalkar, M. A., LL. B., M. N. S.	Authorship and date of the Mṛcchakatika.
10.	R. J. Jani, M. A.	Six-fold Classification of Lakshaṇa.
11.	Pandit Shiva Dutta Sharma.	Does the Gita Govind of Jaydeva Contain 12 Slokas compiled by a King of Orissa ?
12.	N. Sivarama Sastry, M. A.	Problems and Passages in the Cārudatta.
13.	N. Sivarama Sastry, M. A.	The Songs of Kālidāsa.
14.	Sardar, Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe, M. A.	Traces of Original Lankā in Vālmīki's Uttara Kāṇḍa.
15.	Vidyasagara Vidyavachaspati P. P. S. Sastri, M. A.,	Comparative Chronology of the Commentators on the Rāmāyana.
16.	A. D. Pusalkar, M. A., LL. B., M. N. S.	One Bhāsa verse and its bearing on the Bhāsa Problem.
17.	Hiralal Amrithal Shah, M. A.	Controverted Reading in Meghadūta.
18.	V. S. Sukthankar, M. A., Ph. D.	A Newly Discovered Nepali Ms. of Adi-parvan.
19.	Rao Sahib, Mahakavi, Ulloor S. Parameswara Aiyar, M. A., B. L.	Saint Vilvamangala.
20.	Prof. Sivaprasada Bhattacharya, M. A.	A Forgotten Commentary on the Kāvyaprakāsa.
21.	Vidvan Satakoparamanujacharyar, B. O. L.	Sri Rangam Uttamanambi Tirumalainatha—An Unknown Sanskrit Poet of the 15th Century.
22.	E. V. Viraraghavacharya, M. A.	Dharmasuri—His Date and Works.

Section V—Philosophy and Religion.

(The latter from the rational and cultural point of view.)

President : S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, M. A. (Oxon) Bar-at-Law.

Secretary : Mahopadhyaya Pandit V. Venkatarama Sharma Vidyabhushana.

1	Prahalad C. Divanji, M. A., LL. M.	Problems of Panchadasi.
2.	Prof. P. M. Modi M. A., Ph. D. (Kiel).	Destiny of the Brahmajnanin in the light of the Brahmasutras.

3.	Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, M. A.	Paramarthasara.
4.	M. Yamunacarya, M. A.	The Human Personality and its Destiny according to Visishtadvaita.
5.	V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, M. A.	Bhartrhari, a Pre-Sankara Advaitin.
6.	R. Ramasubba Sastri, B. A., B. L.	The place of Hindu Theology in Universal religion.
7.	Dr. Gualtherus H. Mees M. A. (Cantab.), LL. D.	The Psychology of Anima and Animus and Conceptions of Eastern Schools of Psychology.
8.	S. Rama Aiyar, B. A., B. L.	Hindu Philosophy—a Science.
9.	M. S. Srinivasa Sarma M. A.	Achara—The Heart of Hindu Ethics.
10.	N. K. Narasimha Murthy, M. Sc.	Free-Will in Dvaita Philosophy.
11.	Dr. P. T. Raju, M. A., Ph. D. (Cal.) Sastri.	The Empirical and the Noumenal truths in Sankara's Philosophy.
12	G. N. Chakravarti.	A Critical Estimate of the Charvaka System.
13.	N. Sivarama Sastri, M. A.	Vaiseshika-Sutra II. ii.
14.	K. N. Venkatasubba Sastri M. A., Ph. D.	Dharma as a Political Ideal.
15.	M. Yamunacarya, M. A.	Mysticism of Nammalvar, the Great Vaishnava Saint of South India.
16.	K. Balarama Panicker.	The Religion and Philosophy of Sri Narayana Guruswami.
17.	V. Narayanan, M. A., M. L.	Light thrown by Tiruvaymoli on the Upanishads.
18.	B. N. Krishnamurthi Sarma, M. A.	Some Post-Vyasaraya Polemics in the History of Dvaita Literature.
19.	P. P. S. Sastri, M. A.	The Date of Srikantha (Nilakantha) Sivacharya.
20.	Narayana Chandra Banerji.	The State of Popular Religion in India about the Seventh Century A. D.
21.	G. H. Bhatt, M. A.	The Birthdate of Vallabhacharya the Advocate of the Suddhadvaita Vedanta.
22.	Prof. K. A. Subramania Aiyar, M. A., and Dr. Kanti Chandra Pandey.	Saiva Theory of Relation.
23.	Pandit Aiyaswami Sastri.	A short account of the Sautrantika Philosophy.
24.	Roma Bose, M. A., D. Phil.	Dvaitadvaita Doctrine of Nimbarka.
25.	V. V. Gokhale, M. A.	What is Avijnaptirupa Concealed form of activity.
26.	Fr. Zacharia, O. C. D.	Indian Eschatologies.
27.	H. D. Bhattacarya, M. A.	The meaning of Dharma.

Section VI — Ardhamagadhi, Pali and Prakrts.

President: Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, M. A., Ph. D.

1.	Prof. A. N. Upadhya, M. A.	References to Syadvada in the Ardhamagadhi Canon.

2.	Prof. A. N. Upadhye, M. A.	Mystic Elements in Jainism.
3.	Vidvan, K. S. Kameswara Rao.	A plea For a Study of the Prakrit Dialects.
4.	Dr. Sunithikumar Chatterji, M. A., Ph. D.	Itihasa, Purana, and Jataka.

Section VII.—History.

President: R. C Majumdar, M. A., Ph. D.

Secretary: Rao Sahib, C. S. Srinivasachari, M. A.

1.	M. Sharadamma, M. A.	The Ebbs and Tides of Culture in Indian History.
2.	Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, Batavia.	The Note on Cultural Relations between South India and Java.
3.	Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M. A.	Southern India, Arabia and Africa.
4.	Dr. D. C. Sirkar M. A., Ph. D.	King Satakarni of the Sanchi Inscription.
5.	V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M. A.	A forgotten Chapter in South Indian History—Aayi country and its Kings.
6.	V. S. Ramachandra Murty M. A. (Hons.)	The Vasishthis of Pistapura.
7.	R. Subramanyam B. A.	Ganka II, King of Yelamadu, A. D. 1132—1163.
8.	C. Panniruhai Perumal Mudaliar M. A., B. L.	History of Nanjinad.
9.	Abdul Majeed Siddiqua, M. A., LL. B.	The Character and Personality of Abdul Hasan Qutub Shah—the last King of Golconda.
10.	K. Gopalachari M. A., Ph. D.	Vishnukundin Genealogy.
11.	Fr. Placid T. O. C. D.	St. Thomas in South India.
12.	Dewan Bahadur, K. S. Ramaswami Sastri B. A., B. L.	Urban Refinement in Ancient India.
13.	Rao Sahib, C. M. Ramachandra Chettiyar.	The Kongu Cholas—a Unique Dynasty in South India, 1000—1200 A. D.
14.	Dr. M. Rama Rao, M. A., Ph. D., D. ed.	The Rise of Kakatiyas.
15.	Dr. M. Rama Rao, M. A., Ph. D., D. ed.	The Chronology of the Reddis of Kondavidu.
16.	K. R. Subramanyam M. A., Ph. D.	Foreign Contact with Andhradesa in the early Centuries of the Christian Era.
17.	Dr. K. R. Subramanyam M. A., Ph. D.	Some Noble Families of the Eastern Calukyan Period (615—1061 A. D.)
18.	Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M. A.	The Epoch of the Kalachuri, Chedi Era.
19.	Kazi Ahmad Mian, Akhtar.	The troubles of India: A hitherto neglected source of Aurangazeb's History.
20.	Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M. A., Ph. D.	The Founders of Vijayanagara before the foundation of the city.

21.	Dr. C. Meenakshy, M. A., Ph. D.	The Religious Policy of Nandi Varman Pallava Malla.
22.	Vidvan, K. S. Kameswara Rao.	Some Contributions of the Andhras to Indian Culture.
23.	Y. Venkataramana, M. A., B. Ed.	Krishnadevaraya's Economic Policy.
24.	H. C. Seth, M. A., Ph. D. (London)	Gandhara Origin of the Maurya Dynasty and the Identification of Chandragupta with Sasigupta.
25.	H. C. Seth, M. A., Ph. D. (London)	Identification of Porus and Parvateswar.
26.	Rao Sahib, C. S. Srinivasachari, M. A.	Shahji and his achievement in the Karnatic.
27.	Pandit Bisheshvar Nath Reu, B. A.	A letter of Maharaja Ajitsingh.
28.	Jal Postonji Birdy, M. A.	Controvertial Incidents connected with the Death of Rustum Ali Khan, A Moghul Governor of Surat.
29.	Hiralal Amritlal Shah, B. A.	Historical Glimpses of Untouchables and Untouchability with suggestion of Remedies.
30.	V. K. Bhandarkar, M. A., Ph. D.	An early English Attempt to find a Factory on the Tanjore Coast.
31.	Vidvan A. M. Satakoparamanujacharier.	Sangramadhira Kulasekharadeva Ravi Varma Maharaja.
32.	Dr. H. C. Ray, M. A., Ph. D.	New Light on the History of Bengal.
33.	Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri.	Andvijja as a Dynastic Designation in Ancient India.
34.	Y. K. Deshpande, M. A.	Jain Antiquities in Vidarbha.
35.	J. B. Disalkar, B. A.	Muradsha's contemplated invasion of India.
36.	Pandit Harihara Sastri.	Note on Salaries & Allowances in Kautalya's Arthasastra
37.	K. A. Padhya, M. A., LL. B.	Mahabharat and Buddhism.
38.	T. V. Mahalingam, M. A.	Thirumalaideva-maharaja.
39.	Dr. R. N. Sardesai.	Present-day European Studies in Indology.
40.	Abdulla Chugtai.	Austin De Bordeaux and the Taj Mahal, Agra.

Section VIII—Archaeology, Epigraphy and Numismatics.

President : Dr M. H. Krishna, M. A., D. Litt.

1.	Lachmidhar Sastri, M. A., M. O. L.	The Trefoil—Pattern in Mohenjo—Daro.
2.	K. Gopalachari, M. A., Ph. D.	A New Satavahana Coin.
3.	Prof. A. N. Upadhya, M. A.	On the Authorship of a Mangala-verse in inscriptions.
4.	Dr. M. Rama Rao, M. A., Ph. D., B. Ed.	The Sarpavaram Inscription of Kumaragiri Reddi's time.
5.	C. R. Krishnamacharalu, B. A.	A New Dynasty of the West Coast.

6.	R. Subramanyam, B. A.	A Note of the Kommanchikkala plates of Anavota Reddi.
7.	Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M. A., Ph. D., L. T.	The Brahmi Inscriptions of Southern India.
8.	Dr. W. N. Ghoshal, M. A., Ph. D.	Khandapala Khola and Mahakataka.
9.	The Rev. H. Heras, S. J.	The Tirayars in Mohenjo-Daro.
10.	K. R. Venkitaraman, B. A., L. T.	The Jains in Pudukotta State.
11.	L. P. Pandeya.	Gajalaksmi Seals of the Rulers of Mahakosala.
12.	A. S. Gadre, M. A.	Two unpublished Baroda Museum Copper plate grants.
13.	Dr. Surendrakisora Chakravarty, M. A., Ph. D.	Foreign denominations of Ancient Indian Coins.
14.	Pandit Raghuvara Mithulal Shastri, M. A., M. O. L.	Mandasor Inscription of Vatsabhatti.
15.	L. P. Pandeya Sarma.	The Title Trikalingadhipati.

Section IX—Ethnology and Folklore.

President : Professor G. S. Ghurye M. A., P. H. D.

1.	N. Gopala Pillai, M. A.	The Alexander Romance in India.
2.	Lachhmidhar Shastri, M. A., M. O. L.	Is Ganesha originally a corn-deity ?
3.	M. B. Emeneau, M. A., Ph. D.	Echo-Words in Toda.
4.	Rao Sahib, C. M. Ramachandra Chettiar.	The Folk-lore in Kongu country.
5.	David G. Mandelbaum, M. A., ph. D.	Agricultural Ceremonies among Three Tribes of Travancore.
6.	L. A. Krishna Aiyar, M. A.	The Significance of Megalithic Monuments
7.	M. R. Balakrishna Warrier, M. A.	The Black Art and Ritual in Ancient Kerala.
8.	J. R. De la H. Marett, B. sc.	Indian Physique and Character.
9.	Dr. N. G. Sardesai, L. M. & S.	Anumaranapaddhati—A treatise on the practice of Sati by Gaurisabhatta.
10.	M. D. Raghavan, B. A.	Regional aspects of Folklore.
11.	Jitendra Nath Banerjee, M. A.,	Some folk goddesses of ancient and mediæval India.
12.	L. A. Krishna Aiyar, M. A,	Importance of Anthropology and its Progress in Travancore.
13.	Mrs. Marguerite Milward.	Aboriginal Tribes of the Deccan.
14.	Do.	Notes on Travancore Tribes.
15.	D. Jivanayagam, M. A., Ph. D.,	Magic and Religion in South India.

Section X—Fine Arts.

President : Dr. Stella Kramrisch.

1.	R. W. Jayasimha.	Lanka's Contribution to the Art of the World.
2.	P. Sambamoorthy. B. A., B. L.	Ragas in South Indian Music— Their origin and Evolution.

Section X (A)—Kerala Art and Culture.

President : A Gopala Menon, M. A., B. com., (London)

1.	Mrs. Emily Gilchriest Hatch, M. A.	Kathakali, the Indigenous Drama of Malabar.
2.	P. Krishnan Nair.	The Onam and the Malabar Era (Kollam).
3.	K. Sivaramakrishna Sastri.	Contribution of Kerala to Indian Culture.
4	V. Sankara Aiyar, M. A., L. T., and Vidyabhushana V. Venkatarama Sharma	Maharaja Svati Tirunal's Contribution to the Literature and Art of Kerala.
5.	C. I. Gopala Pillai, M. A.	Old Songs and Ballads.
6.	M. S. Doraiswami Aiyengar, B. A. B. L.	Architecture of Travancore Temples.
7.	K. Sundaram Aiyar, M. A., L. T.	Kerala's Contribution to Astronomy & Astrology.
8.	Rev. Fr. C. T. Kuriakose, B. A., B. D.	Kotamangalam and its Churches.
9.	P. V. Ulahannan, M. A.	Church paintings in Kerala.

Section XI—Ayurveda And Technical Sciences.

President :—Dr. L. A. Ravi Varma, M. R. & C. M., (Madras) D. O. M. S (London.)

1.	Dr. Pandit P. Venkateswara Sastrigal.	Diseases of the Heart and its Ayurvedic Treatment.
2.	H. Subramanya Iyer, M. A., Ph. D.	Lunar Positions in Ancient Hindu Astronomy according to Drk and Parahita systems of Calculation.
3.	H. Subramanya Iyer, M. A., Ph. D.	Principles by which Dhruvam or Longitude of the apse line or the Lunar Orbit is determined in Drk and Parahita systems of calculation in Ancient Hindu Astronomy.
4.	N. Madhava Menon, A. M., A. C.	Tridosha Theory.
5.	V. Narayanaswami, L. I. M.	Dietetics in Ayurveda; how it can be popularised and adopted to modern conditions.
6.	Vidyabhushana Bhishagmani Dr. T. Jiyyar Does.	Sodhana Karmas.
7.	Ayurvedacarya, Prof. D. Rangacharlu. M. D. D. HO. Ph. H. D. (America)	Ayurvedic Dietology.
8.	P. S. Rama Sarma.	Ayurveda Reethya 'Blood Pressure Vidarah.

Section XII—Philology and Indian Linguistics.

President :—S. M. Katre, M. A., Ph. D.

1.	Dr. K. Goda Varma, M. A., Ph. D.	Phonological observations on Sanskrit a, o, ai and au and Middle Indian e and o :

2.	S. P. Chaturvedi, M. A.	Technical terms of the Ashtadhyayi.
3.	A. N. Narasimhiah, M. A., Ph. D.	Kanakrtana Dhatupathah.
4.	Prof. Sunitl Kumar Chatterji, M. A., ph. D.,	Two Sanskrit-Chinese Lexicons of the 7th-8th centuries, and some problems of Indo-Aryan Linguistics.

Section XIII—Modern Indian Languages : Malayalam and other Languages of South India

President : Rao Sahib, Mahakavi, Ulloor S. Parameswara Aiyer, M. A., B. L.

1.	K. Ramakrishnaiah, M. A.,	The Primitive Dravidian Mother Tongue.
2.	R. P. Sethu Pillai, B. A., B. L.	The Standard Language of South India
3.	Pandit N. Chengalvarayan.	Education and Educational Institutions of the Ancient Tamils as obtained in the Tamil Classics.
4.	Y. Venkataramana, M. A., B. Ed.	The Early Telugu Dramas.
5.	V. Narayanan, M. A., M. L.,	Changes of meaning of some Sanskrit words in Tamil.
6.	V. Narayanan, M. A., M. L.,	Takatur Yattiral, a Tamil Purana Reconstructed.
7.	V. R. Karunakaran Nair, B. SC., L. T.,	The Early Life and works of Kunjan Nambiar.
8.	P. Anantan Pillai, M. A.,	The Great Transition Period of Malayalam.
9.	Rao Sahib, C. M. Ramachandra Chettiar.	The Inter-dependent evolution of vernacular Literatures in South India during the Karnatic Dominancy.
10.	Vidvan, G. I. Somayaji, M. A., L. T.	Some words expressing relationship in the Dravidian Languages.
11.	A. C. Chettiar, M. A.	The Passive Voice in Tamil.
12.	S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, B. A., B. L.	Tolkappiar's Progressive view of Language.
13.	A. N. Narasimhaiah, M. A., Ph. D.	Place names in Kannada.
14.	A. S. Muthiah Mudaliyar, M. A.	Tamil in Chera country.
15.	M. Chennakesava Aiyengar.	Jainism in Kannada Literature.
16.	Vadakkankur Rajaraja Varma.	Sanskrit Mahakavyas in Kerala.
17.	N. Kuppuswami Aiyyar.	Telugu Literature Past and Present.

Section XIV—Other Indian Languages

President :—L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M. A., B. L.

1.	Prof. Priyaranjn Sen, M. A.	Hindustani Publications in the College of Fort William.

THE NINTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, TRIVANDRUM 1937.

Brief Report.

Invitation.—The Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore were pleased to sanction the Ninth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference being held at Trivandrum in December 1937, and accorded permission to Mr. R. Vasudeva Poduval, Director of Archaeology, to invite the Conference on their behalf (*vide* G. O., R. O. C. No. 4440/35/Edn., dated 18th December 1935). The Executive Committee of the Conference accepted the invitation and appointed Mr. Poduval as Local Secretary and a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

His Highness Sir Bala Rama Varma, G. C. I. E., D. Litt., Maharaja of Travancore and Her Highness Maharani Setu Parvati Bai, D. Litt., were graciously pleased to be the Patron and Vice-Patron respectively of the Conference. Mr. C. P. Skrine, I. C. S., O. B. E., Resident, Madras States, and Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K. C. I. E., Dewan of Travancore were additional Vice-Patrons.

Managing Committee.—A Managing Committee consisting of the following gentlemen was constituted by Government to make the necessary arrangements in connection with the holding of the Conference —

(1) C. V. Chandrasekharan Esq., M. A. (Oxon), Pro-Vice-Chancellor, University of Travancore, Trivandrum. (*Chairman*)

(2) A. Gopala Menon Esq., M. A., B. Com. (London), Director of Public Instruction, Travancore, Trivandrum.

(3) Dr. K. L. Moudgill, M. A. (Cantab), D. Sc. (Glasgow), F. I. C. (London), Principal, College of Science, Trivandrum.

(4) A. Narayanan Tampi Esq., B. A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, Principal, Training College, Trivandrum.

(5) V. Krishnan Tampi Esq., B. A., Superintendent of Studies in Indian Languages, College of Arts, Trivandrum. (since deceased).

(6) K. Sambasiva Sastry Esq., Curator for the Publication of Oriental Manuscripts, Trivandrum. (since retired)

(7) T. K. Joseph Esq., B. A., L. T., Headmaster, English High School, Thuckalay.

(8) M. R. Ry. Rao Sahib, Mahākavi, Sāhitya bhūshaṇa, Ulloor S. Parameswara Aiyar Avl., M. A., B. L., Retired Dewan Peishkar, Trivandrum.

(9) R. Vasudeva Poduval Esq., B. A., Director of Archaeology, Travancore, Trivandrum. (*Secretary*)

(10) P. V. Paulose Esq., B. A., Assistant Account Officer, Trivandrum. (since retired) (*Treasurer*).

The Committee co-opted the following gentlemen and appointed 9 sub-committees and a Joint Secretary to see to all the necessary arrangements :

Co-opted Members.

(1) R. Srinivasan Esq., M. A., Professor of Mathematics, College of Science, Trivandrum.

(2) Dr. A. Sivaramasubramanya Iyer, M. A., Ph. D. (London), Assistant Professor of English, College of Arts, Trivandrum.

(3) Miss L. C. M. Ouwerkerk, M. A. (Cantab), Professor of History, College of Arts, Trivandrum.

(4) Dr. T. K. Koshy, M. A., Ph. D., Professor of Botany, College of Science, Trivandrum.

(5) Vaidyaśāstranipuṇa Dr. L. A. Ravi Varma, Surgeon-in-Charge of the Opthalmic Hospital, Trivandrum.

(6) Dr. K. Goda Varma, M. A., Ph. D., Principal, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum.

(7) Dr. Jayaram Cousins, D. Litt., Head of the Department of Fine Arts, University of Travancore, Trivandrum.

(8) Malloor K. Govinda Pillai Esq., B. A., B. L., Retired Principal, Law College, Trivandrum.

(9) P. R. Parameswara Panicker Esq., M. A., Registrar, University of Travancore, Trivandrum. (*Joint Secretary*).

The various Sub-Committees were constituted as follows —

Name of Sub-Committee.	*Convener.*
1. Boarding and Lodging	Mr. A. Narayanan Tampi.
2. Entertainments	„ V. Krishnan Tampi.
3. Exhibition of Oriental Manuscripts	„ K. Sambasiva Sastry.
4. Paṇḍita Parishat	„ K. Sambasiva Sastry.
5. Conveyance	„ A. Sivaramasubramanya Iyer.
6. Meetings	„ R. Srinivasan.
7. Excursion	„ A. Gopala Menon.
8. Volunteer Service	Dr. T. K. Koshy.
9. Medical Aid.	Dr. L. A. Ravi Varma.



HER HIGHNESS LAKSHMI BAYI. FIRST PRINCESS.

A small Working Committee consisting of Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan as President and Messrs. A. Gopala Menon, R. V. Poduval, P. V. Paulose and P. R. Parameswara Panicker was also appointed to deal with all matters that required immediate action.

Membership.—The first bulletin of the Managing Committee inviting scholars, learned Societies and Institutions to participate in the Conference was issued on 20th February 1937. A special invitation was sent to various Provincial Governments, Indian States and Universities to send delegates. A Sanskrit invitation was also issued inviting Paṇḍits to the Paṇḍita Parishat. Two other bulletins were also issued giving information about local arrangements.

There was a very good response and the members and delegates registered were as follows —

Number of Institutions which sent delegates	...	97
Members of the Conference from outside the State	...	238
Local Members of the Conference and of the Reception Committee	...	68
Other members of the Reception Committee	...	181
Delegates	...	246
Paṇḍits	...	137

The Government of India, important Indian States, some of the Provincial Governments and most of the Institutions and learned Societies of India, and a few Institutions of Oriental Learning in Europe and America were represented by delegates at the Conference.

Boarding and Lodging.—Arrangements were made for the catering and accommodation of the members and delegates in the Collegiate Hostel, the Mascot Hotel, the Tra-

vellers' Bungalow, the Government Guest Houses and Padmavilāsam Palace, free of cost. There was provision for North Indian vegetarian, South Indian vegetarian and Indian Non-vegetarian messes in the Collegiate Hostel. European catering was arranged in private Bungalows, at the Mascot Hotel, the Travellers' Bungalow and the Government Guest Houses. A free medical service was provided in all guests' quarters and two Doctors were always in attendance. The Police authorities gave all necessary assistance. Through the courtesy of the Postal Superintendent a branch Post and Telegraph Office was opened in the College of Science for the convenience of the members and delegates.

Conveyance.—Special cars, eight seaters and buses were arranged by the Transport Sub-Committee for the use of the members and delegates who were provided free conveyance during their stay here for the Conference. Conveyance was also supplied for the excursion to Padmanābhapuram, Śuchīndram and Cape Comorin.

Exhibition.—A collection of rare and valuable Oriental Manuscripts from the Palace Granthappura, the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and from private sources in the State was exhibited in H. H. the Maharaja's College of Science on the occasion of the Conference. The Archaeological Department of the Government of Hyderabad had on view an interesting collection of exhibits. The State Museum, the Museum Annexe, the Śrī Chitrālayam (State Picture Gallery) and the Raṅgavilās Palace Museum and Gallery were also open to the members and delegates of the Conference, free of charge.

Entertainments.—The Sub-Committee for Entertainments made arrangements for musical and dancing performances. The Sanskrit College students enacted a Sanskrit play. There were also a performance of Kathakali and some forms of indigenous dancing such as Oṭṭamtullal, Tiruvātirakkali etc.

Paṇḍita Parishat.—Invitations were extended to all the Paṇḍits in the State and also to those who had attained eminence in British India and other Indian States. A large number of them attended the Parishat and thirty of them were paid travelling and halting allowances. His Highness the Maharaja and Her Highness Maharani Setu Parvati Bai accompanied by the Dewan, honoured the Parishat by their presence on the last day of the Conference.

Income.—The Government of H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore sanctioned a lump sum grant of Rs. 12,000 for the Conference. Besides this grant the Committee also collected donations and the usual fee of Rs. 10 each from persons who enrolled themselves as members of the Conference and Rs. 5 each from members of the Reception Committee. The total amount thus collected was —

	Rs.	Ch.	C.
Government grant ...	12,000	0	0
Donations ...	208	18	3
Membership fees from outside ...	2,422	14	0
Local Membership and Reception Committee fees. ...	692	4	0
Reception Committee Membership fees ...	921	4	8
Total ...	16,244	18	0

Expenditure.—The total expenditure incurred so far on account of the Conference is S. Rs. 15,157 Chs. 6 C. 10 as per details shown below —

	S. Rs.	Ch.	C.
Conveyance ...	3,433	10	15
Catering ...	2,730	13	2
Exhibition ...	628	18	1
Entertainments ...	826	17	3
T. A. to President ...	2,032	5	2

Miscellaneous—Lighting, Pandal, illumination, clerical assistance, postal charges etc.	4,022	1	5
Stationery & Printing ...	1,483	24	14
Total ...	15,157	6	10

It is estimated that a sum of Rs. 3,500 will be required for the publication of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Conference and for other incidental expenses such as clerical assistance, postage charges etc.

Publications.—On behalf of the Reception Committee, the following publications were printed and supplied free to the members and delegates of the Conference —

(1) The Souvenir of Travancore.

(2) A summary of Papers.

(3) A pamphlet containing the necessary information about the All-India Oriental Conference.

(4) A volume entitled "All About the Conference, Trivandrum Session."

The Conference.—Dr. F. W. Thomas, M. A., C. I. E., Boden Professor of Sanskrit (now retired), University of Oxford, was elected President of the ninth session of the Conference at Trivandrum ; and the following scholars presided over the different sections —

No.	Name and Address.	Status.
1.	Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyaya, Allahabad.	President, Vedic Section.
2.	S. J. Bulsara, Esq., Bombay.	President, Iranian Section.

3.	Prof. Mahommed Shafi, Lahore.	President, Islamic Section.
4.	Prof. F. W. Thomas, Oxford.	President, Classical Sanskrit Section.
5.	Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana, Madras.	President, Philosophy Section.
6.	Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Ootacamond.	President, Ardhamāgadhi and Pali Section.
7.	Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dacca.	President, History Section.
8.	Dr. M. H. Krishna, Mysore.	President, Archaeology Section.
9.	Prof. G. S. Ghurye, Bombay.	President, Ethnology and Folklore Section.
10.	Dr. Stella Kramrisch, Calcutta	President, Fine Arts Section.
11.	Prof. A. Gopala Menon, Trivandrum	President, Kerala Art and Culture Section.
12.	Dr. L. A. Ravi Varma, Trivandrum	President, Ayurveda and Technical Sciences Section.
13.	Prof. S. M. Katre, Poona	President, Linguistic Section.
14.	Rao Sahib, Mahākavi, Ulloor S. Parameswara Aiyar, Trivandrum	President, Malayalam and South Indian Languages Section.
15.	Prof. L. V. Ramaswamy Iyer, Eranakulam.	President, Other Indian Languages Section.
16.	Mahāmahopādhyāya Dandapaniswami Diksbitar.	President, Paṇḍita Parishat.

Members and Delegates began to arrive in Trivandrum from the 18th December 1937, and they were met and received at the Railway Station by the representatives of the Reception Committee and escorted to their places of residence. The Conference was held on the 20th, 21st and 22nd December 1937.

(First day) Monday, 20th December 1937 —On the morning of Monday the 20th December 1937 a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Conference was held in the Girls' High School. The Annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India came off later in H. H. The Maharaja's College of Science. In the after-noon, the Opening Session of the Conference was held between 4 and 6 P. M., in the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall when His Highness Sir Bala Rama Varma, G. C. I. E., D. Litt., Maharaja of Travancore, and Chancellor of the University of Travancore, the Patron of the Conference, accompanied by Her Highness Maharani Setu Parvati Bai, D. Litt., Vice-Patron, graced the occasion by their presence. Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan, M. A., (Oxon), Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed Their Highnesses and the members and delegates, and read the messages of good wishes received from the Marquis of Zetland, Secretary of State for India, His Excellency Lord Linlithgow, the Crown Representative, H. E. Lord Erskine, Governor of Madras, and other distinguished persons. His Highness the Maharaja then delivered the Opening Address which was followed by the Presidential Address of Dr. F. W. Thomas. Condolence resolutions were next passed regarding the death of Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, a former President, Dr. A. C. Woolner, Honorary Treasurer of the Conference, and Mahāmahopādhyāya R. Narasimhacharya, Retired Director of Archaeology in Mysore. The Conference also placed on record its sense of sorrow at the death of Dr. M. Winternitz, Professor E. J. Rapson, Dr. Jacobi and Professor A. V. Williams Jackson. In the evening, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director-General of

Archaeology, in India and Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, Director-General of Archaeology, Netherlands Indies, gave lantern lectures on the "Indus Valley Civilization" and "Indian Art in Java" respectively. At 9-30 P. M., select scenes from *Svapnavāsavadatta* were enacted in the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall by the amateurs of Trivandrum with great success. Some of the guests were entertained by Mr. and Mrs. C. P. Skrine at the Residency.

(*Second day*). *Tuesday, 21st December 1937.*—On the second day, Sectional Meetings were held in H. H. The Maharaja's College of Science and the Presidential Addresses of the Vedic, Classical Sanskrit, Philosophy, History, Archaeology, and Islamic Culture Sections were delivered in the forenoon.

In the afternoon between 1 and 3-30 P. M., the Presidential Addresses of the Malayalam and Other Dravidian Languages, Kerala Art and Culture, Ardhamagadhi and Pali, Iranian and Zoroastrian and Philology Sections were delivered. Other Sections held their meetings simultaneously for the reading and discussion of papers. At 4-30 P. M., in the evening, the members were entertained at a Garden Party at the Palace by His Highness the Maharaja, the Patron, and Her Highness Maharani Setu Parvati Bai, the Vice-Patron of the Conference. The guests were treated to a performance of *Kathakali* after tea. Their Highnesses mingled freely among the guests and came into personal contact with most of the distinguished delegates who were presented to Their Highnesses by the Chairman of the Reception Committee. The function was a splendid success. After dinner Dr. J. H. Cousins delivered a lantern lecture on Post Ajanta Mural Paintings which was followed by the dance performance of Mr. Gopinath, the Palace Dancer, and his party.

(*Last day*). *Wednesday, 22nd December 1937.*—The Sectional Meetings were continued in H. H. the Maharaja's College of Science, and the Presidential Addresses of the

Ayurveda, Fine Arts, Anthropology and the Modern Indian Languages Sections were delivered in the forenoon. There were also the meeting of the Executive Committee and of the Council in the Girls' High School Assembly Hall. At noon, some of the members were invited to lunch by the Dewan. At 2 P. M., the Executive Committee met again between 3-15 and 4 P. M. The Closing Session of the Conference was held at the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall when Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan and Vice-Patron, gave an inspiring address extempore and it was followed by the President's concluding remarks. At 4 P. M. a group photograph of the members and delegates was taken in the quadrangle of H. H. the Maharaja's College of Science. After tea, the Princep's Centenary function was held in the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall. It was followed by a lecture on Proto-Indian Script and Culture by Rev. Father H. Heras of Bombay. Later in the evening, Dr. C. Meenakshi of Madras and Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, M. A., C. I. E., Director of Archaeology, Jaipur, gave lantern lectures on "Coronations of Pallava Kings" and "Jaipur Excavations" respectively. In the night, the guests were entertained at the Jubilee Town Hall with dancing and music, tiruvātirakkali and songs of Svāti Tirunāl Maharaja of Travancore. Some of the members and delegates had the honour of being invited to dinner at H. H. the Maharaja's Palace.

On all the days of the Conference, the Exhibition of Oriental Manuscripts, the Museum and Galleries were open to the members. The Annual Meetings of the Numismatic Society and the Linguistic Society of India had also their Sessions during the days of the Conference.

Excursions.—On Thursday the 23rd December 1937, an excursion was arranged to Padmanābhapuram, the old capital of Travancore, Suchindram and Cape Comorin, noted for their ancient temples. Over a hundred guests joined

the party. They returned to Trivandrum in the evening and left, some by the night train and the others by the next morning train.

Papers.—199 papers were received from members and all were accepted by the Sectional Presidents. The publication of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Conference has been taken in hand; and it is hoped that the volume will be ready for distribution before the next session of the Conference at Hyderabad.

Conclusion.—The Trivandrum Session of the All-India Oriental Conference has been pronounced to be an unprecedented success by many members and delegates who have written and congratulated the organisers of the Conference. This is mainly due to the personal interest which Their Highnesses the Maharaja and Maharani Setu Parvati Bai and the Dewan took in the arrangements.

R. V. PODUVAL,
Secretary, Managing Committee,
Ninth All-India Oriental Conference,
Trivandrum.

PROGRAMME.

Sunday, 19th December 1937.

5-30 A. M. TO 7-15 P. M.	Arrival of members and delegates.	

Monday, 20th December 1937.

7-30 A. M.	Breakfast	(Respective Camps.)
9 A. M. TO 10-30 A. M.	Meeting of the Executive Committee.	(Girls' High School Assembly Hall.)
10.30 A. M. TO 12 NOON.	Meeting of the Sectional Committees to consider sectional papers, programmes, etc.	(Science College—Sectional rooms.)
12 NOON.	Lunch.	(Respective Camps.)
3 P. M.	Tea.	(Respective Camps.)
4 P. M. TO 6-30 P. M.	Opening session.	(Jubilee Town Hall.)

N. B.—Members, Delegates, Pandits, Guests and Visitors are requested to be in their seats before 3-55 p. m.

4-5 P. M.	Members of the Executive Committee will be received by the Chairman of the Reception committee. Sectional Presidents will be received by the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the office-bearers of the Conference and conducted to their seats.
4-10 P. M.	The General President, Professor F. W. Thomas, will be received, on arrival, by the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the office-bearers of the Conference.
4-15 P. M.	Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan, Vice-Patron of the Conference, arrives and will be received by the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the office-bearers of the Conference.

4-20 P. M. . C. P. Skrine, Esq., I. C. S., O.B.E., Resident, Madras States, Vice-Patron of the Conference, arrives and will be received by the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the office-bearers of the Conference.

4-25 P. M. . His Highness the Maharaja, the Patron, and Her Highness Maharani Setu Parvati Bai, Vice Patron, arrive and will be received by the Dewan, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the General President and the office-bearers of the Conference and conducted to the dias.

Welcome—Sanskrit Slokas.

Welcome Address by the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Opening Address by His Highness the Maharaja, the Patron of the Conference.

Installation of the President.

Presidential Address.

Vote of thanks to Their Highnesses.

5-40 P. M. . Departure of Their Highnesses.

5-45 P. M. TO 6 P. M. . Condolence Resolutions :

Dr. K. P. Jayswal.
Mr. M. Winternitz.
Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhacharya.
Prof. E. J. Rapson
Prof. H. Jacobi.
Dr. A. V. Williams Jackson.

Presentation of the Mysore Report.

Vancheesamangalam.

7 P. M. . Lantern lectures : (Girls' High School Assembly Hall.)

1. "*Indus valley civilization*"
By
Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M. A., Director General of Archæology in India.

2. "*Development of Indian Art in Java.*"

By

Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, Director General of Archaeology, Netherlands East Indies.

8 P. M.	Dinner.	(Respective Camps)
9-30 P. M.	Entertainments.	(Jubilee Town Hall.)
	Sanskrit Drama—Select Scenes from Bhasa's *Swapnavasavadatta*.	(Abridged.)

Tuesday, 21st December 1937.

7 A. M. TO 7-45 A. M.	Breakfast.	(Respective Camps.)
8 A. M. TO 11 A. M.	Sectional meetings	(Science College.)
8 A. M.	Vedic Sanskrit—Presidential Address.	
8-30 A. M.	Classical Sanskrit—Presidential Address.	
9 A. M.	Philosophy do.	
9-30 A. M.	History do.	
10 A. M.	Archaeology do.	
10-30 A. M.	Islamic culture do.	

N. B.—Sections other than these may hold their meetings simultaneously for the reading and discussion of papers.

12 NOON	Lunch	(Respective Camps.)
1 P. M.	Malayalam and other Dravidian Languages—Presidential Address.	
1-30 P. M.	Kerala Art and Culture do.	
1 P. M. TO 4 P. M.	Pandita Parishat—Upanyasa.	
2-30 P. M.	Ardhamagadhi and Pali—Presidential Address.	
3 P. M.	Iranian and Zoroastrian do.	
3-30 P. M.	Philology do.	

N. B.—Sections other than these may hold their meetings simultaneously for the reading and discussion of papers.

4-30 TO 7 P. M.	Garden party at the Kowdiar Palace.	(By separate invitation.)
8-15 P. M.	Dinner.	(Respective Camps.)
9-30 P. M.	1. Lantern Lecture. "*Post Ajanta Mural Paintings*" By Dr. Jayaram Cousins, University of Travancore, Trivandrum.	(Jubilee Town Hall).
	2. Gopinath's Dance.	do.

Wednesday, 22nd December 1937.

7-30 A. M. .	Breakfast	(Respective Camps.)
8 A. M. TO 11 A. M. .	Pandita Parishat (Vakyartha) and Sectional Meetings.	
8-30 A. M. .	Ayurveda and Technical Sciences. (Presidential Address)	
9 A. M. .	Fine Arts Do.	
9-30 A. M. .	Anthropology Do.	
10 A. M. .	Modern Indian Languages Do.	
11 A. M. TO 12 NOON. .	Meeting of the Executive Committee.	

N. B.—Sections other than these may hold their meetings during this time.

12 NOON. .	Lunch	(Respective Camps.)
1 TO 2-30 P. M. .	Meeting of the Council	(Girls' High School, Assembly Hall.)
2-30 TO 3 P. M. .	Meeting of the Executive Committee	(Girls' High School Assembly Hall.)
3 TO 3-15 P. M .	Group Photograph	(Science College.)
3-15 TO 4 P. M. .	Closing Session Address by Sashivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K. C. S. I. Closing address by the President.	(Victoria Jubilee Town Hall.)
4-15 P. M. .	Tea	(Respective Camps.)
5 TO 5-30 P. M. .	Princep Centenary Function	(Victoria jubilee Town Hall.)
5-30 TO 5-55 P. M. .	Lecture on "*Proto Indian Script and Culture*" by Rev. Fr. H. Heras, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.	Do. Do.
6 TO 7-30 P. M. .	Lantern lectures: 1. "*Coronations of Pallava Kings*" by Dr. C. Minakshi, M. A., Ph. D., Research Scholar, University of Madras. 2. "*Jaipur Excavations*" by Rai Bahadur, Daya Ram Sahni, M. A., C. I. E., Director of Archæology Jaipur.	(Victoria Jubilee Town Hall.)

8 P. M.	Dinner	(Respective Camps.)
9 P. M.	Entertainments 1. Tiruvatirakali. 2. Music (Songs of Svati Tirunal Maharaja).	(Jubilee Town Hall.)

Thursday, the 23rd December 1937.

6 A. M.	Breakfast	(Respective Camps.)
7 A. M.	Departure of members and delegates.	
	Excursions to Padmanabhapuram and Cape Comorin.	
	The Sri Chitralayam, the State Museum (including the Java Bali Annexe) the Rangavilas Palace Gallery, the Exhibition of Oriental Manuscripts and the Observatory will be open to visitors from the 19th to the 22nd December, both days inclusive.	
	Specimens of old State jewellery and rare coins will be on view at the Rangavilas Palace Gallery between 8 A. M. and 3 P. M. on the 20th, 21st and 22nd December.	

OTHER CONFERENCES AND MEETINGS

I

THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA.

Monday, 20th December 1937.

1 P. M. TO 2-30 P. M. . Annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India. Presidential Address by Dr. H. Hiranande Sastri, M. A., M. O. L. D. Litt., Director of Archaeology, Baroda.

Tuesday, 21st December 1937.

11 A. M. TO 12 NOON. . Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India. Reading of papers on Numismatics and Exhibition of coins.

Wednesday, 22nd December 1937.

10 A. M. TO 12 NOON. . Annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India (Open only to Members of the Society) Rai Bahadur, Prayag Dayal, (*Secretary.*)

II.

Thursday, 23rd December 1937.

5 P. M. TO 7 P. M. . Public meeting in connection with the celebration of the centenary of His Highness the Maharaja's Observatory. President: Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar,
(Victoria Jubilee Town Hall)



Members and Delegates of the Conference.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE NINTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE. TRIVANDRUM.

Monday : 20th December 1937.

The opening Session of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference was held in the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall between 4 and 6 P. M. on Monday the 20th December 1937. The place was beautifully decorated with flags, festoons and flowers. There were over 700 ladies and gentlemen present including members and delegates of the Conference, members of the Reception Committee, visitors and guests.

4 P. M.—The members and delegates arrived and took their seats.

4·5 P. M.—Members of the Executive Committee and Sectional Presidents were received by the Chairman of the Reception Committee and conducted to their seats.

4·10 P. M.—The General President Dr. F. W. Thomas was received by the Chairman of the Reception Committee and by the office-bearers of the Conference.

4·15 P. M.—Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan and Vice-Patron of the Conference arrived, and was received by the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the Office-bearers of the Conference.

4·20 P. M.—C. P. Skrine Esq., O. B. E., I. C. S., Resident, Madras States and Vice-Patron of the Conference arrived, and was received by the Chairman of the Reception Committee and conducted to the dais.

4·25 P. M.—H. H. The Maharaja, the Patron, and H. H. Maharani Setu Parvati Bayi, Vice-Patron, arrived and were received by the Dewan, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the General President and Office-bearers of the Conference and conducted in procession to the dais. After Their

Highnesses took their seats, Mrs. Lakshmi Narayanan Nair sang the *Mangala Ślokas* specially composed for the occasion.

Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan, Chairman of the Reception Committee, then welcomed Their Highnesses and the distinguished audience in a short speech as follows:—

YOUR HIGHNESSES, MR. RESIDENT, SACHIVOTTAMA SIR RAMASWAMY AIYAR, DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

As the Chairman of the Reception Committee, it is my proud privilege and very pleasant duty, to accord a hearty welcome to the members and delegates of the Ninth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference. Though Travancore has some disadvantages on account of her geographical position, and though our capital city is perhaps lacking in some of the facilities available in the great cities of India, it is very gratifying to us, the members of the Reception Committee, that we have been able to attract a large number of members and delegates for this the Ninth Session of the Conference—a larger number in fact than several past sessions of the Conference. The Government of India and many Provincial Governments and Indian States have sent their delegates; and nearly all the Indian Universities and some of the greatest Universities of the world such as Oxford, Paris, Bonn and Yale have their representatives here, not to mention the very large number of academies, research institutes, societies and museums, which are actively engaged in the pursuit of oriental studies of one kind or another in India and Europe, in America and the far East. We feel greatly honoured by your acceptance of our invitation to hold your Ninth Session here.

I hope I am not exaggerating when I say that Travancore has much to offer which will evoke the interest and appreciation of this large intellectual conclave of experts who have attained distinction in the varied fields of oriental study and research. Since the days when *Śilappadikāram* was composed, and the days when, according to tradition,

one of the early Cera Kings rendered valuable services to the combatants on the field of Kurukṣetra, the rulers of the Cera dynasty have been great and generous patrons of art and literature. Immune from invasion and conquest, blessed with the bounty of nature, the people have for many centuries past, enjoyed a sense of security which facilitated the pursuit and study of the Hindu arts and sciences. Travancore can therefore boast of an unbroken cultural tradition, and continuity of institutions, religious and social. In medieval Travancore, the Royal families of Eḍappally, Vaḍakkumkūr, Tekkumkūr, Cempakaśśeri, Deśiṅgaṇāḍ, and Veṇāḍ actively patronised Sanskrit literature and the Hindu Sciences. The temples helped in the popularisation of Sanskrit culture, while the various Maṭhams concentrated their attention on particular branches of learning, such as the Vedas or the secular sciences or the systems of Philosophy. Certain families exclusively devoted themselves from time immemorial to particular studies like the Aṣṭavaidyans to medicine and surgery, and the Pāḷur Kaṇiyāns to astrology and astronomy. Every aristocratic family used to appoint a distinguished scholar as the family preceptor for teaching Sanskrit to the members of the family; and even middle class homes were proud of the small libraries of palm leaf manuscripts which they assiduously collected and preserved. Kerala in general, and Travancore in particular have therefore, been able to make a substantial contribution to Sanskrit and Malayālam literature and to Hindu Philosophy and Science. Kulaśekhara Perumāl who enriched the Art and Philosophy of medieval India, the great Śaṅkarāchārya the mightiest of Indian thinkers and philosophers, the great Svāti Tirunāl who ruled over Travancore in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, a famous poet and composer, whose imperishable songs have won fame in the remotest parts of India—are these not names to enthuse and inspire an audience such as this? Coming to more recent times, we have Śrī Viśākham Tirunāl, the real and true discoverer of Bhāsa, a great scholar and deep thinker, who

was able to "compress within a short period of five years the work of a life time." Under the late Śrī Mūlam Tirunāl Maharaja, Travancore made rapid strides in the march of progress; and amongst his numerous beneficent activities, those which would elicit the special appreciation of this Conference were the founding of the Sanskrit College and the organisation of the Departments of Oriental Manuscripts and Archaeology.

While the culture of Travancore has thus been predominantly Hindu and Brahmanic, the great world religions and cultures, Hebrew, Buddhist, Christian and Islamic, have met and mingled here influencing each other in various ways and degrees. Christianity in Travancore as in Kerala claims apostolic origin; but, however this may be, there is indisputable evidence of the great antiquity of the Christian Church. The broadmindedness, the spirit of toleration and the generous hospitality of the rulers of Kerala are amply vouched for by Christian writers and copper-plates recording the grant of various immunities and privileges to the Christian communities in the State.

With the accession of His Highness the present Maharaja, the gracious patron of our Conference, the tempo of reform and creative activity has remarkably increased. While Travançore is justly proud of being the birthplace of Jagadguru Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, the creator of Vedānta philosophy, the silent revolution which His Highness Śrī Chitra Tirunāl's Temple Entry Proclamation * remarkable for its beauty of diction and nobility of thought, has effected and is effecting before our eyes, is far more significant and epoch-making for our generation. This Proclamation which was promulgated on the occasion of the 25th birthday of His Highness on November 12, 1936, is an act of magnificent benevolence, characterised by courage, wisdom and statesmanship of the highest order. I would invite the Hindu members and delegates of the Conference to visit the ancient

*For text of Proclamation, *Vide* p. 8.

and celebrated temples of Travancore, Cape Comorin, the "Komari of the Periplus," the shrine of Śrī Padmanābha in Trivandrum whose praise has been sung by two ancient Vaiṣṇava saints Nammāḻvār and Tirumangai Āḻvār; the temple dedicated to Janārdana at Varkala which attracts innumerable pilgrims from Upper India; the temple at Śuchindram which possesses a wealth of epigraphic material throwing a flood of light on South Indian history; the Śaivite temple at Vaikom of great sanctity; Śabarimala the sacred shrine dedicated to Śāstā and Maṇṇārśāla, one of the celebrated places of Nāga worship in the whole of India. They could then see with their own eyes the effects of the elevating and refining influences which the Temple Entry Proclamation has generated among the Pulaya, Pariah and other backward communities of the State whose uplift is one of the primary concerns of His Highness and His Highness's Government. I must not fail, in this connection, to make a reference to that saintly personality and spiritual reformer Śrī Narayana Guru, one of the great men of Travancore, who laboured hard with remarkable success for the uplift of one of the major communities of Kerala.

Turning in another direction, it will interest you as the devotees of oriental culture to hear of the establishment of the Śrī Chitrālayam, the picture gallery at Trivandrum, containing choice and representative specimens of ancient, medieval and modern works of Indian painting—with its latest addition, the Java-Bali annexe—a visit to which you should not miss. The display of old State jewellery and coins, and ancient armoury in the Ranga Vilās Palace-Gallery would, I feel sure, merit your warm appreciation. Thanks to the gracious hospitality of His Highness the Maharaja, you will have an opportunity of witnessing a performance by the Palace troupe of "Kathakali"—the Kerala Dance-Drama—which has been winning the admiration of connoisseurs who are greatly impressed by its originality and elaborate technique. An exhibition has been arranged of old Manuscripts from the Palace Library and from the

Curator's Department: and a new descriptive catalogue of those manuscripts is being prepared specially with a view to benefit the students of oriental research. It is not necessary for me to describe to you who know more about them than I do, the achievements of the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and the wide fame of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. This year, on the occasion of the birthday, a few weeks ago, His Highness the Maharaja promulgated a Proclamation establishing a University for Travancore, which has among its primary objects, the conservation and promotion of Kerala art and culture. Already a considerable number of endowments has been announced, the first and most important being those of His Highness the Maharaja and Her Highness Maharani Setu Parvati Bayi, the Queen Mother, one of the greatest of Indian women—as the Andhra University Orator said the other day—whose devotion to art and music is characterised alike by keen sensitiveness and profound discrimination. Their Highnesses' contribution of one lakh of Rupees to the Andhra University is the most recent testimony of their zeal for the promotion of learning and culture.

May I avail myself of this opportunity to bespeak the good wishes and the sympathetic interest of the members and delegates of this Conference on behalf of our new born University, which, though youngest among the Indian Universities, has set forth on its task with a clear and determined aim and purpose under the leadership of its Vice-Chancellor, one of the most eminent Indians of to-day who has attained unrivalled prominence in the fields of Law, Politics, Administration and Culture. There are several points of convergence between the aims and aspirations of the Oriental Conference and those of the Travancore University; and I trust that the contacts that may now be formed between the representatives of the University and those of the Conference, will be of mutual advantage. In the shaping of the plans and the execution of the programmes

Next he set himself to determine the value of these letters with reference to Sanskrit, comparing their forms with those of the Gupta script he soon perceived that certain letters of the two resembled one another and concluded that they were, in all probability, also of the same value. Though some of his identifications were subsequently found to be incorrect, there were others in which he was successful. About the same time Rev. J. Stevenson succeeded, following the same line of research as Prinsep, in reading some more of the symbols, among them being those for *k*, *j*, *th*, *p*, and *b*. But still no satisfactory result was arrived at in interpreting these inscriptions, partly because some of the most important letters were wrongly identified and some others were not yet identified at all. In 1835 Professor Charles Lassen of Bonn also correctly recognised the symbols in this script for *a*, *ga*, *tha*, and *kla* on the reverse of the Bactrian coins of Agathocles. But it was in only 1837 that Prinsep discovered through a happy inspiration, the key of the whole alphabet provided by the little word *dāna* which he correctly read at the end of some of the Sāñci votive records. The notable memoir in which Prinsep describes with evident joy, how he had found this key is published in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. VI under the heading 'Note on the Facsimiles of Inscriptions from Sāñci near Bhilsa, taken for the society by Captain Ed. Smith, Engineers; and on the drawings of the Buddhist monument presented by captain W. Murray, at the meeting of the 7th June (1837)", and we cannot do better than narrate these circumstances leading to his discovery in his own words :

"In laying open a discovery of this nature", says he "some little explanation is generally expected of the means by which it has been attained. Like most other inventions, when once found, it appears extremely simple; and, as in most others, accident rather than study has had the merit of solving the enigma which has so long baffled the learned. While arranging and lithographing the numerous scraps of

facsimiles for plate XXVII, I was struck at their all terminating with the same two letters. Coupling these circumstances with their extreme brevity and insulated position, which proved that they could not be fragments of a continuous text, it immediately occurred that they must record either obituary notices, or more probably the offerings and presents of votaries, as is known to be the present custom in the Buddhist temples at Ava, where numerous *dvajas* or flagstaffs, images and small *caityas*, are crowded within the enclosure, surrounding the chief cupola, each bearing the name of the donor. The next point noted was the frequent occurrence of the letter, already set down incontestably as *s*, before the final word of each record. Now this I had learnt from the Saurāṣṭra coins, deciphered only a day or two before, to be one sign of the genitive case singular, being the *ssa* of the Pāli, or *sya* of the Sanskrit. 'Of so and so the gift' must then be the form of each brief sentence; and the vowel *ā* and *anusvāra* led to the speedy recognition of the word *dāna* (gift), teaching me the very two letters, *d* and *n*, most different from known forms, and which had failed me most in my former attempts. Since 1834 also my acquaintance with ancient alphabets had become so familiar that most of the remaining letters in the present examples could be named at once on re-inspection. In the course of a few minutes, I thus became possessed of the whole alphabet, which I tested by applying it to the inscription on the Delhi column."

Once the key was discovered Prinsep used it for the decipherment of all the Brāhmī inscriptions known till then. He now correctly read and translated the first sentence of the pillar edict though he identified the ruler Devānaṁ piya Piyadasi with Devānaṁ piya Tissa of the Ceylon chronicles till Turnor, later in the same year, identified him correctly with Aśoka of the Maurya dynasty.

In 1838 Prinsep turned his attention to the Rock edicts of Aśoka and started with those found at Girnār and Dhauli He at once found that the latter contained ten (actually eleven) out of the 14 edicts found at Girnār with a certain difference in the dialect and script and also two other separate edicts. He also discovered that in these edicts were mentioned several foreign kings bearing the names Antiochūs Ptolemy, Antigonus and Magas, all of whom he most ingeniously identified.

Prinsep's last act was the decipherment of the Indian script which we today know by the name of Kharoshthī. These characters had become known through the collection of Bactrian and Indo Scythian coins made by Col. Tod and General Ventura among others. It was observed that while the legend on one side was in Greek that on the other side was in a script which was wholly unknown. First it was thought that the script and the language must be some kind of Sassanian or Pehlevi. Prinsep could not have devoted much attention to the study of this script at the beginning, because though it is identical in both Indo-Scythian and Bactrian coins, he believed the latter to be Pehlevi and declared the former to be an ancient type of Nāgarī. Had it not been the case he could not have faild to recognise that the script in both the types of coins was identical and must be either Pehlevi or Nāgarī. Towards the end of 1834 he discarded the Nāgarī theory and returned to the old theory of the script and language being some kind of Pehlevi and attempted to value the letters by comparing them with the Greek letters found on the same coins. He then found that while the Greek legend had to be read from left to right, the other must be read from right to left. He was therefore convinced that both the script and the language must be of Semitic origin and this conclusion, which was ry natural one under the circumstances, led him into ncorrect valuations. Early in 1838 however, when

he came to know of the existence of the Shāhbāzgarhi Rock edicts, the decipherment of which he did not live to see, he rightly argued that 'a dialect mainly derived from the Sanskrit was anciently used in Bactria'. With this new idea he examined the coin legends and once again with the correct reading of *sa* which was originally read as *o* (in *maharajasa* as against the original reading *malakāo*)' the whole mystery cleared up. Thus writing about his discovery in the same year he says "When I look back, at my attempt of 1835, I must confess it was very unsatisfactory even to myself. I was misled by the Nakshi Rustam trilingual inscription, wherein the title of king of kings has been uniformly read as *mazakān malakā*, though I balanced between this and the term *maharāo*, having found *rao* on the Indo-Scythic series. But once perceiving that the final letter might be rendered as *sa*, which is the regular Pāli termination of the genitive case, I threw off the fetters of an interpretation through the Semitic languages, and at once found an easy solution of all the names and the epithets through the pliant, the wonder-working Pāli, which seems really to have held an universal sway during the prevalence of the Buddist faith in India." This led to the revaluation of all the symbols and laid the foundation in the decipherment of this new script brushing aside with one stroke all the previous theories. It was not, however, till 1854 that the decipherment was more or less completed. Of all the symbols known by then the honour of deciphering nearly half the number goes to Prinsep himself, that of the rest being shared by Masson, Charels Lassen, E. Norris and A. Cunningham.

In addition to what has been mentioned above Prinsep was responsible for deciphering, for the first time, an inscription of the Vākāṭaka rules. He also carried on early researches on Ancient Indian numerals. An Assay-master by occupation he was immensely fitted to report on the standard, weight and other techniques in connection with coins both old and new. This knowledge combined with

that acquired from his study of the ancient script was of very great use to him in his preparation of the memoir on 'Useful Tables' which was considered at the time invaluable for numismatic study. For the historian he published two useful tables. In one of these, the 'Indian Chronological Tables', he described the different Indian eras and also explained the method of converting a date in any one of them into the corresponding date of the Christian era. In the other, the 'Genealogical Tables', he gave 'a succinct synopsis of the principal ancient and modern dynasties of India.'

In October, 1838, Prinsep was obliged to return to England for consideration of health. But he never recovered his health and died on the 22nd of April 1840. He left behind him his widow, a daughter and numerous friends to mourn his loss. We shall conclude this memoir by giving an extract from an obituary notice which originally appeared in the December issue of the Colonial Magazine in 1840 and was subsequently quoted by Edward Thomas in his edition of *Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities*. This justly describes Prinsep as a man and a scholar, the centenary of whose epoch making discovery we are celebrating today.

"Thus died James Prinsep, in the fortieth year of his age. That he was a great man, it would not perhaps be strictly correct to assert; but he possessed qualities of a very high order, such as are scarcely less admirable than greatness; and he has left abundant proofs behind him to establish that he was one of the most talented and useful men that England has yet given to India. Of his intellectual character, the most prominent feature was enthusiasm—one of the prime elements of genius; a burning, irrepressible enthusiasm, to which nothing could set bounds, and which communicated itself to whatever came before him. The very strength of his mental constitution, in this respect, was perhaps opposed to his attaining the excellence of a profound thinker! it led him to be carried away frequently by first

mpressions, and to apply his powers to a greater range of subjects than any human mind can master or excel in. To this enthusiasm was fortunately united a habitude of order, and power of generalization, which enabled him to grasp and comprehend the greatest variety of details. His powers of perception were impressed with genius—they were clear, vigorous, and instantaneous. The extent of his capacity was wonderful, and the number and variety of his acquirements no less remarkable.

"Himself the soul of enthusiasm, he transfused a portion of his spirit into every inquirer in India; he seduced men to observe and to write; they felt as if he observed and watched over them; and the mere pleasure of participating in his sympathies and communicating with him, was in itself a sufficient reward for the task of a laborious and painful investigation. Had he done nothing else, he would have deserved an immortal remembrance in India; but his own labours were the grand stay, the glory, and honour of the 'Journal."

SECTION IX.

ETHNOLOGY AND FOLKLORE.

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SOME PROBLEMS IN INDIAN ETHNIC HISTORY

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Discussion of Indian ethnic history during the last thirty years has centred round the three main linguisitic groups—the Indo-Aryan, the Dravidian and the Munda. The Munda culture people are almost wholly to be studied from their contemporary representatives, while the Dravidian culture may be pieced together from prehistoric remains as well as from present day and historic evidence. Literary evidence from Dravidian sources does not reach high antiquity. The literary evidence, on the other hand, for the Indo-Aryan culture is both ample and ancient. From the purely linguistic side some scholars have proposed to divide the culture and the ethnic stocks of the Indo-Aryans into two groups. Competant Vedic scholars have, however, maintained that they see no evidence for such division in Vedic literature or tradition. Pargiter, on the other hand, relying on Puranic tradition supports the general thesis of both the linguists and the ethnologists. I have set myself the task of examining these unorthodox views in order to see what should be the right procedure for an ethnic historian of India to follow.

Pargiter's conclusions may be briefly stated as follows:

1. Tradition alleges that in the earliest times in India there were three dominant races, constituting three different stocks, from which all the reigning families of ancient India were derived.

2. The races and the dominant dynasties may be traced to three names *viz.* Manu, Purūravas and Sudyumna, and may be named the Mānva, the Aila and the Saudyumna stocks.

3. Manu's line founded four eminent kingdoms :—the family derived through Ikṣvāku reigned at Ayodhyā, the Janakas in Vidarbha, the Vaiśālakas in the country just north of Patna and Śāryātas at Kuśasthalī or Dwārkā in Anarta and three 'apparently less prominent' ones—the Kārūṣ as in the country round Rewā and eastwards up to the Sone, a kingdom on the Narbudda with Māhiṣmatī as the Chief city and another on the river Tapti. Perhaps there were two more kingdoms belonging to the line of Manu: that of the Dhārṣṭakas in the Punjab and Nābhāga's line on the Jumna.

4. Purūravas and the Aila line reigned at Pratiṣṭhāna or Allahabad and from small beginning spread over a large part of northern India at the expense largely of the Mānva stock and partly of the Saudyumna family.

5. The Saudyumna stock held Gayā, Utkala and Eastern India and perhaps also the Uttarakurus or the Himalayan region north of the Kuruland. This stock did not play any noteworthy part in the traditional history of India.

6. According to tradition royal power first developed mainly in the Gangetic plain, the westernmost capital cities being Ayodhyā and Pratiṣṭhāna, with a branch at "Kuśasthalī on the western sea-coast, and apparently two others on the rivers Narbudda and Tapti."

7. Tradition speaks of Ayodhyā as the most ancient city ; and the Mānvas, one branch of whom ruled at that city, were already in India when the Ailas entered. Their civilization was as advanced, "or perhaps more so", as that of the newcomers.

8. The power at Ayodhyā twice rose to paramount dominion: Once in the reign of Mandhātṛ and again in that of Sagar. Their supremacy, however, was shortlived and they were soon outshone by the Ailas. In Māndhātṛ's reign perhaps a part of the Punjab, the Druhyu—realm, was annexed. Third time the Ayodhyā power rose to eminence in the reigns of Daśāratha and his son Rāma. The sons of Rāma and his brothers founded kingdoms, in the Gāndhāra, with Takṣaśilā and Punjab, round Mathurā and in the Vindhyas which proved to be shortlived.

9. The Mānva –stock "seems naturally to declare itself Dravidian."

10. The Aila stock began as a small principality at Allahabad and soon dominated "the whole of North India and down to Vidarbha, with the exception of the three Mānva kingdoms of Ayodhya, Videha and Vaiśālī; and these had been influenced by the Ailas".

11. Of the two sons of Purūravas, the Aila, one ruled at Pratiṣṭhāna and the other founded the kingdom of Kānyakubja or Kanouj. Āyuś, the king of Pratiṣṭhāna had two sons, of whom Nahuṣa was a famous king. Āyu's other son founded the kingdom of Kāśī or Benares. Nahuṣa was succeeded by his son Yayāti, who was a still greater king and a renowned conqueror. "He appears to have conquered not only all Madhyadeśa west of the Ayodhyā and Kānyakubja kingdoms, and north-west as far as the R. Sarasvāti, but also the country west, south, and south-east of his territory of Pratiṣṭhāna". He divided his territories among his five sons, Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu' Anu and Pūru. Pūru was given the region of ancestral sovereignty—the southern half of the Ganges-Jumna doab, Anu the region, north of Pūru's territories, Druhyu the west, Yadu the southwest and Turvasu the south-east. Thus Anu's realm lay in the northern portion of the Ganges—Jumna doab, Druhyu's in the country west of the Jumna

and north of the Chambal, Yadu's in the country between the Chambal and the Ken and Truvasu's in the territory round Rewā, the former dominions of the Karūṣas. Yadu's line soon developed and was divided later into two branches the **Yā**davas and the Haihayas, who spread out over the southern part of Yadu's territories into south Malwa and the valley of the Narbudda. The **Yā**davas seem to have held the northern part of the kingdom and rose to eminence in the reign of Śaśabindu who gave his daughter in marriage to the Aikṣvāka king Māndhātṛ. One Vidarbha in this line, 37th from Yadu, founded a kingdom on the Tapti, known later as the Vidarbha. The Mānva kingdom of the Śāryātas in Gujarat came to an end about the time the Haihayas, were growing powerful and the Śāryātas appear as a subgroup among the Haihaya—Tālajaṅghas. Pūru's family evidently did not prosper and was comparatively dormant till Duṣyanta, who was adopted by a Turvasu king, brought it to great fame long afterwards. Druhyu's line fell on evil days when the great Aikṣvāka king Māndhātṛ of Ayodhyā turned his attention towards it. King Gāndhāra of that line fled north westwards and "gave his name to the Gāndhāra country." There his descendants in the 6th generation multiplied and "in time founded many principalities in the Mlecchа countries in the northern region beyond India". Anu's descendants were probably carrying on a precarious existence during the conquests of Māndhātṛ but three or four generations later they roused themselves to activity and with their territorial expansion branched off into two lines. Of these the Uśīnara dynasty soon set itself to the task of western expansion from the eastern border of the Punjab, so that after twenty or twentytwo generations from Anu his descendants through Uśīnara were occupying almost the whole of the Punjab with the exception of its northwest corner. They founded the kingdoms of the Madras, the Kekayas, the Vṛṣadarbhas, and the Sauvīras. Uśīnara's brother Titikṣu moved further east and founded the other line of the Anavas. He seems to

of our University, the advice and guidance of the distinguished exponents of oriental learning and culture whom I see before me will be of inestimable value.

I must now bring my remarks to a close. But I cannot resume my seat without expressing most respectfully our deep sense of gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja for having been pleased to open this Conference, and to Her Highness the Maharani, one of our Vice-patrons, for her gracious presence on this occasion. Our heartfelt thanks are also due to Mr. C. P. Skrine, Resident, Madras States, and Sachivottama Sir. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, our other Vice-patrons. It is also my duty to offer my sincere thanks to His Highness' Government without whose co-operation and assistance, the Reception Committee would have been almost helpless. On behalf of the Reception Committee let me also offer my best thanks to all those who have rendered us assistance in making the preparations for this Conference. We have done our best to make the most satisfactory arrangements possible for the convenience and comfort of the members and delegates ; and if there are shortcomings, as there may well be, we trust that they will be viewed leniently having regard to the large number of members and delegates for whom provision had to be made.

We have been singularly fortunate in having secured as the President of the Conference a pre-eminent orientalist who enjoys a wide international reputation; and the Reception Committee feel confident that the Conference will have a successful session under his leadership. On behalf of the Reception Committee, I wish you all a pleasant and profitable time at Trivandrum.

have carved out a kingdom to the east of Magadha in East Bihar "among the ruder saudyumna stock,". His descendant in the 15th generation was a contemporary of the great Ayodhya king Sagara. The sons of his Ānava scion founded the five kingdoms of Aṅga, Puṇḍra, Vaṅga, Sumha and Kaliṅga. Turvasu's family seems to have dragged on a comparatively tame existence till Marutta, thirty fourth in descent from Turvasu, who is described as a great king, being childless, adopted the Paurava prince Duṣyanta. The line thereafter disappears except that the Pāṇḍya, Choḷa and Kerala dynasties claimed descent from it.

As we have seen one of the two sons of Purūravas founded a kingdom at Kanouj, but his family does not seem to have been fortunate enough to grow and spread out. The Ayodhyā king Māndhātṛ "must have overrun the Kānyakubja Kingdom;" and Jahnu of the line married a grand-daugher of Māndhātṛ. The realm got involved in the quarrel of the Bhārgavas with the rising power of Haihaya kings. Fifth in descent from Jahnu was Kuśa, whose grandson, in the junior line, named Gayà, "is said to have carved out for himself a kingdom from a portion of the Saudyumna stock in the country known afterwards as Magadha". The dynasty of Gayà seems to have been soon overthrown for nothing is said about it. The Kānyakubja dynasty too seems to have been soon overpowered for the genealogy ends with Viśvāmitra's grandson.

The Kāśī kingdom was founded by one of Āyu's sons and seems to have peacefully progressed in spite of the Ayodhyā conqueror Mandhātṛ's expanding exploits till a Haihaya King Bhadraśreṇya overran and annexed it. But the next king of Kāśī, Divodāsa I, was a great man and recoverd his kingdom from the Haihayas. Yet according to tradition he had to leave his capital, which seems to have been captured by Rākṣasas, and to found another city o the Gomatī "at the eastern border of his land." Pratardana

later on freed his territory of the Haihayas and his son Vatsa established a western kingdom with its capital at Kośāmbī. Vatsa's son Alarka freed Kāśi from the hands of the Rākṣasas and established his family there.

Of all the Ailas the Pauravas, who were living in comparative oblivion for long ages, began to establish themselves as the most pre-eminent nation among the Indian peoples with the accession of Duṣyanta to the principality. Duṣyanta, who was adopted by a Turvasu King, is represented, strange to say, as leaving Prātiṣṭhana, whose proximity to his adoptive inheritance of Rewa should have proved a natural incentive to retain it as the capital of the united rulers, and as making Hastināpura on the Ganges in the north as his capital. Genealogical synchronisms establish Duṣyanta's position as in the next generation of the great Aikṣvāka Sing Sagara. Duṣyanta's son was Bharata, who was such a great personality that after him one branch of the Pauravas came to be called the Bharatas or the Bhāratas and India Bharatavarṣa. Later on the Krivi country, afterwards named Pañchāla, was given to two of the princes of the line. Vadhryaśva of Pañchāla, 18th in descent from Bharata, raised his kingdom to fame and his son Divodāsa augmented it. Divodāsa is placed a generation earlier than king Daśaratha of Ayodhyā. Though the Yādavas and the Paurnavas, particularly their North Panchāla branch, had powerful kingdoms during the time Daśaratha was reigning at Ayodhyā, none of their kings except that of Surāṣṭra were invited to Daśaratha's sacrifice nor are they mentioned in the Rámāyaṇa. The North Pañchāla king Sudās, 6th in descent from Divodāsa, augmented his kingdom by defeating the contemporary Paurava king Saṁvaraṇa on the Jumna. His conquests led to the formation of a confederacy of "neighbouring" kings whom he defeated on the Paruṣṇi or Rāvi. It consisted of Saṁvaraṇa, the Pūru, "the Yādva (the Yādava king of Mathurā), the Śivas (Śivis, who were Ānavas), Druhyus (of Gāndhāra), Matsyas (west of Śūrasena),

Turvasa (the Turvasu prince, apparently in Rewa)" and other smaller kings. Saṁvaraṇa recaptured his state from the grandson of Sudās and also annexed the latter's realm of North Pañchāla. His son Kuru carried his work forward. His descendants were called after him Kauravas. A descendant of Kuru extended his dominions in the east to Magadha where a new dynasty, derived from Kuru's son, stuck deep roots and prospered. Herewith "Magadha for the first time took a prominent place in traditional history". The Kauravas again became eminent under Pratipa and Śantanu. The branch established in Magadha, however, outstripped all under Jarāsandha, who seems to have been acknowledged as the overlord by most of the kings reigning west of Magadha including that of Mathura and south in Vidarbha. Here intervenes the Yādava diplomacy of Kṛṣṇa in getting rid of Jarāsandha with the help of the Pāṇḍavas. The stage is set for the great Bhārata war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. During the time of Parikṣit II, a grandson of Arjuna, Nâgas established themselves at Takṣaśilā and attacking Hastināpura killed Parīkṣit II. This march of the Nāgas of Takṣaśila "indicates that the Panjab kingdoms that played so prominent a part in the battle had fallen, and certainly little more is heard of them". But Parikṣit's son Janamejaya III avenged himself for his father's death and peace was made with the Nāgas, who seem to have confined themselves thereafter to the north-west. "And Hastinapura remained the outpost of the Hindu kingdoms of North India." But Janamejaya's fourth successor abandoned Hastināpura and moved across South Pañchāla more than three hundred miles eastwards to Kauśāmbī. "Manifestly he was obliged to abandon all the Northern part of the Ganges-Jumna doab, and there can be no boubt that he was driven south by pressure from the Panjab." It was then that the Kuru-Pañchālas were blended. This fusion may be reckoned as having occurred about 820 B. C. One of the latest Kings ruling at Kauśāmbī was Udayana, "who was a king

of note." In the further list of kings there is no mention of any from the country further west than Śūrasena and North Pañchāla.

(12) The Pañchāla king Vadhryaśva, who is 62nd in descent from Manu and is 32nd in ascent from the Pāṇḍavas of the Bhārata war, his son Divodāsa and his successors, among whom Sudās may be particularly mentioned, are the kings who figure prominently in the Ṛgveda, the other kings named with them there being probably petty rājās. "All these kings of North Pañchāla were Kśatriyan brahmans."

(13) The earliest Brahmins are seen associated with the Mānva, non-Aryan, kings, who seem to have got on well with their 'purohits', while the early Aila kings are represented as either having no priests or as harassing the Brahmins and Ṛṣis. The earliest hymn-singers of the Ṛgveda, *viz.* Manu Vaivasvata, Nābhānedishtha Mānava, Sāryāta Mānava, Vatsaprī Bhālandana, Māndhātṛ, Purukutsa, Ambarīṣa, Trasadasyu and Yuvanāśva, are all Mānva Kṣatriyas of the Aikṣvāka family. The most ancient Ṛṣis to whom hymns are attributed are Chavana Bhārgava, Kavi Bhārgava and Uśnas Kāvya, who were the priests either of the Mānvas or the Asuras but not of the Ailas. Among the Mānvas, though they had regular priests, it was possible for kings and princes to turn to the Brahmin's priestly profession. Among the Ailas the connection of the Bhārgavas with the Haihayas seems to be the earliest Brahmin-Kṣatriya association. In the Ganges-Jumna doab, though Śivi and Gādhi are the earliest hymnsingers, it was not till the time of Duṣyanta and Bharata that any Brahmin got connected with the Ailas as priest. It was after this connection that the brahmin, Bharadvāja, was adopted as his son by Bharata and a race of Kṣatriyan Brahmins, amongst whom Vadhryaśva, Divodāsa and Pijavana of Ṛgvedic fame are counted, arose.

The Brahmanism of the Mānvas was more of the magical variety than of the properly religious, best represented by the hymns of the Atharvaveda. The Ailas in taking it up also changed its character and developed sacrificial worship. In their hands it developed into a huge system priestly rather than magical, though the latter aspect was not wholly absent from it. "The Ailas Aryanized the brahmans as they did the other peoples, and the new Brahmanism became the strong hold of Aryanism." It is this developed phase of Brahmanism that is represented in the legend of Videgha Māthava as being carried east of the Kuru-Pañchāla country.

(14) Purūravas is called Aila in the Ṛgveda and the name "appears to be more ancient than the fable of Manu's daughter Ilā, which seems to have been devised in order to explain that name, for such explanatory tales were common." All the Aila dynasties are derived through him and their spread corresponds with the Aryan occupation of India. The Ailas therefore may be equated with the Aryans.

(15) The Aryans as represented by the Ailas according to traditional history began their career at Pratiṣṭhāna or Allahabad and thence spread westwards into the Punjab, the Gāndhāra country and even beyond the borders of India, southwestwards into the Narbudda valley, the Tapti valley, Gujarat and Kathiawar and partly also eastwards into Bihar, Bengal and the Northern Circars. Tradition has no knowledge of the supposed entrance into and spread over India of the Aryans from the west. There are a number of indications even in the Ṛgveda going against the accepted theory of the Aryan progress from the Punjab to the east.

(16) Tradition also supplies a clue as to where from the Aryans got into mid-North India. The legends and fables about Purūravas, the progenitor of the stock, connect him with the region of the Gandharvas, the middle Himalayan tract. Ilavṛta the country named after Purūravas,

alleged parent of Ilā, is also a northern region. The most sacred region according to all Indian tradition is the country watered by the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī and neither the Punjab nor the Northwest frontier. The region of the Sarasvatī is the region where Brahmanism grew under the active patronage of the later Ailas—the Kuru-Pañchālas. "Tradition or myth thus directly indicates that the Ailas (or Aryans) entered India from the Mid-Himalayan region, and its attitude towards the North west frontier lends no support to any invasion from that quarter."

(17) The making of hymns was also an early Māuva characteristic, which passed on to the Ailas later on when they got connected with Brahmins from among the Māuvas. The earliest Māuva hymns might have been Sanskritised later just as the non-Aryan names were. The next great hymn making activity manifested itself among the Ailas after Bharata's time, and "the bulk of the Ṛgvedic hymns date from after that period." The division of hymns into *ṛc, yajus, sāman*, already existed in the time of Hiraṇyanābha, the 83rd king of Kosala. The hymns existed already in a collected form in the reign of Brahmadatta, of South Pañchāla, the 87th king, as also the Śikṣā and the Kramapāṭha. Vyāsa rearranged the collections into the Saṁhitās as we have them about 980 B. C. *i. e.* about a century before the Bhārata war.

"The Vedic age thus closed roundly at about 1000 B. C Anteriorly it stretched back for centuries there was a vast difference in time between the earliest hymns and the latest in the Ṛgveda."

(18) The Saudyumna stock "would no doubt be the Muṇḍā race and its branch the Mon-Khmār folk in the east." It had some connection with the Uttara Kurus and Kiṁpurusas of the Himalayan region.

(19) The configuration of the five Ānava Kingdoms in the east with a broad base on the seacoast and a wedge penetration into the Ganges valley suggests that there had been an invasion from the sea which left the hilly tracts on the east and the west undisturbed. "But there is no trace in tradition of any such invasion of this distant region."

(20) The Prāgjyotiṣa kingdom, which occupied the whole of North and East Bengal, is not connected in tradition with any of the three stocks distinguished above, and "would seem to have been founded by an invasion of Mongolians from the north-east, though tradition is silent about this outlying development."

Of these conclusions Nos. 9, 14, 18, 19, and 20 are hypotheses while the rest are more or less directly based on traditional history enshrined in the Purāṇas and unravelled by Pargiter after a deep study which yielded to him a number of very valuable synchronisms and semihistorical facts.

Before I take up a critical valuation of these conclusions and hypotheses I shall present the theories and conclusions of another scholar, Dr. S. V. Ketkar,* whose work, published within a year of Pargiter's work, "Ancient Indian Historical Tradition", is not known to scholars and students of Indology outside the Marathi—knowing group as it is written in Marathi, and as it propounds a somewhat unorthodox point of view.

Dr. Ketkar's views may be summarised as follows :—

1. The Mantra literature—the Ṛgveda—speaks of the incoming, struggles and culture of one section of the Indo-Aryans, the Bharatas, who came to India from the west and are represented as proceeding towards the east, and as the root of the whole Indo-Aryan nation.

*"Mahārāṣṭriya Jñānakośa" by Dr. S. V. Ketkar, vols., 2 & 3 (1921-1923).

2. The conflict depicted in the semihistorical passages of the Ṛgveda is between the new Indo-Aryans and the old inhabitants; but the nature of the quarrel makes it clear that it is not a conflict between the Aryans and the non-Aryans but between the Indra-worshipping and sacrificing section of the people and their enemies, who are represented more often than not as irreligious. The terms Dasyu and Dāsa cannot be interpreted to have racial connotation. The word Dasyu is Indo-Iranian, its Iranian equivalent Dahyu, meaning a stranger, or one from a country different to the speaker's.

3. The older inhabitants whom the Bharatas met in India, *viz.*, the Pūrus, the Anus, the Druhyus, the Turvasus, the Yadus and others, were also Aryans. While these nations were settled more in the west and the centre there were other nations of Aryan culture which were settled more towards the east. Among the eastern peoples were the Śakas and their priests the Magas after whom an eastern district came to be called Magadha. Perhaps, to judge by their geographical position, the eastern nations found themselves in these regions as a result of a push of the western nations, the Yadus, etc. These Arayan nations, whether they came to India in invasion after invasion or all at once, had spread over almost the whole of North India, excepting eastern Bengal and had also occupied a small portion of the territory south of the Narbudda. It must have taken about a thousand years for them to have spread over such a wide expanse of territory. These older Aryans may, therefore, be taken to have arrived in India about a thousand years earlier than the Bharatas and their allies.

4. Expansion of the older Aryans, their culture and the history of their royal families are preserved in the Sautic literature of the Itihāsa and the Purāṇa, the epics and the Purāṇas, as well as to some extent in the Atharvaveda.

5. The Bharatas, it is clear from the Ṛgveda, came to India through the Khyber pass and proceeded eastwards through the Punjab. The older Aryans may be inferred to have desecended into India through Kashmir.

6. The whole Ṛgveda has three strata of hymns. By far the largest bulk of them were composed after the famous Battle of Ten Kings, which seems to be the main theme of the collection and particularly so of the Family Books. The earlist stratum is formed by hymns which refer to Indra and Vṛtra in mythical manner, *i. e.* which embody legendary and mythical stories ; while to the second stratum belong the few semihistorical semi-legendary stories, like that of Purūravas and Urvaśī. Both these strata together form a very small portion of the Ṛgveda. Yet hardly any of the hymns were composed before the Battle of Ten Kings ; and most of the hymns, including those which refer to Divodāsa and Sudās, round whom centres the story of the battle, as ancient personages almost getting mythical, must have been composed long after the battle. There are few hymns which are contemporary with these kings, while the bulk of the Ṛgveda must have been composed and sung about two to four hundred years after the battle.

7. Following the geneologies and their synchronism as govern in the Purāṇas the age of Divodasa and Sudāsa may be fixed as about 250 years before the Bhārata war. Thus the Battle of Ten Kings, culmination of the struggle which started between the Bharatas and their allies the Pṛthus and Parśus on the one hand, and the older Indo-Aryans on the other on the arrival of the former and which lasted for about 50 years, may be taken to have occurred about 250 years before the Bhārata war. It may similarly be considered on the same grounds to be an event later than Dāśarathī Rāma by about 300 years. But the question cannot be regarded as finally settled. First, it is evident that in the Purānic chronology and genealogies there is

some confusion about Purukutsa. Second, Āyu is mentioned as a colleague of Divodāsa in the Ṛgveda, the allies in this particular occasion being defeated by Tūrvayāṇa, and if this Āyu is the same person as the one who is given in the genealogies as the son of Purūravas then the age of Divodāsa and therefore of the Battle of Ten Kings would have to be shifted further back into the hoary antiquity of more than 1500 years before the Bhārata war. Dr. Ketkar is inclined to assign the Battle of Ten Kings to a period about 600 years before the Bhārata war.

8. As for the Sūta—culture he thinks that the early form of sacrifice which centres round the fire-cult with single Fire was common to both the sections of the Indo-Arayans as also to the Iranians. This fire-cult does not seem to have developed much among the older section, whom the Bharatas met. Their ritual, which is reflected in the Atharvaveda, must have been mostly of the domestic variety and might or might not have been accompanied by the recitation of formulae. Yet he thinks that the institution of Purohita was well established among them. One class of their ministrants was merged with the Purohita—class of the mantra-culture, while another, less organised and more in demand by the ordinary mass of people, survives in the sorcerer and magician of the present day. A third and an ntegral part of the Sūta-culture, the bard and the singer, managed to keep its function and handed down the Purāṇas and the Epics, though in a Brahmanised form. It was its business to recite the genealogies of great families and the exploits of great kings.

The sacrificial cult in the Sūta-culture seems to have suffered a change in the eastern portion of the Indo-Arayan area. To the east of the Ganges the people were perhaps not at all in favour of the sacrificial cult and the nations to the west of Magadha had developed their domestic rites

PROCLAMATION

BY

HIS HIGHNESS SRI PADMANABHADASA VANCHI PALA SIR RAMA VARMA KULASEKHARA KIRITAPATI MANNEY SULTAN MAHARAJA RAJA RAMARAJA BAHADUR SHAMSHER JANG, KNIGHT GRAND COMMANDER OF THE MOST EMINENT ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE, MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE, ISSUED UNDER DATE THE 27TH THULAM 1112 CORRESPONDING TO THE 12TH NOVEMBER 1936.

Profoundly convinced of the truth and validity of Our religion, believing that it is based on divine guidance and on an all-comprehending toleration, knowing that in its practice it has, throughout the centuries, adapted itself to the needs of changing times, solicitous that none of Our Hindu subjects should, by reason of birth or caste or community, be denied the consolations and solace of the Hindu faith, We have decided and hereby declare, ordain and command that, subject to such rules and conditions as may be laid down and imposed by Us for preserving their proper atmosphere and maintaining their rituals and observances, there should henceforth be no restriction placed on any Hindu by birth or religion on entering or worshipping at the temples controlled by Us and Our Government.

SIGN MANUAL.

magic and also their worship of certain deities. The situation regarding the more western section of these older Indo-Aryans, *viz.*, the Yadus and the Turvasus, seems to have been different. They were Indra—worshippers and had the sacrificial cult almost as highly developed as among the Bharatas. The Śakas, who were the easterners, looked upon Indra, the great deity of the Bharatas, as a Rākṣasa.

The culture was devoid of Brahmins as a class. The story of Rāma which must have been current among these people is preserved in rather different versions by both the Jainas and the Buddhists. Followers of Jainism and Buddhism, though they drew largely upon the theosophical knowledge which was developed in the age of the Upaniṣads, preserve some elements of this old culture. The institution of Yati and Muni, evincing great regard for the practice of asceticism, is one of them. Among the godlings, Vaiśravaṇa Kubera and Vidyādharas is another. The great god of the sacrifice as it was developed in the Yajurveda is Prajāpati, who seems to have been a god of this Sūta-culture as he is acknowledged by both the Jainas and the Buddhists and is fairly prominent in the Purāṇas.

Śiva and Viṣṇu also seem to have been deities belonging to this culture and having those particular attributes which they begin to assume within Mantra-culture in the Yajurveda and later literature. Some aspect of Viṣṇu might have been a common heritage of the Iranians, the older Indo-Aryans and the Bharata Indo-Aryans. Yet the two Viṣṇus as they were developed in the Sauti—culture and in the Māntra culture respectively seem to have been different, and the Viṣṇu of the Purāṇas and the Epics and of later Brahmanism is more of a lineal descendant of the Sautic Viṣṇu rather than of the Ṛgvedic one. This is even more true of Śiva. In the Ṛgveda Śiva does not appear as a deity at all. Rudra is the only deity which seems to have some of the characteristics of the later Śiva. When one finds that inspite of the total absence of Śiva in the Ṛgveda in the

Yajurveda not only does Śiva or Śaṅkara appear but he is even accompanied by Girisutā or Pārvati and Kārtikeya one feels fairly convinced that Śiva as a deity is a contribution of the earlier Indo-Aryans to the Brahmanic pantheon. The reference to some local people as having phallus for their deity which we find in the Ṛgveda makes it probable that the indigenous people worshipped Śiva also in the form of the phallus. Phallus worship may thus be regarded as another trait of the Sūta-culture.

9. The Mantra culture shows itself also to be a fire-cult culture. In the early period the daily sacrifice was offered in the domestic fire but in the Ṛgveda itself there is much evidence of the practice of collective sacrifice with three fires. Daily and household practice of the fire-cult, it would appear, was already growing infrequent and must have become rare by the time the Śrauta sacrifices were fully developed as in the Yajurveda. The first preliminary of such sacrifices, *viz.*, the kindling of fire, makes it clear that the practice of keeping the domestic fire was so rare that the texts could not take its existence for granted and proceed to the next rite of the complex sacrifice. It was but natural that fire-cult as a daily and household practice should fall into the background in the warm climate of India, and it is interesting to note that in the Brahmanic literature one of the severe penances laid down for certain offences is the keeping of 'five fires'.

In the Satras a clear attempt is made to make an appeal to the local people with the incorporation of an important and popular item of their culture, *viz.*, the narration of great deeds of the past, and along with it by the insertion of stories connecting some of the great kings of the past, who were highly regarded by the local people, with the sacrifice. It is the growing influence of these older nations as a component part of the newer synthesis that accounts for the great importance which comes to be attached to the

Itihāsa and the Purāṇa in the Sūtras, where they are described as the Veda, whose study is far more important than that of any other Veda. In this connection it should be noted that the first Vedic mention of the Itihāsa and the Purāṇa is found in that section of the Atharvaveda which deals with the Vrātyastoma. The Vrātyastoma was a rite whereby those who were outside the three Varṇas, developed in the Māntra culture, could be admitted within their fold. Vrātyas he positively believes were Aryans; for it is said in the Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa that though they are uninitiated they speak the language of the initiated whereby is to be understood the Sanskritic language. It is also mentioned of them that they describe certain words, which are really easy for pronunciation, as difficult to pronounce, it being implied that they were people accustomed to speak a Prākṛtic dialect.

Varuṇa seems to have been the most important God in the pantheon of the Bharata Indo-Aryans in the earliest age of their culture but in the Ṛgveda he is superseded by the war-god Indra. In the development of the sacrifice which is represented in the Yejurveda almost a new god in the person of Prajāpati emerges as the one great god of sacrifice. Indra thus recedes from the field. This eclipse of Indra is complete in the later Brahmanic pantheon wherein he becomes only one of the many secondary gods while the position of importance and supremacy is accorded to Viṣṇu or Śiva. If the development of the supremacy of Viṣṇu and his attributes were an internal process unaffected by foreign ideas we should have found Indra altogether vanishing from the pantheon and leaving the field in the sole charge of Viṣṇu but, as it is, we find Indra still persisting but reduced to a secondary position. Viṣṇu, with his Brahmanic attributes, must, therefore, have been a deity taken over from the Sūta-culture.

The development of sacrificial technique and the corresponding specialisation of priestly functions as well as the multiplication and magnification of sacrifices and establishment of collective long drawn-out Satras took place during the period of time which elapsed between the Battle of Ten Kings and the Bhārata war. During about a hundred or a hundred and fifty years after the Bhārata war the sacrificial ritual developed further but also declined never to be resuscitated to its former glory. All this development took place in the Kuru-Pañchāl country.

10. Though Sautic tradition is valuable, all the genealogies preserved in it cannot be taken as absolutely correct and there is ample reason to believe that some of them have been framed by later authors on the basis of some information wrongly interpreted with a desire to correlate all the information derived from whatever source. He thinks that the synchronism established by Pargiter, on the authority of the Purāṇas, between Yayāti and Kakutstha of the Ikṣvāku line cannot be relied upon as Yayāti, who is represented as the progenitor of many nations, is clearly a mythical figure. The Puranic texts are silent about the Kings Kutsa, Āyu and his foe Turvayāṇa though they are mentioned in the Ṛgveda as the contemporaries of Divodāsa. They show Purukutsa and Trasadasyu in the Ikṣvāku line as contemporaries of Divodāsa of Kāśī. This synchronism is wrong as Kutsa and Divodāsa of the Ṛgveda are shown as being in the Punjab and it is not likely that a King of Kāśī should have been fighting in the Punjab. In the Ṛgveda Divodāsa and Sudāsa appear as Kings of the Pūrus as well as their enemies. It is likely that the Bharatas, Purus, Tṛtsus and the later known Kurus were all sub-branches of a nation. Divodāsa and Sudāsa were the leaders of the Bharatas and as such were embroiled with the Pūrus. Later on they established themselves in the Kurukṣetra and were brought into the Paurava genealogies of the Purāṇas, being looked upon as the kings of the Pūrus. This hypothesis will

explain why in the Purāṇic genealogies there is a big gap in the Paurava line between Ajamīḍha and Ṛkṣa.

The Mahābhārata does not even mention Sudāsa, and Sautic tradition has evidently connected a number of romantic episodes in order to establish the origin of the five nations, mentioned in the Ṛgveda, from Yayāti. Most of the Kings famed in the Sautic tradition are conspicuous by their absence in the Ṛgveda. This is quite natural as the people who had newly arrived in the Punjab could not have been in close touch with the traditional history of the eastern region.

Pargiter's contention that traditional history implies the existence of three different stocks is not entirely correct. The tradition, on the basis of which he reconstructs the history, itself postulates some connection between the descendants of Purūravas and those of Sudyumna, the latter being represented as Iḷā, the mother of Purūravas, turned into man. Though Ikṣvāku is represented as Manu's son and Iḷā as Manu's daughter there is nowhere any indication that the descendants of Ikṣvāku spoke any but an Aryan tongue. As pointed out by Narayana Tripathi the Ailas are rather mixed in their origin than pure-bred Aryans. Budha, the father of Purūravas is an illegitimate son, his father being represented as an emperor of the Brahmins of the North, and his wife Iḷā, was of doubtful origin.[1] To represent such a stock as Aryan is surely to go much beyond any conclusion warranted by traditional history and even to set aside its evidence.

The Śaiva cult is generally believed to be of non-Aryan origin. Though tradition preserves some evidence of its intimate associatian with Benares or Kāśī it never suggests similar connection with the line of Ayodhyā kings.

(1) Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. IX, page 464.

Pargiter draws our attention to the Vedic tradition which makes the earliest hymn-makers to be some of the Aikṣvāka Kings and Brahmins connected with the Mānva stock (2). The earliest proto-historical person to be credited with being a hymn-maker is Māndhātṛ, the great Ikṣvāku King. The Sautic tradition, which Pargiter apparently notes approvingly, makes Māndhātṛ, two of his sons, Purukutsa and Ambarīṣa, and two of his grandsons, Trasadasyu and Yuvanāśva, to be hymn-makers among the Aṅgirasas (3). The Vedic tradition attributes to all of them, except Purukutsa, certain hymns of the Ṛgveda.(4) Pargiter asks us to believe that the language of the original Mānva hymns must have been changed to Vedic Sanskrit in course of time and thus frees his theory from a great difficulty. But surely though this is an easy way of escape from the difficulty it is far from convincing. There is thus in the earliest productions of the Mānvas no evidence of their supposed non-Aryan language.

It is equally surprising that in these out-pourings of heart of the early Mānvas, which also happen to be the earliest proto-historical Vedic poetry, there is no evidence of any difference in the cult. Such a state of things could be the result of either a total change from their original cult on the part of the Mānvas, whatever it might have been, or a wholesale super-imposition of the Aila cult on the Mānvas. There being no suggestion anywhere that the Ailas had spread their dominion over the Aikṣvakus or over the other early Mānvas the latter supposition would hardly be acceptable. The third possible alternative is that the so-called Vedic cult is Mānva heritage taken over by the Ailas. Pargiter's contention is a combination of the first

(2) Loc. cit. p. 312.

(3) loc. cit. p. 246 and F. N. 3.

(4) Chitrav, Prachina Charitrakosa (in Marathi) under the respective names, and S. V. Ketkar, Mahārāṣṭriya Jñānakośa Vol. III. pp. 87-115.

and the third alternatives. The conclusion becomes inevitable that there is no evidence of difference in cult between the early Mānvas and the Ailas or that the Mānvas were very fundamentally influenced by the Ailas in their very early history, and not as Pargiter holds only in their later history when he opines that it was the reformed Brahmanism that was passed from the Bhārata kingdom to Ayodhyā and Videha (5).

Pargiter himself notes the tradition which makes Śibi Auśīnara and Gādhi the earliest among the Ailas to chant hymns, taking the kingly lists of the sautic tradition as authoritative, though it does not mention a Paurava king, whose name according to the Vedic tradition is Trasadasyu and who was a hymn-maker, anywhere in the Paurava line. The next proto-historical person to compose hymns was Viśvāmitra. Now Śibi is only sixth in descent from Māndhātṛ, the first protohistorical personage and Gādhi and Viśvāmitra IX and XI. In the opinion of Pargiter the next great stage in the composition of the hymns began with Bharatás contemporaries, *i. e.* those who were 23rd in descent from Māndhātṛ, who were Brahmins or Brahmins turned Kṣatriyas. The Vedic tradition mentions a number of kings, like Madhuchhandas, the son of Viśvāmitra and others, who were hymn-makers but in the lists of the Sautic tradition the next hymn-maker who gets a dynastic place is Pratardana of Kāśī, two generations above Bharata. Clearly in Pargiter's theory we are asked to believe that the inspiration of hymn-chanting which was a heritage of the Mānvas vanished on their having communicated it to the Ailas. Generally, under conditions of such transfer literary activities as other cultural activities burst forth with greater vigour than formerly. The explanation of the apparent contradiction of this general law must lie in the fact that a number of kings and priests mentioned in the Vedi tradition as hymn-makers

(5) Loc. cit. p. 311. f. n. 2.

must have flourished during this intervening period and some even before that, though they have failed to secure a place in the lists of the Sautic tradition. One such specially noteworthy case may be singled out for mention. It is that of Trasadasyu. Pargiter himself suggests that these were two Trasadasyus with two Purukutsas as their fathers. He makes the Paurava Trasadasyu far later than the Aikṣvāka Trasadasyu but offers no explanation of the fact that he is not mentioned in the Puranic lists, excepting the trite one that he and his father belonged to "some minor dynasty derived from Bharata; and are unknown to Kṣatriya fame."[6] The more probable situation would appear to be that there were two Trasadasyus who were contemporaries and well-known. The Sautic tradition with its evident partiality for the Aikṣvākas took care to retain the name in the Ikṣvāku line while the Vedic tradition impliedly derived the later Ikṣvākus from the Pūrus whose chief was Trasadasyu. If the Paurava Trasadasyu would thus prove to be a contemporary of the Aikṣvāka Trasadasyu, the hymn-making activity of the Ailas would be more or less contemporary with that of the Mānvas. Thus the main contention about the hymn-chanting heritage of the Mānvas based on the ground of time-sequence in traditional mention may be found to be more apparent than real.

There are a number of other personages traditionally known to be hymn-makers, who are either mythical or semi-mythical. Among these figure Manu himself, Purūravas, Manu's sons Nābhānediṣṭha and Śaryāti, Nahuṣa Mānava, Yayāti, Pṛthu Vainya, Pṛthu's son Tānva, from among the ruling families and Chyavana Bhārgava, Kavi Bhārgava, Uśanas Kāvya and others of the priestly families. Pṛthu Vainya and his son Tānva are not placed in the Pauranic dynastic lists and one wonders whether this Pṛthu is the same as the Aikṣvāka Pṛthu, who is the 6th king in the

6. Loc. cit. pp. 133-34—

Aikṣvāka genealogy. Leaving him aside as also Manu, the common ancestor of both the Ailas and the Mānvas, we have three semimythical personages of the Aila family and two of the Mānva whom the Vedic tradition regards as hymn-makers. Surely this participation in the hymn-making activity does not entitle the Mānvas to claim a superior position and Pargiter has certainly gone wrong here because he has chosen to attach very little importance to Vedic tradition even in the field where it deserves to be attended to with respect.

The Ikṣvākus appear to be connected with the Ailas by marriage from very early times. The daughter or grand-daughter of Kakutstha, the 4th king in the Ikṣvāku family was married to a brother of Yayāti, the 6th king in the Aila line. Pūru, the 7th king in the Paurava family, had a princess of Kosala as one of his wives.[8] Janamejaya I, the son of Pūru, married Sunandā, a Māgadha princess.[9] Yuvanāśva, father of the great Aikṣvāka monarch Māndhātṛ, married Gaurī, the daughter of Matināra, 19th in the Paurava family.[10] Māndhātṛ himself married the daughter of Śaśabindu, 20th in the Yādava line. Jahnu, 23rd in the Kānyakubja family, married Māndhātṛs grand-daughter.[12] Do such early marriage-connections support the claim that the Ikṣvākus were non-Aryans? It appears to me that such free intercourse could result only between stocks which are not separated by a great difference in speech and culture.

Pargiter thinks that his inference of three originally different stocks with their linguistic separateness drawn

7. Pargiter, op. cit. p. 167,
8. Chitrāv, op. cit. p. 339 (reference Mbh. Ādi, 63,-89, Kumbhakonam Ed.),
9. Ibid. p. 193,
10. Pargiter, op. cit., p. 83,
11. Ibid. p. 141,
12. Ibid. p. 150.

from traditional history and the expansion of the Aila stock known from traditional history taken together explain the peculiar distribution of linguistic affinities of the various modern Indo-Aryan languages made so famous by Sir George Grierson. His statement of his view and his argument is rather laconic and slurs over facts. The language of the mid-land was the language of the Ailas in their advanced cultural stage. Branches of this Aila stock afterwards colonized the Punjab on the west, Kathiawar Gujarat and the north-west Deccan on the South, and east and south Bihar and Bengal on the east. The language of the Ailas of the Madhyadeśa went into the formation of the midlandic modern language, while the later expansion of the Ailas gave rise to the outlandic languages. On this hypothesis it is clear that the common features of the outlandic languages must be the consequence of the uniform Aila language of the midland, which the later Ailas carried with them to their new homes. If so the peculiarities which have led to the grouping together of the present so-called outlandic languages must be exactly those which they must have had in common with the language of their parent midland. Thus those common features instead of distinguishing the midlandic from the outlandic languages would rather class both of them together, a conclusion quite contrary to what Pargiter supposes his hypothesis proves. If, on the other hand, it is argued that the special affinities of the outlandic group of languages are due to the common substratum of the outlandic regions then the expansion of the Ailas in these regions has no specific influence on their linguistic history. Thus the inference about three stocks and traditional history do not find any additional support in the peculiar distribution of the linguistic affinities of the modern Indo-Aryan tongues.

Further according to Grierson the languages of the eastern Punjab, north eastern Rajputana, Gujarat and Oudh are intermediate between the midlandic and the outlandic



Sri Padmanabhaswami Temple, Trivandrum.

languages. As regards the mixture in Oudh he opines that the midland-language 'has not established itself so firmly as it has in the west and south.' Now Oudh or the province with Ayodhyā for its capital, in the opinion of Pargiter, was originally Dravidian. The Oudhian mixture therefore can only be between Dravidian and midlandic Aryan. Outlandic Aryan thus cannot have any particula affinity with the Oudhian tongue apart from whatever it may have in common with midlandic Aryan. And yet Grierson's conclusion postulates a rather closer affinity of Oudhian with outlandic Aryan. On Pargiter's showing the Punjab and Rajputānā were colonised by later branches of the midlandic Aryans and his theory fails to provide for the factor that must have caused the mixture of which Grierson speaks. The case of Gujarat may be treated as in some degree parallel to that of Oudh with this exception that whereas Oudh was not colonised by the midlandic peoples Gujarat,after the early cessation of the Mānva dominance, was wholly under the sway of the mindlandic Aryans.

Thus it is seen that the inference of Pargiter is not at all supported by the so-called peculirities of linguistic affini. ties and that it is rather contradicted by their supposed existence. As for Pargiter's contention that the outspread of the Druhyus over the western frontiers of the Punjab a few generations after Māndhātṛ's pressure against them *i.e.* about 1600 B. C. according to him, marks the over-flow of the Indo-Aryan Ailas into Iran, where they carried 'their religion' and might have also 'led to the genesis of the Iranians,' I wonder if any scholar working on the problems of Iranian and western Asian history will consider it to be a suggestion worth-while entertaining. Here I wish to point out a difficulty which, it appears to me, has escaped Pargiter's notice. The second great stage in the composition of the hymns of the Ṛgveda began, according to him, about a hundred years after the date he suggests for the penetration of the Druhyus into the western

regions beyond the Hindukush. The sacrifice of the Ṛgveda is a cult which requires three fires for its ritual performance. Unless it can be proved that the three—fires-cult was not prevalent among the Druhyus we must take is that the religion which the Druhyus must have carried to Iran was the sacrificial cult with three fires. Yet the religion of the Iranians is a single fire-cult. Is there evidence to show that they had originally a three—fires-cult which was later simplified into a single-fire one?

Consideration of Pargiter's contention that Brahmanism was a Mānva institution and was 'alien to the earliest Ailas' who 'appear to have been their own sacrificers' may best be made by investigating first, the chronological connection of the different stocks with priestly families and their treatment of their priests or Purohitas and second, the attitude of the early kings to Brahmins as a class.

Pargiter points out the very early and long connection of the Vasiṣṭhas with the Ayodhyā family and the early connection of two scions of the Bhārgava family with the Śaryātas and the Dānavas. Chyavana was the Purohita of Śaryāti of Kathiawar and Uśanas Śukra of the Dānavas. Of the remaining renowned Brahmin families the earliest Aṅgirasas, leaving aside Bṛhaspati, the priest of the gods, were priests to Māndhātṛ of Ayodhyā, some of the individual members being a little later connected also with the kingdom of Vaiśāli and with Hariśchandra of Ayodhyā. The Atreyas established themselves at the Haihaya court after the Haihayas had quarrelled with their ancient priests the Bhṛgus. The Kāśyapas and the Āgastyas are still later, though the former are associated with one of the branches of the Ailas. So the early priestly families were patronised by the non-Aryan stocks and there is nothing in the names of families which really conflicts with this conclusion. *Kaśyapa* is very much like *Kaśipu*, the ending of the name of the Daitya Hiraṇyakaśipu and may be non-Aryan. "*Aṅgiras* and *Atri* might be

non-Aryan quite as well as Aryan." "The only names that ostensibly are Sanskrit are Bhṛgu and Vasiṣṭha;" but the two families were definitely the priests of the non-Aryan kings in the earliest history.

To take the consideration of the names of the principal priestly families it may be pointed out that Prof. Arnold J. Toynbee[13] equates the Bhṛgus with the Thraco-Phyrgian-speaking Brigoi of the Balkan Peninsula and the Bebryces and Phryges of Anatolia and the Kaśyapas with the Cassiopaei the neighbours of the Brigoi. As Pargiter himself is inclined to look upon other names as Indo-Aryan and as the doubtful name of the Kasyapas and that of the Bhṛgus are Indo-European it is clear we must regard all these priestly families as having Aryan names. If we find them serving as chaplains to royal dynasties *a priori* we should conclude that they had imposed their religious or ritual system on their royal patrons or that their royal patrons were of the same religious and cultural heritage as themselves. Priesthood, therefore, whether first found associated with the Mānvas or the Ailas, apart from the consideration put forward above about the Aryan-lineage of the Mānvas, must be held to be an Aryan institution.

As for the association of the priestly families with royal personages it must be mentioned that if tradition connects the semi-mythical Vasiṣṭhas with Ikṣvāku and others of the Ikṣvāku family it also mentions a Vasiṣṭha as the priest of Purūravas.[14] If Uśanas Śukra in the priest of the Dānavas Bṛhaspati, an Āṅgirasa, is the priest of the Devas at the same time. Leaving aside these semimythical personages Pargiter himself looks upon the priest of Trayyāruṇa as 'the earliest Vasiṣṭha who has a definite position.' Thus the earliest semihistorical Vasiṣṭha is associated with the 30th king

13. A Study of History vol II, pp 435-436.

14 Chitrāv, loc, cit p, 334. (reference to Brahma Purāṇa, 151, 8-10 and Padma Purāṇa Bhumikhaṇḍa, 108)

in the genealogical lists. The Atri family gets associated with the Haihayas of the Aila stock through Datta Ātreya, who seems to have been the first definite Ātreya to be a priest, and is mentioned in connection with the Haihaya king Arjuna Kārtavīrya, who is 31st in the list. It is the Āṅgirasas who are mentioned as priests of the first proto-historical king, Māndhātṛ of Ayodhyā, the 21st in the list. Thus it would appear that the first definite person to be mentioned as a priest is Chyavana, the Bhārgava, and he is associated with Śaryāti in Kathiāwar. As between the Vasiṣṭhas and Atris there is almost no priority of mention as the definite priests of a protohistorical king. The mention of a Viśvāmitra and of a Kaśyapa as priests is only later by a generation or two.

There is reason to believe that the Bhṛgus and Atris had more ancient connection with the Aila family as their priests. Apnavāna, a Bhārgava only about two generations later than Chyavana, married the daughter of the Aila king Nahuṣa. Prabhākara, the Ātreya, married the daughters of Raudrāśva 17th in the Paurava line. To me it appears that such relations with scions of priestly families suggest antecedant or consequent priestly help to the royal personage. It is well known that the anchorite Ṛṣyaśṛṅga was secured by Daśaratha through the offer in marriage of his friend's daughter.[15] Śaryāti got the services of Chyavana through his daughter Sukanyā who was given in marriage to the seer. Similarly Marutta of Vaiśālī requieted the valuable services of Saṁvarta, his priest who helped him when his hereditary priest abandoned him, by giving his daughter in marriage to him. and Śyāvāśva, the Ātreya, sacrificed for king Rathaviti Dārbhya and married his daughter. It is not at all unlikely, therefore, that the Atris acted as priests, though not as hereditary ones, as early as Raudrāśva, the 17th Aila, whose son-in-law Prabhākara became. If this argument is accepted as valid

15. Chitrāv, loc, cit, p. 84.
16. Ibid. p. 189.
17. Pargiter, loc, cit, p. p. 157, 230.

then the priority of priestly association with a protohistorical king goes to the Atris among the priests and the Pauravas among the kings, excepting of course the case of Cyavana Bhārgava and his patron Śaryāta Mānava.

Let us now see what the Brahmanic tradition has to say about the antiquity and sanctity of the various priestly families. First of all there are the reputed Prajāpatis or mind-born sons of Brahmā from whom the Hindu section of the mankind is supposed to have been produced. Comparing the lists as given in the Manusmṛti, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, one finds that though the number varies from seven to ten and more and different names occur in the different lists, giving altogether seventeen different personages[18] some names are constant throughout. Atrī and Aṅgiras are always present in all these lists, whether the Prajāpatis are enumerated or the Maharṣis. Vāsiṣṭha and Marīchi are omitted in one list and Bhṛgu in two.[19] Manu's list,[20] which is perhaps the most complete, has two additional ones, Prachetas and Nārada, of whom the former may be considered to stand for Dakṣa of some of the lists. Thus the tradition of Atris being one of the oldest families is preserved in this mythological account of creation.

Second, we have the great Ṛṣis or the seven Ṛṣis counted in various places. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa enumerates the following persons as the great sages of the Vaivasvata Manvantara or the present age of the creation. Vāsiṣṭha, Kaśyapa, Atri, Jamadagni, Gautama, Viśvāmitra and Bharadvāja[21]. The idea of the seven Ṛṣis as the most ancient seers occurs in the Ṛgveda, where they are called divine and are named individually in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Bṛhadāraṇyākopaniṣad and are identified in the former work with the seven stars in the constellation of the Great Bear. The latter

18. Wilson H. H. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (trans.) p. 50, f. n.
19. ibid p. 49, f. n. 20 *Manusmṛti*. I, 35.
20. Wilson, loc. cit. p. 264.
21. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 144.

work names them as Gautama, Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa and Atri.[22] The two lists, that of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and that of the Upaniṣad, agree in the names of the individuals but not in the order. That the individuals in this group all figure in the group of the so-called Gotrarṣis is significant. Gotrarṣis are those sages with reference to whom all the known Gotras or family-names were classified at a particular time.[23]

Baudhāyana, who deals with the classification of the Gotras, also enumerates the seven Ṛṣis as Jamadagni, Viśvāmitra, Atri, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Kaśyapa and Vasiṣṭha,[24] i. e. the individuals are the same as in the above lists but the order is different. Āśvalāyana mentions the same individuals as seven Ṛṣis but with a still different order.[25] Both these authors add the name of Agāstya to this group to make their group of the Gotrarṣis.[26] It is to be noticed that the famous Bhṛgu and Aṅgirasa families are conspicuous by their absence in the lists of the Maharṣis or the seven Ṛṣis as well as in those of the eight Gotrarṣis, both of them being represented by their descendants.

In Epic mythology there is evidence of jealousy and pride existing among the priestly families. We find a declaration that the Bhṛgus, the Aṅgirasas, the Vāsiṣṭhas, the Kāśyapas, the Āgastyas and the Ātreyas are 'the best Ṛṣis in the world.'[27] Yet at one place in the Mahābhārata it is stated that originally there were only four Gotras, *viz.*, of Bhṛgu, Aṅgiras, Kaśyapa and Vāsiṣṭha. Pargiter has laid stress on this statement to prove his contention that the early Brahmānic priestly families began with the non-Ailas.[28]

22. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 117.
23. Karandikar S. V. *Hindu Exogamy*, Pp. 60.
24. ibid p. 31.
25. Ramaprasad Chanda, *Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 19.
26. ibid p. 19 and Karandikar, loc. cit. p. 24.
27. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 178.
28. Op. cit. p. 186.

The Kaśyapas as Pargiter himself points out are definitely known to be of later origin than the Bhṛgus, the Vāsiṣṭhas or even the Ātreyās and yet they are here counted among the original Gotras. This discrepancy may be explained, I think, as the result of the evident Bhṛguization of the extant Mahābhārata, which is so clearly demonstrated by Dr. Sukthankar.[29] One Kaśyapa is venerated by Paraśurāma, the Bhārgava hero of the epic, and it is likely that the redacter in his partiality for the Bhārgavas has also glorified the person who was respected by the greatest of the Bhārgavas. But the omission of Atri is not easily explained unless we grant that there was some tradition regarding the later origin of the Atris.

This conclusion, the priority of the Bhṛgus, the Aṅgirasas and the Vasiṣṭhas, is further strengthened by the fact that in the Ṛgveda the Pitṛs or ancient fathers are Navagvas Vairūpas, Aṅgirasas, Atharvans, Bhṛgus, and Vāsiṣṭhas.[30] The omission of Atri is particularly to be noted in view of the importance he has in the Ṛgveda.

Vedic tradition exhorts that a Bhṛgu or Bhārgava should be a hotṛ or a particular functional priest at the Rājasūya sacrifices[31] and it narrates a legend which is purported to explain why originally only a Vāsiṣṭha or a person of the Vasiṣṭha Gōtra could be a Brahman or a particular functional priest and also to suggest that Vasiṣṭhas were the first Purohitas of the people.[32] The Ṛgveda itself, on the other hand, describes Atri as the seer of the five tribes, indicating thereby that he was the Purohita of an important section of the Vedic people.[33] Brahmanic tradition looks upon him

29. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XVIII, Pp. 176.

30. Macdonell, loc. cit. p. 170.

31. Prof. A. B. Keith, in Indian Culture Vol. III, p. 424.

32. Vedic Index, II, p. 276 and Chitrāv, loc. cit. p. 513.

33. Macdonell, loc. cit p. 145.

with particular regard as the greatest of the sages who developed the sacrificial technique. This must be the reason why when the Ṛṣi of a hymn is not known it may be fathered on to Atri. That is why also at a particular stage of the beginning of a sacrifice an Ātreya is required to come forward for being accorded honour. The question asked is "Who is an Ātreya," indicating that only an Ātreya is entitled to the great honour of beginning the operations in connection with a sacrifice.[34] The statement in the Mahābhārata that the Bhṛgus were the priests of the Kṣatriyas[35] may not be attached any importance to in view of the evident Bhṛguization of the work.

I may leave this discussion with the conclusion that there is ample evidence to consider the three priestly families of the Bhṛgus, the Aṅgirasas and the Vasiṣṭhas as the oldest and that though the Atris are a very ancient family there is some traditional evidence to look upon them as somewhat junior to these three. It is also clear from the traditional account that though the Atris were somewhat junior to the Bhṛgus, the Aṅgirasas and the Vasiṣṭhas, their part in the development of the sacrificial ritual was the most significant and that they were the priests most widely recognised in the early Ṛgvedic age. The Vasiṣṭhas would appear to have been originally priests for a particular function like the Bhṛgus but were soon recognised as the general priests of the people like the Atris.

The attitude of kings to their Purohitas does not appear to have been uniform through the ages. Apart from the influence of ideas in their development on this attitude individual differences in temperament between king and king must have existed and a uniform behaviour pattern, one of utter submission, need not be expected.

34. Kethar loc. cit. III, p. 483 and II, p. 213

35. Karandikar, loc cit. p. 68.

Nimi, the founder of the Vaideha dynasty, once wanted to perform a sacrifice but his priest Vasiṣṭha did not agree to conduct it whereupon Nimi selected another priest and completed his sacrifice.[36] While Vasiṣṭha is represented as the family priest of the Ikṣvākus, the great King Māndhātṛ had the Aṅgirasas to officiate for him. During his long reign there was once a great famine and Aṅgiras telling him the cause of it to be the practice of penance by a lowcaste man asked him to kill him. But Māndhātṛ refused to do the evil act and tried to avert the effects of the famine by other means [37]. The behaviour of Māndhātṛ may be contrasted with that of his later descendant Sagara. Sagara had carried on a successful campaign against the Haihayas and was about to exterminate the foreign tribes like Śakas and Yavanas, when his priest Vasiṣṭha interceded on their behalf. Sagara is represented as having desisted from his project though it was quite a legitimate plan of action from the political point of view [38]. Muchukunda, one of the sons of Māndhātṛ, when defeated by Kubēra's followers censured his priest Vasiṣṭha and thus excited him to help him.[39] The first priest of the Haihayas were the Bhṛgus but later on the Atreyas took their place. It is likely that the Haihayas had some differences with the Bhṛgus and changed them for the Atreyas whom also they did not treat very well. As tradition tells us the Bhārgavas wreaked vengeance on the Haihayas. The particular kings who seem to have thus behaved are probably Arjuna Kārtavīrya and his immediate ancestors and descendants.[40] Satyavrata Triśaṅku, the 32nd King in the Ikṣvāku line and 9 steps earlier than Sagara, was disliked by his father's priest Vasiṣṭha. Triśaṅku seems not to have taken things lying down. He sought the help of Viśvāmitra, who, perhaps out of spite

36. Chitrāv, loc. cit. p. 302.
37. Ibid. p. 446.
38. Ibid p. 596 and Pargiter, loc. cit. p. 270.
39. Chitrāv, loc. cit. p. 452.
40. Ibid. pp. 116.117.

for Vasiṣṭha or regard for Triśaṅku, readily granted it. Triśaṅku seems to have succeeded his father to his throne after prolonged humiliation and hardship and appointed Viśvāmitra as his priest [41]. Mitrasaha Kalmāṣapāda, 54th King in the Ikṣvāku line, through some misunderstanding incurred the displeasure of his priest Vasiṣṭha and had to suffer for it.[42] Janamejaya II, 74th King in the Paurava line, is represented in the Vedic tradition to have engaged two priests and on another occasion to have rejected the Kaśyapas, who might have been his family priests, and got his sacrifice conducted by other priests. The same tradition tells us that the Kaśyapas were afterwards reinstated [43]. Janamejaya III seems to have engaged three different priests. His first priest was Somaśravas. Then he seems to have taken to Vaiśāmpāyana but dismissed him when bent on performing a sacrifice according to the ritual of the Vājasaneyins and engaged one of the latter school. This step, we are told, cost him his throne [44].

There are a number of kings mentioned in the Vedic literature, who cannot be properly located in the genealogical tables presented by Pargiter, and may now be referred to. There is first of all the great Āgvedic Divodāsa and his immediate successors. Three priestly families are mentioned in their connection : the Bhāradvājas, the Vasiṣṭhas and the Viśvāmitras. Bhāradvājas are represented, at another time, as praising Indra for having helped Tūrvayāṇa to defeat Divodāsa and his allies.[45] Tryaruṇa Trasadasyu, who is described in the Brahmanic tradition as an Aikṣvāka, had a difference of opinion with his Purohita Vṛṣa Jāna whom he accuses of murder. In the end the king had to seek for peace with his priest [46]. Atyarāti Jānaṁtapi

41. Pargiter, loc. cit. pp. 205-06, 266.
42. Ibid. p. 209 and Chitrāv, loc. cit. p. 106.
43. Vedic Index I, p. 274.
44. Chitrāv, op cit, pp. 194-95.
45. Vedic Index, I, pp. 319, 363 and II 454.

Messages of Good-wishes received on the occasion from,

(1) The Marquess of Zetland, Secretary of State for India,

(2) His Excellency the Viceroy,

(3) Lord Erskine, Governor of Madras,

(4) Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Prime Minister, Madras,

(5) Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Mysore,

(6) Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, Dewan of Baroda,

(7) Dr. P. Subbarayan, Minister of Education, Madras'

(8) Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Hindu University Benares,

(9) Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, Representative of the Government of the Netherlands East Indies,

(10) Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, Representative of the Royal Batavia Society and the Java Institute,

(11) The Vice-Chancellor, Osmania University,

(12) Do. Calcutta University,

(13) Do. Allahabad University,

(14) Do. University of Punjab,

(15) Do. University of Mysore,

(16) Do. Lucknow University,

(17) Do. Agra University,

(18) Do. Nagpur University,

(19) The Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta,

were next read.

employed Vasiṣṭha Satyahavya as his priest and asked him to help him to defeat the Uttara Kurus to enable him to pay him his reward. Vasiṣṭha told him that no mortal man could achieve that feat and seeing that it was a trick to cheat him of his reward he got the king defeated and killed by a Śaibya prince [47]. Kutsa Aurava is said to have murdered his priest because the latter's father insisted on paying homage to Indra to whom the king was opposed.[48] Viśvantara Sañjadman set aside the Śyāparṇas who were probably his usual priests, and performed a sacrifice. One of them, however, succeeded in getting the king to reinstate them.[49]

The one conclusion that emerges from this account is that there is no material difference in the attitude of kings towards their priests, whether they belong to the Aila or the Mānva stock. The later kings seem either to give in to their priests or to suffer evil consequences. Perhaps the kings, even late ones, belonging to other than the Ikśvāku family evince greater strength of purpose and more thorough ruthlessness than the Iṣkvāku kings. Another feature this account reveals is the marked tendency of the Vasiṣṭha family to be over-bearing towards their royal patrons and even to be revengeful, when defeated in their venture. In this connection the story of Marutta, 40th King of the Vaiśālī dynasty, is very instructive. Aṅgiras was the hereditary priest of the family. After him Marutta asked Bṛhaspati, presumably the elder of the two sons of Aṅgiras to officiate as his priest. Bṛhaspati declined to do so being in league with Indra to foil the efforts of Marutta to excel him. Marutta thereupon induced Bṛhaspati's brother Saṁvasta to officiate for him and with his help performed many wonderful sacrifices. We are not told of any evil consequences befalling Marutta.[50] On the other hand in a more

47. Ibid. I, pp. 16-17.
48. Ibid. I p. 162.
49. Ibid, II p. 309.
50. Chitrāv, op. cit. pp. 435-6.

or less similar setting Nimi of Videha had to suffer for having not waited for his priest, who was a Vasiṣṭha.

Pargiter lays much stress on what he regards as the great difference in the attitude towards Brahmins as a class of the Aila and the Mānva kings, the former being represented as haughty and even opposed to them. He instances Purūravas and Nahuṣa, who though extolled in general terms, 'are severly censured' in traditional history for their treatment of the brahmins.[51] As Professor N. K. Dutt has rightly pointed out Purūravas and Nahuṣa are not the only bad kings typified in tradition and that the Manusmṛti does[3] not mention Purūravas in its list of bad kings but include[8] non-Aila kings like Nimi, the son of Ikṣavāku, and Vena.[52] It may be mentioned that Pargiter's way of looking at the examples given in the Purāṇas and elsewhere is not quite correct. The purpose of drawing attention to certain irresponsible and blamable activities of great kings is to inculcate the need for self-control in the minds of other kings and not to record a fact; *viz.*, their ill-treatment of the Brahmins. Kautilya, for example, while exhorting his ideal king to cultivate humility and self-control names a few great kings of the past indicating the particular weakness in their character which led to their downfall. Thus Aila, evidently Purūravas, is said to have incurred ruin through greed, Tālajaṅgha through angering the Bhṛgus, and Janamejaya—it would appear the third king of that name, who was a descendant of the Pāṇḍavas, is meant—through disregarding Brahmins.[53] One of the commentators on Manusmṛti, Sarvajnanārāyṇa, while commenting on the particular verse, where[53] the list of great kings fallen through lack of humility and self-control is given, states the particular weakness in the character of each which brought about his downfall. Thus Vena was destroyed through

51. Loc, Cit, p. 305, 52. *The Aryanisation of India*, p. 152:
52. Kautiliyam Arthaśāstra by J. Jolly, Vol. I p. 7
53. Mandlik's ed of Manusmṛti, VII, 41.

pride and intoxication, Nahuṣa through intoxications and wrathfulness, Sudās through the same, Sumukha through greed and Nimi through exultation. Even the great Ikṣvāku king Māndhātṛ, one of the most pious ones, is represented as having got intoxicated and thus destroyed through the machination of Indra, according to one account.[54] It appears to me that this piece of evidence for proving the supposed animosity of the Aila kings towards Brahmins is very weak indeed and does not add to the strength of the chain of arguments Pargiter has forged to prove his theory of the non-Aryan origin of early Brahmanism.

As regards the positive evidence of having taken active part in the performance of sacrifices Pargiter refers to Yayāti's sacrifices and their accounts in the Sautic tradition but discredits them because of certain anachronisms. About Purūravasa's bringing of one fire from the Gandharvas and constituting three out of it here marks that Purūravas and his successors must have performed some kind of sacrifices without the aid of priests.[55] Surely this procedure is more than arbitrary. Of the Mānva kings Śatyāti and Nimi are represented in the Sāutic tradition as having sacrificed. Yayātis' fame as a sacrificer seems to have been long remembered and his vast sacrificial ground is believed to have been shown to Yudhiṣṭhira.[56] The only ritualistic activity of the early Mānva king, mentioned in the same traditon, is the performance of some funeral obsequies by Ikṣvāku with the help of Vasiṣṭha.[57] The first proto-historical king of the genealogies, who is famous for his sacrifices, is Māndhātṛ of Ayodhyā. Similarly the earliest in the Aila family is Śibi Auśīnari,[58] who is 6 steps lower than Māndhātṛ. The tradition of Purūravasās having constituted the three-fold fire is narrated in

54. Chitrāv, op cit., p. 446
55. loc. cit. p. 309.
56. Chitrāv, op. cit. p. 465.
57. Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāṇa (trans) p. 360 , and Chitrav op. cit p. 572
58. Chitrāv op cit. p. p. 579 80.

at least two of the Purāṇas and in the Mahābhārata[59] and cannot be so lightly brushed aside.

It appears to me that one inference to be deduced from this piece of traditional evidence, if tradition is to be trusted, is that the development of the large Śrauta sacrifices was the work of the very early kings who are represented in the Sautic tradition as having belonged to the Pūrus. Further that the people, whose leaders were these kings, brought with them the cult of sacrifice with one fire only and that, if the region of the Gandharvas can be placed in the Gandhamādan mountains in the extreme north-west, they came from the extreme north-west of India.

So far I have considered some of the inferences drawn by Pargiter on the basis of the Sautic traditional history, taking it to be as correct as Pargiter would have us believe. Now I should like to point out some of the big gaps and serious discrepancies which exist in this tradition.

Pargiter has tried to substantiate as much of the genealogical data as can be by reference to what he calls the contemporary evidence of the Rgveda.[60] I shall take up a piece, the most important, of this evidence, viz., Sudās and the Battle of Ten Kings. First the Tṛtsus are one of the peoples, who are helpers of Sudās, whether they are the Bharatas themselves or a branch thereof or again a section of the Vasiṣṭhas. They are nowhere to be found in the Sautic tradition.

Second, the Turvaśas, according to tradition, had occupied the Karūṣa country in modern Rewā. They are supposed by Pargiter to have gone all the way up to the Rāvi, more than five hundred miles north-west, to join the confederacy agaist Sudās. It is difficult to see how they were, in the eastern dominion, affected by the exploits of a

59. Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāṇa (trans) p. 397, Vāyupurāṇa 91, 48 Mbh, Ādi Parwan 70, 21 (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Ed.)

60. op. cit. p. 120.

king, whose main field of activity lay between the Sarasvati and the Jumna, perhaps the upper valley of it. This traditional location of the Turvaśas does not explain the close alliance and friendship that is evident in their frequent mention together in the Ṛgveda[61] with the Yadus. But worst of all, tradition here breaks down completely; because according to it, as noted above, the Turvaśa family came to its end with Marutta, who adopted Duḥyanta. It could, therefore, not have produced a king to fight with Sudās, who, according to the same tradition, is 24 steps later than Duḥyanta. Here we have, if we place implicit faith in the all-round correctness of tradition, an impossibility in the form of a family being represented about 300 years after its end as being a flourishing or active one. This serious discrepancy by itself ought to be sufficient to discredit certain portions of tradition to this extent that we should frankly admit that the Battle of Ten kings is not fully explicable in terms of traditional history of the Sūtas.

As for the traditional location of the Turvaśas in the Karūṣa country it may be pointed out that there are clear traces of haziness in the tradition itself. One of Manu's sons was Karūṣa, to whom the country known as Karūṣa was assigned by Manu. Evidently the people who flourished there were warlike, the Bhāgavata Purāṇa complimenting them on protecting northern India from the attacks of the southerners. They seem to have been overpowered by Yayāti, who is supposed to have assigned their territory to his son Turvasu. The line of Turvasu is represented as having resigned there till their last king Marutta, 41st in the genealogical table. At some later time the original people, who must be believed to have managed to keep their name intact in spite of non-Karūṣa domination for nearly 450 years, must have regained their dominion; for we are told that the great king Vasu Chaidya, 78th in the genealogical table

61. *Vedic Indexes*, I, p.315.

conqured the Karūṣa country.[62] The truth appears to be that the Sautic tradition is patching up its genealogical fabric from whatever shreds of floating knowledge it comes across without any means of checking. That the Karuṣa country was known as such even much later is evident from the fact that Kauṭilya mentions it as one of the regions whose elephants were famous.[63] It is interesting to observe in this connection that the Turvaśas too were well-known for their fleet horses in the Vedic age.[64]

Third, the Druhyuos, who are represented as among the opponents of Sudās in the Battle of Ten Kings, had, as traditional history has it, been driven into Gāndhāra more than 600 years before it. The descendants of the 38th king in the line were oriented towards the north and the west beyond India. One fails to see why they should have joined hands with some of the people to the east within the borders of India to make war with Sudās, whose exploits need not have troubled them. If they did have connections with India, till so late, how is it that traditional history shows almost no interest in them ? [65] The participation of the Druhyus in the Battle of Ten Kings, attested to by the Ṛgveda, is thus not explained, if we trust traditional history given by the Sūtas, as the whole truth.

Fourth, the Matsyas, who too appear among the enemies of Sudās, seem to figure in the Sautic tradition only with Vasu Chaidya, who is 9 steps later than Sudās[66] Pargiter sensing the difficulty, remarks : " The Matsyas existed before (probably as a Yādava tribe), because they were opponents of Sudās."

62. Pargiter, op. cit. pp. 255, 259-60, 281.
63. Jolly's ed. vol. I, p. 31
64. Vedic Index, I, p. 316.
65. Pargiter, op cit, p. 108.
66. Ibid. pp. 111-19.

Fifth, about Sivas, who figure among the opponents of Sudās, it is to be observed that Pargiter equates them with Sivis, 'who were Anavas,.'[67] He fails to notice the repetition thus caused, as the Anus are already mentioned among the foes in addition to the Śivas,[68] who are represented in their map by the authors of the Vedic Index as occupying a territory between the Indus and the Jhelum. In providing the particular five sons to Yayāti and locating them in the various regions tradition is only groping in the dark in order to fit the few known facts into a fullfledged scheme in which they are really uncouth. It is clear from this discussion that traditional history breaks down when it is faced with more or less contemporary account of the Battle of Ten Kings. This in itself should prove to be a sufficient warning for modern scholars to take traditional history with a good deal of caution and not to make it the sole arbiter of the ancient history of India.

Further, Professor N. K. Dutt rightly objects to Pargiter's suggestion that Pañchajana as applied to Sudas in the Sautic tradition is a mistake for Paijāvana, the patronymic under which he is known in the Vedic literature[69]. But it does not mean therefore that the two Sudās are necessarily distinct. It appears to me that the title of Pañchajana was given to Sudās as the leader of his five tribes and is preserved in the Sautic literature. The term Pañchajana occurs in the Ṛgveda ; and as the name of a region was preserved down to the days of Kauṭilya,[70] who mentions it as a country which produces only low grade elephants. It must also be noted that the tradition of a Pañchajana Prajāpati with Asikni as his daughter is preserved in the Harivaṁśa.[71]

67. ibid. p.

68. Vedic Index, I, p. 320.

69. op. cit., p. 143;

70. Jolly's Ed. Vol. I, p. 31.

71. Chitrav, loc. cit., p. 227.

There seems to be a facile tendency in traditional history to provide kings with names which are the same as those of the countries over which they rule. Sudyumna is said to have three sons of whom Gaya and Utkala were conveniently enthroned in the city of Gayā and the Utkala country. As if this one king Gaya was not sufficient to make the name permanent we get another Gaya this time from the Kānyakubja line I who is about 27 steps lower than the first Gaya, carving out a kingdom in Magadha, a region which lay for ages next door to the Ikṣvākus, the Kāśis and also to the original Pauravas of Allahabad. Similarly it is hard to believe that the open corridor of Gāndhāra remained unnamed till the Druhyus, pressed by Māndhātṛ and a little later by the Śibis, produced a king of that name and installed him in that country.

Traditional history tells us that both the eastern regions of Aṅga and Magadha were ruled, and perhaps to some extent colonised, by the Anus in the reign of the 26th king of the line and the former definitely in the reign of the 41st king and the latter in that of the 29th king of the Kānyakubja dynasty and again in that of the 78th king of the western branch of the Anu family [72]. According to the generally accepted view Kīkaṭa in the Ṛgveda refers to Magadha and the passage in which the word occurs refers to the customs of the people of Magadha being not similar to those of the Vedic singers. Yāska definitely speaks of it as the habitat of non-Aryan folks. [73] A passage in the Atharvaveda, which is a charm to drive away fever, embodies the desire of the singer that fever may dwell amongst the Aṅgas and the Magadhas as well as among the Gandhāris and the Mujavants. This passage makes it clear that in the opinion of the singer the Aṅgas and the Magadhas were peoples who were outside the pale of Āryandom like the nations on the extreme

72. Pargiter, op cit., pp. 264-65, 281-82.
73. Vedic Index, I. p. 159.

northern and western borders of India. [74] The Vrātyas are believed to have been the inhabitants of Magadha. The Vrātyas do not appear to be a non-Aryan people but an Aryan nation which had no connection with the Vedic Aryans. The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa speaks of the easterners as the Asuras. [75] Thus Vedic tradition agrees in looking upon the Aṅga Magadhas as not belonging to the Vedic group of Aryan nations. The Sautic tradition, on the other hand, would have us believe that at least the reigning dynasties and perhaps even a section of the people of Aṅga and Magadha were of Vedic Aryan extraction.

Traditional history tells us, as is stated above, that the Ailas began their rule in Allahabad and their main line, the Pauravas, reigning at Allahabad dragged on an insignificant existence till the time of Duṣyanta the 43rd king, failing to record the name of any king between Timāu, the 20th and Duṣyanta, the 43rd. During all this time a number of political commotions and territorial conquests all round their dominion and beyond it took place; and yet their dominion remained as if it were a charmed region though under the rule of rather weak kings. All this appears to me as rather unreal and to be met with in mere schemes. A powerful but an overpowered nation called the Rākṣasas seems to have been in existence south of Allahabad and Kāśi; for traditional history tells us that the Rākṣasas occupied Kāśi about the time of the famous king Divodāsa and held it for two or three generations. [76] The Rāmāyaṇa describes Allahabad as situated "in a great forest, opposite Śṛṅgaverapura the capital of a Niṣāda kingdom". But Pargiter attaches no importance to this description as it does not fit in with the Sautic tradition that by the time of Dāśarathi Rāma, who

74. Chanda, op cit. p. 38.

75. Ibid. p. 39.

76. Pargiter, op cit. pp. 158-5

looks further afield to Mathurā, on the west, and also perhaps the Vindhyas on the south, for kingdoms for his brothers and sons, it was included in the Vatsa dominion.[77] Ayodhyā, Hastināpura, Mathurā, Kāśi, Kauśāmbi, Ujjain, Girivraja and Pāṭaliputra have been known to have been the capitals of powerful dynasties more often than once during the protohistoric period of India. But is there any mention of Allahabād as a capital in any other piece of tradition but this one about Sudyumna and Purūravas and Pūru?

This discussion regarding the discrepancies in the traditional history itself and those between it and other pieces of traditional evidence ought, I think, to convince an impartial student that the Sautic tradition cannot be used as the sole guide either for the reconstruction of ethnic or even of political history of India. The true procedure must seek the way of drawing upon both the Vedic, the Brahmanic and the Sautic sources.

77. Ibid. pp. 276, 279.

His Highness the Maharaja then opened the Conference with the following address—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is with genuine gratification that I proceed to open the Ninth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, whose delegates have assembled in such large numbers within the capital of my State.

In according a very hearty welcome to the delegates and visitors to Śrīvardhanapurī, as this city was named long ago, it is needless to remind this learned audience of the storied origin of my conch-shaped country, which as the Purāṇas tell us, was won by Paraśurāma as a spoil from the sea, and which with its combination of mountain and creek, forest and field and ocean, constitutes an epitome of nature. Cape Comorin at one end of our land is not only a meeting place of the three seas whose depths witness the glories of sunrise and sunset, but is a spot hallowed by the spirit of the maiden Goddess praying for her chosen Lord whose abode is on Himālaya. She symbolises alike the eternal quest of the human soul and the essential unity of India, both physical and psychological. Not alone Kanyā Kumārī, however, but Śucīndram associated with the life story of Atri and Anasūyā ; Ananta śayanam, the dwelling place of Padmanābha ; Varkalai known to all the Hindu world as Janārdanam ; Vaikom connected with the history of the great Bhakta, Vyāghrapāda, and numerous other places consecrated by the lives of Sages and Seers, make ours a land of tradition and pilgrimage. Religious architecture, art and drama amongst us have been a true expression of the science as well as the philosophy of the people. We are justly proud that our country has been the sojourn of Agastya in the South, and contains in its northern confines the birth-place of one of the epoch-making moulders of world thought, Śrī Śankarācārya.

SKANDA: THE ALEXANDER ROMANCE IN INDIA.

N. Gopala Pillai, M. A.

The marvellous exploits of Alexander the Great startled and thrilled the world. East and West vied with each other n paying him divine honours during his life and after his death. Myths and legends woven round him, embroidered with all the glowing colours of imagination spread through the Continents. The lands he conquered and those beyond them told his tales in diverse tongues. Greek and Latin, Syriac and Arabic,[1] Ethiopic, Hebrew, Samaritan, Armenian, Persian, English and French, German and Italian, and even Scandinavian, Languages of Europe, Asia, and Africa enshrined in prose and verse the immortal romance of the Macedonian Prince. Those were days when religion held sway over the minds of men. His tolerance of faiths other than his own, his cosmopolitan outlook in matters religious, inspired as it was by a vein of deep mysticism helped him[2] "wherever he went to treat with respect the local religion." His attitude towards the religion of the Persians, his greatest adversaries, the destruction of their sacred books at Persepolis is one of the rare exceptions to the rule of his general tolerance. The Arabs worshipped him as Iskandar[3] Dhu'lquarnein, (two-horned Alexander) and even Islam[4] adopted Iskandar among her prophets, and carried his forgotten fame back into India. He was the first Aryan monarch to become a God.[5]

When these various nations with whom he came into contact have preserved various accounts of his life and conquests, have elevated him to the position of a Superman

1. Hogarth's Philip and Alexander of Macedon, p. 281.
2. Wheeler's Alexander the Great, p. 334.
3. Hogarth p. 270.
4. Ib. p. 281.
5. H. G. Well's The Outline of History, p. 234.

and God, it is strange, if it be a fact, that Ancient Indian Literature alone is oblivious of him. Great scholars and historians have noted this phenomenon of apparent silence. [6] But they are not surprised. Indians are a peculiar race, India ignores and forgets. [7] "It is a conspiracy of silence." "India remained unchanged. The wounds of battle were quickly healed: the ravaged fields smiled again. [8] No Indian author, Hindu or Jain or Buddhist makes even the faintest allusion to Alexander or his deeds," asserts V. A. Smith, and he quotes with approval the lines by Matthew Arnold:

"The East bowed low before the blast
In patient, deep disdain,
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again."

It is a peculiar theory which holds that man in the East is radically different from members of his species in the West. His skin might be dark or brown, but his normal reactions to external stimuli cannot be different from those of his fellow beings elsewhere. The sun might shine brighter on him and the hues of land and sky might be more gorgeous around him; but the fundamentals of human psychology remain true everywhere. And the vaunted greatness of historians and scholars cannot repudiate the patent facts of the character of 'Homo Sapiens'.

If the Indian mind does not materially differ in fundamental facts, the question naturally arises "Are there allusions or references in Indian Literature to the conquest of Alexander and if so, what?"

This paper is an attempt to trace those references that lie scattered over the vast range of Indian Literature.

6. Maxmuller's "India what can it teach us" and V. A. Smith—Early History of India, and Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. VI, p. 484.
7. V. A. Smith—Early History of India, p. 426.
8. Ib p :p 118.

In Persian and Arabic and in Eastern languages generally, it is a well-known fact that Alexander is known under the name of Iskandar. And it is natural, if Indian languages have used his name, it might be a variant of its Asiatic form. What form could it normally assume in the ancient Sanskrit language? We are familiar, through Buddhist sources with the Indianization of the name of the Graeco-Bactrian King, Menander.[9] It occurs as Milinda. On the same analogy, Iskander regularly becomes 'Iskanda.' It is next an easy step to treat the initial 'I' as a case of prothesis[10] as it obtains regularly in Prakrits, and arrive at the Sanskrit form "Skanda." But a suspicion might lurk whether it is not a case of philological legerdemain. The name of Skanda is familiar in Sanskrit, in Indian languages and literature in general. But has it anything to do with Alexander the Great? Is it not an isolated case of accidental coincidence? It behoves us to examine it further.

If there are historical facts of the life and deeds of Alexander analogous to those of Skanda as we gather from Indian literature, if there is corroboration of material details in the lives of the two, we have to pause before we reject the hypothesis as idle, far-fetched fancy.

At the outset, it must be borne in mind that many long centuries have sped since the days of Alexander of Macedon. A tangled mass of myths has grown around his name and eclipsed his true history. The folk-lore of centuries embodying the exploits of local heroes lies entwined over the garbled tales of Alexander, often distorting them beyond recognition. The life of Alexander by a Pseudo-Callisthenes gained unmerited currency and the brilliant hues of lurid fiction threw facts into the shade. We have, then, to extricate historical matter from the cobwebs of age-old legends.

9. Milanda panha
10. Cf. Stri. (Skt.) Itthi (Pkt.)

Alexander was a prince, and Kumāra which means a prince in Sanskrit is a synonym of 'Skanda.' He was a warlord and leader of an army, and Senānī which means the leader of an army is again a name of Skanda. The lance was Alexander's favourite weapon, and the weapon of Greek soldiers in general, and Skanda is called 'Śakti-dhara' (lance-bearer). These are resemblances which may gain weight in the light of other evidences.

The fondest hope and proudest ambition of Philip of Macedon, Alexander's father was to lead a Crusade against Persia after achieving a Pan-Hellenic Confederation. The memories of the incursions of the barbarian hordes from Persia who devastated the smiling lands of Greece and subjugated her inhabitants, were still there in the minds of men. But Philip did not live long enough to see the fructification of his hopes. It was left to his son Alexander to fulfil the dreams of his father. The conquest of Persia and the establishment of a World Empire under Hellenic supremacy was his greatest ambition. The defeat of Darius was perhaps the greatest event of his life. And Skanda was born for the slaying of Tāraka, the asura, who menaced the peace of the world. Now Tāraka, is but the sanskritization of Darius [11] 'Dāra' of Eastern legends (Dārayavus of the Persian Inscriptions). [12] Darius in Persian means preserver or protector, and Tāraka in Sanskrit also means preserver or protector. There is at once the similitude of sound and sense. Against the advice [13] of Parmenion, Alexander fired Xerxes's palace at Persepolis as a sign to all Asia that Achaemenid rule had ended. And with the death of Darius and the complete conquest of Persia, Ahura Mazda, the God of Persia was naturally dethroned, and there appeared in his stead the new Aryan God from the West, Alexander. The sway of Ahūra Mazda waned with the vanquishing of Achaemenid power.

11. Cf. Gonia (Grk.) kona (Skt.)
12. Cf. any Dictionary.
13. Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. VI, p. 883.

Alexander could legitimately be spoken of as having crushd Ahura Mazda, the guardian deity of the King of Persia. Skanda is referred to as Mahiṣāsuramardana. Now, Mahiṣāsura appears to be the natural sanskritized form of Mazda-Ahura. In the oldest portions of the Avesta, this compound word does not occur in the form of Ahura Mazda.[14] It is Mazda Ahura. But the Sanskrit form is a much-disputed point. Various scholars of repute have essayed at length to arrive at the Sanskrit equivalent of Ahura Mazda. That Asura is the Sanskrit equivalent of Ahura is admitted by all. But controversy crops up, when we come to the equivalent of Mazda.

Dr. D. B. Spooner connects it with Maya (Zoroastrian period of Indian History, T. R. A. S. 1915, p. 63—89). The regular Indian equivalent according to the Indologist Dr. Thomas and philologists like Dr. Brugmann (T. R. A. S. 1915, p. 78) is 'medha'. On the strength of a passage in the Rg. Veda " Mahas putrāso asurasya vīrāh" (Rg. 10-10-2), it is pointed out that Mazda corresponds to Mahas- I venture to suggest that the Mahiṣāsura of the Purāṇas is but a Sanskrit rendering of the Mazda Ahura of the Persian, Mahiṣa being equvalent to Mazda.

But even in the Vedas, the word Mahiṣa is used in the sense of the great or the venerable. The Uṇādi sūtras derive it by affixing 'ṭiṣac' to mah, (avimahyoṣ ṭiṣac — Unl-48). Jñānendra Sarasvati explains Mahiṣa as Mahānand quotes 'turīyam dhāma mahiṣo vivakti' 'uta mātā mahiṣam anvavenat'[15] in support of his view; and Maz is admittedly the Avestic equivalent of Sanskrit 'Mah'. Compare also the feminine form MahiṣI which means a queen. The word Asura which originally possessed a good signification came to acquire a bad import, probably after the rift between Persians and Indo-Aryans.

14. Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, p. 6 V. K. Rajwade,

15. Siddhanta Kaumudi with Tattvabodhini, p. 496.

Alexander married the beautiful princess Roxana the daughter of the King of Bactria; and Skanda is said to have married Senā or Deva Senā, daughter of Mṛtyu according to Skanda Purāna[16] and daughter of Prajāpati according to the Mahā Bhārata.[17] Now it is a well-recognised principle of language that proper names are contracted in actual usage, and the end often chosen to designate the whole. It was an accepted rule in Sanskrit [18] Kātyāyana says[19] "vināpi pratyayam pūrvottarapadayor lopo vācyah" and Patanjali adds, "lopah pūrvapadasya ca". Senā is but the latter part of Roxana ill-disguised in Sanskrit garb. And the form Devasenā is but a Sanskrit rendering with a view to preserving its sense, as Roxana is derived from the root 'raz' to 'shine' just as deva is from 'div' to 'shine'.[20] Evidently the king of Bactria is denoted by the word Mṛtyu.

On his march into India, Alexander crossed the Hindu Kush mountain, through the Koashan pass.[21] The Macedonians who served with Alexander called the mountain Kaukasos, perhaps to flatter Alexander[22] attributing to him the highest geographical adventure, the passage of the Caucasus. The name Hindu Kush is but a corrupted form of 'Indicus Caucasus'. 'Graucasus' which means 'white with snow' is the original Scythic form of the word caucasus[23] Skanda is referred to as 'Krauñca dāraṇa, and Kraunca is admitted on all hands to be the name of a mountain pierced through by Skanda. Kalidasa refers to this mountain pass as a passage through which swans make their seasonal flights[24] He but echoes the idea of the Mahābhārata which says 'tena

16. Skanda Purana, Vol. I. p. 57 and 58.
17. Maha Bharata, Vanaparvan, Ch. 226, 1.
18. Athavā pūrvapadalopotra draṣṭavyah, Madhabhāṣya I Ahn.
19. Vārtika on 5-3 88
20. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol III, p. 453.
21. The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. VI, p. 391 and 403.
22. M'Crindles Ancient India, p. 187
23. Rawlinson's Herodotus Vol. III p. 161.
24. Hariṣadvāram.. Krauncarandhram.....Meghaduta.

hamsāś ca gṛdhrāś ca merum gacchanti parvatam.[25] Now Krauncha is a more proximate variant of Graucasus than Kush' is of Caucasus. And the identification of the Krauñca pass with Koashan is natural and legitimate.

We next come to one of the most interesting facts of history. Chandra Gupta Maurya, the first Emperor of India, while yet a boy, had seen Alexander "the invincible splendid man from the West". -'Later on when he became a great King, Chandra Gupta worshipped Alexander among his Gods."[26] It appears a curious fact that a Hindu King paid divine honours to a foreign prince whom he had himself beheld. But the whole world had recognised his divinity. Even the democratic cities of Greece deified and adored him. Egyptian priests had acclaimed him as the son of God and God, and set their seal of assent on the flagrant faith in his divinity. Alexander is said to have visited the temple of Ammon Ra in the oasis of Siwa. He advanced into the mysterious inner sanctuary, and the image declared[27] "Come son of my loins, who loves me so that I give thee royalty of Ra, and the Royalty of Horus. I give thee the valiance, I give thee to hold all countries and all religions under thy feet, I give thee to strike all the peoples united together with thy arm".

It was not a notion new to Egypt. "Innumerable empires consecrated to the Sun extended around the Nile. Millions obeyed the will of one. What the ruler dreamed was fashioned by his slaves with their myriad hands. Everything was possible to him. The King was the son of God...All obeyed him as the descendant of the original conqueror. Because that first conqueror named himself King and son of the Gods, all believed him. Here, in the East, it is possible to say to human beings, "I am your God," and

25. Mahabharatha Vanaparvan Ch. 227, 33.
26. The House of Seleucus by E. R. Bevan, p. 295.
27. New Light on Ancient Egypt by G. Maspero p. 252.

all believe."[28] That frame of mind is not the sole monopoly of the East. In the West also that has been the case, and is so perhaps still. Heroes, princes and prophets have been deified in the East and the West from time immemorial. The pages of history are strewn with the broken images of God Kings of all times and climes. The elevation of a single man to power without adequate checks leads him to the dizzy heights of megalomania; and people under his power bow before him and pay divine homage; and others take up the thread where they leave it. From neolithic days when the symbolic sacrifice of a god-king was performed for the fertility of the crop,[29] down to modern times the belief in the divinity of the chosen man has persisted. The Pharaohs of Egypt, the divine monarchs of Peru,[30] Alexander and Caesar are but a few examples. Dr. Rosemberg, chief of the Department for the Ideological Training of the future German Nation is reported to have said "We need a son of God. Today, there stands among us one, who has been especially blessed by the creator. No one has the right to find fault with those of our people who have found their son of God and have thus regained their Eternal Father.[31] No wonder Herr Hitler, the leader of Germany is being deified.

And in the East, the Dalai Lamas of Tibet and the Emperors of Japan, not to speak of a host of other princes and priests, are living examples of accredited divinity.[32]

The tendency to regard a great and strange foreigner as a god is no less marked.[33] 'The Greeks were quite familiar with the idea that a passing stranger may be a God.

28. Napoleon by Emil Ludwig p. 121.
29. Frazer's The Golden Bough—Spirits of the Corn and the Wild—Vol. I, Chap. VII.
30. H. G. Wells—The Outline of History, p. 214.
31. Quoted in Sunday Times (Madras) dated March 28, 1937
32. H. G. Wells—The Outline of History, p. 408.
33. Frazer's the Golden Bough—Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild Vol. I, p. 236.

Homer says that the Gods in the likeness of foreigners roam up and down cities".[34] And, Alexander was no ordinary foreigner. He had captivated the imagination of the world. He himself had a vague faith in his divinity. His followers confirmed it. And Chandragupta might have been influenced by the prevalent craze. His matrimonial alliance with Seleucus who succeeded to the throne of Persia might have made it tactically opportune, and politically expedient. For Indian corroboration, we have the much-disputed passage of Patanjali's Mahābhāṣya commenting on Pāṇini's Sūtra "Jīvikārthe cā'paṇye" (5-3-99) " śivah Skando viśākha iti... mauryair hiraṇyārthibhir arcāh prakalpitāh". No one questions the fact that the Mauryas had something to do with the images of Skanda. But who were the Mauryas referred to here? And what did they do ? Images are made for worship or for sale or are carried from door to door and alms collected by mendicants. And ' Mauryas ' referred to here cannot mean a class of mendicants. The passage is "Mauryair hiraṇyārthibhih". The word 'hiranyārthibhih is significant. Beggars do not go about asking for gold. It refers to kings. There are more than half a dozen places in the Mahābhāṣya where occurrs the sentence "arthinaś ca rājāno hiraṇyena bhavanti"[35] where it refers to a fine or punitive tax collected by kings. The passage might naturally refer to a kind of religious tax collected by the Mauryas and probably introduced by them on the model of the practice of Babylonia where the whole land belonged to the God.[36] There might have been periodical religious processions carrying the image of God, when collection was made from house to house. It is a custom that obtains in India even at present. Now Mayūra Vāhana is a synonym of Skanda'. He is pitcured as riding a peacock. That the Mauryas derive their name from the word 'moriya' which meant peacock and that the peacock

34. Odyssey XVII and Plato's Sophist.

35. Mahā bhāsya (1) 1-1-1. (2) 1-1-7. (3) 2-1-4. (4) 2-3-46 (5) 6-1-5. (6) 8-3-58. (7) 8-4-2.

36. H. G. Wells'—The Outline of History, p. 228.

was the symbol of the Mauryan dynasty are facts now admitted by most scholars of note. The Mahāvaṁśa Ṭīkā explains thus the origin of the term Mauryan :[37].

"The appellation of 'Moriyan sovereigns' is derived from the auspicious circumstance under which their capital, which obtained the name of Moriya, was called into existence.

"While Buddha yet lived, driven by the misfortunes produced by the war of (prince) Vidūdhabo, certain members of the Śākya line retreating to Himavanto, discovered a delightful and beautiful location, well-watered, and situated in the midst of a forest of lofty bo and other trees. Influenced by the desire of settling there, they founded a town at a place where several great roads met, surrounded by durable ramparts having gates of defence therein, and embellished with delightful edifices and pleasure gardens. Moreover, that (city) having a row of buildings covered with tiles, which were arranged in the pattern of the plumage of a peacock's neck, and as it resounded with the notes of flocks of 'Konchos' and 'Mayūros' (pea-fowls), was so called. From this circumstance those Śākya lords of this town, and their children and descendants were renowned throughout Jambo dipo by the title of 'Moriya.' From this, the dynasty has been called the Moriyan dynasty."

J. Przyluski says[38] "Mayūra once admitted into the religious literature, had evolved like other Indo-Aryan words. The existence of a Prakrit form 'Mora' explains the name of the Maurya dynasty. This word which the Chinese translators render by "the family of the Peacock" is to be classed with Mātaṅga amongst the names of tribes and royal clans related to animal or vegetable". Dr. Radhakumad Mookerji remarks[39] "The connection of the Moriyas or Mauryas with the peacock is attested by interesting monumental evidence. One of the pillars of Asoka shows at its foundation the figure of a peacock, while the sculptures on the great Sanchi Stūpa depict the peacock at three places.

37. Maxmuller's A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 146.

38. Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, translated by Dr. P.C. Bagchi, p. 188.

39. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume, p. 98-99.



HIS HIGHNESS MARTANDA VARMA, ELAYA RAJA.

Both Foucher and Sir John Marshall agree with Grunwedel that this representation of the peacock was due to the fact that the peacock was the dynastic symbol of the Mauryas."

Weightier evidences cannot be cited to prove that Mayura or the peacock symbolizes the Mauryas. It is needless to say that the usual derivation based on the assumption that Murā was the name of Chandragupta's mother is ill-founded. As the Mauryas were responsible for the introduction of this worship, and as they might have led the processions carrying the image, Skanda must have come to acquire the appellation of Mayūra Vāhana. It tallies with the evidence of the Mahābhāṣya and corroborates western evidence of Chandragupta's Alexander-worship. The identitiy of the real animal which conveyed Alexander is still preserved in the ritual processions of the image of Skanda mounted on a prancing charger sculptured with realism. The practice obtains generally on occasions of religious processions and particularly when the ritual of a mimic fight between Skanda and the Asura is staged. [40]The Mahabharata corroborates the evidence of the ritual. "Lohitāśvo mahābāhur hiranyakavacaḥ prabhuḥ."

[41]In Margelan of Ferghana, *his red silken banner* is shown even at present. The Mahabharata states, 'Patākā kārtikeyasya Viśākhasya ca lohitā'.[42]

It is an undisputed fact that Alexander was regarded as the son of God. Even before the oracle of Ammon Ra proclaimed his divine parentage, there were circumstances which tended towards a growing credence in the divinity of his origin. Wheeler remarks[43] "The confidence in an ultimately divine origin was an essential part of every family tree among the noble families of the older Greece. All the

40. M. Bh. Vanaparva, Ch. 232-69.
41. The Cambridge Ancient History Vol. VI. p. 435.
42. M. Bh Vanavaparva Ch. 231-20.
43. Alexander the Great by Wheeler, p. 350.

great heroes were sons of Gods. If Minos was the son of Zeus, Theseus must needs, as Bacchylides's paean, XVII shows it, prove himself Poseidon's son". Alexander's mother Olympias who was steeped in the religious mysteries of a semi-Greek land, in the dark cults and orgiastic practices, spells and incantations of a primitive religion, made no secret of her conviction that he was the son of god. Even Philip suspected his legitimacy, and the tale went round that the arch-sorcerer Nectanebo, the last Egyptian Pharaoh had visited Olympias in the guise of the ramheaded Ammon and that he was Alexander's real father. Olympias was elated when reports reached her of the oracular confirmation of her conviction. The miraculous success of his military expeditions augmented further the growing belief ; and Skanda is referred to as Īśasūnu, the son of god.

Zeus Ammon is often portrayed with the horned head of a ram. And Alexander, the son of Ammon, came to acquire the image of his father with horns springing up from his head. The coinage of Lysimachus has preserved for us the profile of the two-horned god, the Dhulqarnein of the Arabs and their Koran. Chāga mukha or Chāga vaktra which means ram-faced is, again, one of the synonyms of Skanda.[44]

The Pancatantra asks,

"Viṣṇuḥ sūkararūpeṇa mṛgarūpo mahān ṛṣiḥ
Ṣaṇmukhaḥ chāgarūpeṇa pūjyate kim na sādhubhiḥ"

I—45.

"Viṣṇu in the form of a boar, the great seer in the form of a deer and Ṣaṇmukha in the form of a ram—are these not worshipped by pious men?" It was evidently a popularly known fact expressed by the author of the Pancatantra fables that Skanda was worshipped in the form of a ram. It might have been so during his days. But who in India knows now of such a worship as that? Who would not be surprised

44. Sa bhūtvā bhagavān sānkhye rakṣaṇaṃ chāgamukhas tadā Maha Bharata III, Ch. 226, 51.

by the epithet chāga-mukha applied to Skanda as we find in the Mahabharata? These are facts that could not be ignored. These are strange corroborations that stare us in the face.

We pass on from the historical facts of his life to the domain of Mythology and Romance to which his name was transported on the wide-spread wings of popular fancy.

[45]"Around him the whole dream-world of the East took shape and substance ; of him every old story of a divine world conqueror was told afresh. More than eighty versions of the Alexander-romance, in twenty-four languages have been collected, some of them the wildest of fairy tales ; they range from Britain to Malaya ; no other story in the world has spread like his. Long before Islam, the Bysantines knew that he had traversed the Silk Route and founded Chubdan, the great Han capital of Sianfu ; while the Graeco Egyptian Romance made him subdue both Rome and Carthage, and compensated him for his failure to reach the eastern Ocean by taking him through the gold and silver pillars of his ancestor Heracles to sail the western. In Jewish lore, he becomes master of the Throne of Solomon, and the High Priest announces him as ruler of the fourth World-Kingdom of Daniel's Prophecy ; he shuts up Gog and Magog behind the Iron Gate of Derbend, and bears on his shoulders the hopes of the whole earth ; one thing alone is forbidden him, to enter the cloud-girdled earthly paradise. The national legend of Iran, in which the man who in fact brought the first knowledge of the Avesta to Europe persecutes the fire-worshippers and burns the sacred book, withers away before the romance of the world-ruler ; in Persian story he conquers India, crosses Thibet, and subdues the Faghfur of China with all his dependencies ; then he turns and goes northward across Russia till he comes to the Land of Darkness. But Babylon, as was fitting, took him

45. The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. VI, p. 435.

farthest: for the Babylon-inspired section of the Romance knows that he passed beyond the Darkness and reached the Wall of Life at the world's end on the shores of the furthest ocean of them all".

In the hill-state called Nysa, overshadowed by the triple-peaked Mount Meros, probably the Modern Koh-i-Mor,[46] Alexander came into contact with the tradition that the Greek god Dionysos was the founder of the city and was the first to conquer India. Arrian tells us that[47] "he heard that the Arabs venerated only two gods, Uranus and Dionysus; the former because he is visible and contains in himself the heavenly luminaries, espicially the sun, from which emanates the greatest and most evident benefit to all things human; and the latter on account of the fame he acquired by his expedition into India. Therefore he thought himself quite worthy to be considered by the Arabs as a third god, since he had performed deeds by no means inferior to those of Dinoysus". Was he not himself the accredited son of Zeus? [48]Arrian refers to a current story of Alexander reeling through Carmania at the head of a drunken rout, dressed as Dionysus. Dionysus too is a ram-headed god, the first to conquer India. And the identification is slowly effected. But Mr. W. W. Tarn[49] is inclined to suspect the truth of this identification. He says, "Thereon, Alexander was deified at Athens, though the story that he became a particular god Dionysus, seems unfounded". He concedes the existence of the story. Only he suspects its authenticity.

The truth of the story of this identification is borne out by the Indian account of Skanda. Most of the ideas current in Greek Mythology concerning Dionysus are available in

46. The Early History of India by V. A. Smith, p. 56.
47. Arrian's Anabasis of Alexander, translated by E. J. Chinnock. p 408.
48. Arrian's Anabasis of Alexander, Ib. p. 362.
49. The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. VI, p. 451.

the Indian version. What are the salient features of the conception of Dionysus?

The origins of the cult of Dionysus can be traced to prehistoric times. Dionysus was originally a nature god of fruitfulness and reproduction of all trees and vegetation. Thus in Indian tradition, Skanda is equated with 'Viśākha, or 'Bhadraśākha' (the God of the auspicious or Golden Bough) evidently referring to the deity of vegetal reproduction. These words are remnants reminiscent of the ancient cult of tree-worship, suggestive of Dionysus, Dendrites. Vidyāraṇya, the philosopher saint speaks of the prevalence of tree-worship which persists even to the present day, in India.

"Antaryāminam ārabhya sthāvarāntesavādinaḥ
santy aśvatthā'rka vaṃśādau kuladaivatadarśinaḥ"

Pancadasi VI, 121.

In Europe and Asia, where trees and creepers were worshipped during spring and harvest festivals from the earliest times, a ritual, symbolic wedding of the tree with some creeper was often celebrated.[60] And poetic imagination everywhere pictured trees and creepers in intimate sexual relation.

"Paryāpta puṣpa stabaka stanābhyaḥ
Spurat pravāloṣṭha manoharābhyaḥ
Latāvadhūbhyas taravo'pyavāpur
Vinamra śākhā bhuja bandhanāni"

Kumārasaṃbhava.

And in South Indian tradition, Skanda, equated with Bhadraśākha (He of the Golden Bough) is represented as marrying valli, the creeper. The real original character of this God and his spouse is preserved in tradition as well as in places of worship, particularly in Ceylon, where adjoining the temple of Skanda there is a close preserve of cornfield.

60. Frazer's The Golden Bough Vol. I. p. 346.

Herodotus[51] speaks of Dionysus as a late addition to the Hellenic gods. "Whence the gods severally sprang, whether or no they had existed from all eternity, what forms they bore—these are questions of which the Greeks knew nothing until the other day, so to speak. For Homer and Hesiod were the first to compose theogonies and give the gods their epithets, to allot them their several offices and occupations, and describe their forms".

The worship of Dionysus is said to be of Thracian origin. But the fundamental conceptions underlying the rites and ceremonies of Dionysiac worship are the common heritage of various nations. Yet there is no reason to doubt the veracity of Herodotus' statement that the worship was new to Greece. New forms of ritual and new ideas might naturally have been grafted on to the old existent ones. And that is always the case with religion even when the new one appears to differ radically from the old. The residuum of old faiths remains and through a gradual process of osmosis diffuses into the new.

The cardinal notions of the cult of Dionysus are evident from the Bacchae of Euripides (Prof. Gilbert Murray's Translation).

"Achelous' roaming daughter,
Holy Dirce, virgin water,
Bathed he not of old in thee
The Babe of God, the Mystery?
When from out the fire immortal
To himself his God did take him,
To his own flesh and bespake him".

In the Bacchae, Dionysus is fire-born and attended by the light of torches. He is Dithyrambos[52] the twice-born; born from fire and again from water. The water-rite or baptism is an

51. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol, II, p. 82.
52. Themis by Dr. J. E. Harrison, p. 84

ancient ritual. The baptism of fire and the baptism of water are meant for the magical acquisition of strength for the child. And it has survived in Christian ritual to the present day in one form or another.

53[58] In fire is a great strength, and the child must be put in contact with this strength to catch its contagion and grow strong. The water-rite, baptism, has the same intent. Water too is full of sanctity, of force, of 'mana'; through water comes the birth into a new life".

Now we could trace this Bacchic idea in unaltered form even in the Upaniṣads. The Kaṭha Upaniṣad says,

"Ya imam madhvadam veda
Ātmānam jīvam antikāt
Īśānam bhūtabhavyasya
Na tato vijugupsate—etad vai tat
Yaḥ pūrvam tapaso jātam
Adbhyaḥ pūrvam ajāyata
Guhām praviśya tiṣṭhantam
Yo bhūtebhir vyapaśyata—etad vai tat".
Katha IV, 5 and 6.

"He who knows this mead-eater
as the living soul at hand,
Lord of what has been and what is to be,
He shrinks not from Him. This verily
is that.
He who first from fire was born
from waters, of old, was born
Who in Mystery entered stands,
Who was seen by creatures".

Whatever be the metaphysical interpretation given, the fact remains that there is unmistakable parallelism between these passages from the Bacchae and the Kaṭha Upaniṣad. The fire-born, water-born mead-eater who stands in mystery cannot escape our notice.

53. Themis ib. p. 34.

Later Sanskrit literature, particularly Classical Sanskrit Dramas, abound in descriptions of Vasantotsava or Madanotsava. The Vasantotsava was a regular Bacchanalian festival conforming in all essential details to the authentic western type. Compare the description in the Ratnāvali of Śrī Harṣa.

> Prekṣasva tāvad asya madhu matta kāminījana
> Svayamgrāha gṛhīta sṛṅgakajala prahāra nṛtyan
> nāgara jana janita kautūhalasya samantatah
> śabdāyamāna mardaloddāma carcarī śabda
> mukhara
> rathyā mukha śobhinaḥ prakīrṇa paṭavāsa puñja
> pinjarita daśa diśāmukhasya saśrīkatām madana
> mahotsavasya".
>
> Ratnāvali, Act. I

Skanda is frequently spoken of as the son of fire (agnibhū) the son of the Ganges (Gaṅgāsuta) and Mystery (Guha).

[54]Dionysus is also described as the son of Semele, the Earth Mother. [55] "He is not only son of Semele, of Earth but son of Semele as Keraunia, Earth the thunder-smitten". It was appropriate in her case as bride of Zeus, the god of thunder. Euripides has rendered the conception into immortal verse in his Hyppolytus.

> "O mouth of Dirce, O god-built wall
> That Dirce's wells run under;
> You know the Cyprian's fleet foot-fall
> Ye saw the heavens round her flare
> When she lulled to her sleep that Mother
> fair
> Of Twy-bron Bacchus and crowned her
> there

54. Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion by Dr. J. E. Harrison, p. 404.

55 In. p. 407.

The Bride of the bladed thunder:
For her breath is on all that hath life,
and she floats in the air,
Bee-like, death-like, a wonder

In the prologue of the Bacchae, Dionysus himself is made to say

"Behold god's son is come unto this land
Of Thebes, even I, Dionysus, whom the brand
Of heavn's hot splendour lit to life, when she
Who bore me Cadmus' daughter Semele,
Died here. So, changed in shape from God
to man,
I walk again by Dirce's stream, and scan
Ismenus's shore. There by the Castle side
I see her place, the Tomb of the Lightning's
Bride,"

Now the word Keraunia regularly sanskritized becomes saravaṇa.

Compare the analogy of Ionia which admittedly becomes yavana.

Skanda is Śaravaṇabhava, born of Śaravaṇa. But the usual Sanskrit etymology of Śaravaṇa a "forest of reeds" seems quite natural, when this original signification was lost through the lapse of time. He is also referred to as Mahīsuta,[56] the son of the Earth.

According to Greek Mythology, Dionysus, the son of Zeus, was nursed by the nymphs Hyades. They were originally twelve in number and five of them were placed among the stars as Hyades and seven of them under the name of Pleiades, out of gratitude for their services.[57]

And according to the Indian Myth, the six stars Kṛttikās or Pleiades were the nurses of Skanda, and thus he

56. Gangāsutastvam svamatena deva Svāhāmahīkṛttikānam tathaiva M. Bh. Vanaparvam, Ch. 233-15.

57. Classical Dictionary by Sir Wm. Smith and G. E. Marindin Under "Hyades" p. 431.

acquired the name of Kārrttikeya. This particular corroboration is worth noting. The myths are identical. The same star group figures in both in the capacity of nursing nymphs. It is an interesting fact. [53] The constellation of the Pleiades looms large in the imagination of all primitive peoples. The coincidence of the rising or the setting of the constellation with the commencement of the rainy season might have made the primitive man associate these stars with agriculture. This belief was current in both hemispheres. The aborigines of Australia, the Indians of Paraguey and Brazil, Peru and Mexico and North America, the Polynesians and Melanesians, the natives of new Guinea, the Indian Archipelago, and of Africa hold this star-group in veneration. Greeks and Romans and ancient Indians had noted the heliacal risings of this constellation. Naturally enough, stars which were associated with the rains and the fertility of the crops were regarded as the nurses of the god of vegetation and fertility.

[54] "Dionysus is a god of many names; he is Bacchos, Baccheus, Iacchos, Bassareus, Bromios, Euios, Sabazios, Zagreus, Thyoneus, Lenaios, Eleuthereus, and the list by no means exhausts his titles". Many of them are descriptive titles. "Certain names seem to cling to certain places. Sebazios is Thracian and Phrygian, Zagreus Cretan, Bromios largely Theban, Iacchos Athenian."

Zagreus or the Cretan Dionysos is the son of the Goddess Mountain Mother. [55] On the clay impression of a signet ring found at the palace at Cnossos, we come across the figure of the Mountain Mother. On the apex of the mountain, there she stands with two fierce mountain-ranging

53. Frazer's the Golden Bough-Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild-Vol. I. p. 307-319.

54. Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion by Dr. J. E. Harrison p: 413.

55. Prolegomena, Ib. p. 437.

Not solely in the world of speculation, but in political and commercial history, has Travancore taken a notable part. Quilon has given its name to the era which is in general use throughout Kerala. My great ancestor Mārtāṇḍa Varma's dedication of the State to the Deity after conquest and consolidation has been a land-mark in Indian chronicles. The ideal of a simple and self-dedicated life, and the pursuit of learning, have, from time immemorial, been the characteristics of our people. I shall only make a passing reference to the Cera King, who, according to Purāṇic and early Sangam literature, is supposed to have supplied food impartially to both the warring clans on the field of Kurukshetra, and our family motto recalls this incident. One of my forbears is known to scholars as the real hero of the Tamil Epic Śilappadikāram. Amongst those who are responsible for and chronicled in the Tamil scripture, the Prabandham, is another ancestor, Kulasekhara Perumāl, who enjoys the privilege of inclusion amongst the Vaishṇavite Āḻvārs; and from his day to the time of Svāti Tirunāl, who was not only an author but a musician and a composer of admitted eminence, there has prevailed a tradition not only of secular achievement, but of devotion to the things of the intellect and spirit—a tradition which has been continuous in a country, that has fortunately escaped the troubles and turmoils of foreign conquest.

Egypt and Syria, Greece and Rome, Arabia, Portugal the Netherlands, France and England have exchanged with us their products and their cultures. During all these many centuries of foreign contact, we may, I think, claim that ours has been a policy of comprehension, of hospitality and of amity; and the recent Temple Entry Proclamation is the sequel and the logical outcome of these ideals.

This Conference itself is an ample manifestation of the catholicity of true culture. Oriental studies commenced with the compilation of Codes and Laws necessitated by the exigencies of administration, but from the time of Sir William

lions on either side, with an extended weapon, "imperious and dominant".[56] Behind her is her shrine with columns, trident-shaped. The triśūla-shape is unmistakable. Now turn to India. Skanda is the son of Pārvatī Umā. I venture to suggest that Pārvatī Umā is an exact rendering of Mountain Mother. Of course, a curious etymology of Umā has been given by the Puranas, which we find, is followed by the great poet, Kalidasa.

> "Umeti mātrā tapaso niṣiddhā
> Paścād umākhyām sumukhī jagāma"—Kumārasambhava.
>
> "Forbidden by her mother from penance, with the words "U" "MĀ" (O don't) the graceful girl later acquired the name of Umā".

The ingenuity of the etymology is transparent. In fact, the word Umā seems to be related to the semitic word 'Umma' which means mother; and Ambā and Ambikā are other names of Pārvatī.

The worship of a Mother Goddess was prevalent throughout Asia. [57] It obtained in Egypt and from there it is said to have passed on to Greece. Herodotus asserts, "The Eyptians, they went on to affirm, first brought into use the names of the twelve gods, which the Greeks adopted from them; and first erected altars, images and temples to the gods; and also first engraved upon stone the figures of animals. In most of these cases they proved to me that what they said was true."[58] George Rawlinson remarks "There is also evidence of the Greeks having borrowed much from Egypt in their early Mythology as well as in later times, after their religion had long been formed."[59] In Egypt we find a Goddess "standing on a lion, like 'Mother

56. Ib. p. 497.
57. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. III, p. 55, n.9.
58. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II. p. 4.
59. ib. Vol. II p. 249.

Earth' "who is mentioned by Macrobius[60] (Saturn. i, 26) We find her again on Assyrian monuments.[61] The very name of the Egyptian Mother Goddess is 'Maut'.[62] The comments of the great scholar G. Rawlinson on this point are again worth quoting.[63] "Besides the evidence of a common origin, from the analogies in the Egyptian, Indian, Greek and other systems we perceive that Mythology had advanced to a certain point before the early migration took place from Central Asia. And if in after times each introduced local changes, they often borrowed so largely from their neighbours that a strong resemblance was maintained; and hence the religions resembled each other, partly from having a common origin, partly from direct imitation, and partly from adaptation; which last continued to a late period". But whether the early migration took place from Central Asia or not is a question beyond the purview of this paper.

We have already referred to Dionysos being portrayed as ramheaded and Skanda being Chāga-mukha. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that he is referred to as 'Naigameya' in the Mahabharata. Would it not be possible that this word has its origin in misreading and mis-spelling the word Nysian, Dionysos being taken to mean the Nysian God. Such a suspicion is strengthened by the large variety of forms in which the word Naigameya occurs in various works. It occurs as Nejameṣa in the Gṛhya Sūtras of Āśvalāyana and Śāṅkhāyana, as Naigameṣa in Suśruta and as Nemeśa in the Mathurā Inscription.[64] Prof. Pargiter gives various illustrations of flagrant misreadings of names.[65] Naiśeya or Naiśayeya meaning Nysian whould have easily assumed all these various forms.

60. ib. Vol. II, p. 446.
61. ib. ,, p. 446.
62. ib. ,, p. 242. Compare the Dravidian form 'Mat 'meaning mother, corresponding to Skt, 'Mātṛ'
63. ib. p. 250.
64. Religion and Philosophy of the Veda by A. B. Keith, p. 242.
65. Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 127-129.

The Indian legend concerning the origin of Skanda is vague, vacillant and divergent. Different sources give different tales. The Mahabharata has two or three varying versions. The tone of dubious hesitancy is patent. The first version of the story goes that Vasiṣṭha and other ṛṣis were offering a sacrifice. Agni, being invoked, descended from the sun, entered into the fire and received the oblations. Issuing forth from the fire, he beheld the lovely spouses of the seven Ṛṣis, bathing pleasantly in their hermitages. They shone like golden altars, pure as the crescent moon, like the flames of fire, and all as wondrous as stars. The mind of Agni was upset. He became the slave of his passion. Knowing no other means of quenching his lust, he entered into the domestic fire and beheld them and touched them with his flames. Thus he dwelt for long enamoured of these lovely women. But his heart's desire was unfulfilled, and in distress and despair, he decided to abandon his corporeal form and retired into the forest. Now Svāhā, the daughter of Dakṣa had fallen in love with him. Her amour was unrequited, and she now found an opportune moment and a clever ruse. She assumed the forms of the wives of the six ṛṣis, one after another, and enjoyed the bliss of union with Agni. But she was not able to impersonate Arundhati, the chaste wife of Vasiṣṭha. Thus,

> "six times was the seed of Agni thrown into the reservoir on the first of the lunar fortnight. Discharged there and collected, that seed by its energy generated a son. That which was discharged (Skanna) being worshipped by the ṛṣis became Skanda"
>
> (Vanaparvan Ch. 227).

Ṣāṭkṛtvatas tu nikṣiptam
Agne retaḥ kurūttama
tasmin kuṇḍe pratipadi
Kāminyā svāhayā tadā

tat skannam tejasā tatra
saṃvṛtam janayat sutam
ṛṣibhiḥ pūjitam skannam
Anayat skandatām tataḥ.

Vanaparvan, Ch. 227 (17-18).

It is evident that Śiva or Rudra does not come in here, nor do the Kṛttikā stars. In the next stage, Agni is equated with Rudra and the Kṛttikās are slyly smuggled in. "Brahmins call Agni Rudra; therefore, he (Skanda) is the son of Rudra. The seed which was discharged by Rudra became the white mountain. And the seed of Agni was placed by the Kṛttikās on the white mountain. All the devas having seen him honoured by Rudra, they call him who is the mysterious one, the best of the virtuous, the son of Rudra. This child was born, when Rudra had entered the fire. Being born there, he became Skanda and then the son of Rudra. Skanda, the greatest of the Devas was born with the energy of Rudra, of Agni, of Svāhā and of the six women. Therefore he became the son of Rudra".

Vanaparvan Ch. 229 (35—38)

rudram agnim dvijāḥ prāhuḥ
rudrasūnus tatas tu saḥ.
rudreṇa śukram utṛṣṭam
tat śvetaḥ parvato' bhavat
pāvakasyendriyam śvete
kṛttikābhiḥ kṛtam nage
pūjyamānam tu rudreṇa
dṛṣṭvā sarve divaukasaḥ
Rudrasūnum tataṭ prāhur
guham guṇavatām varam.
Anupraviśya rudreṇa
Vahnim jāto' hy ayam śiśuḥ
tatra jātas tatas skando
rudrasunus tatō' bhavat.
rudrasya vahneḥ svāhāyāḥ
Ṣaṇṇām strīṇām ca tejasā
jātas skandas suraśreṣṭho
rudrasūnus tato' bhavat.

Vanaparvan Ch. 229 (35—48)

The confusion arising out of the attempt at the fusion of different concepts is hardly disguised. We perceive the very process of fusion, the trembling fingers of the fabulist at work, mixing and mingling divergent legends. Rudra and Agni, Svāhā and Kṛttikās are all jostling against each other. The introduction of the Kṛttikās does not appear to serve a purpose here. The acquisition of the six faces through their intrusion is mentioned only later, And there, Śiva has slowly displaced Agni from his original fatherhood. Agni becomes the agonized bearer of Śiva's caustic energy.

"The discharged energy of Śiva fell into Agni. The Lord Agni was not able to bear all that imperishable stuff. The brilliant bearer of oblations was sinking under it. Being advised by Brahma, he deposited it in the Ganges. The Ganges herself incapable of bearing it threw it ashore on the venerable Himalayan range. There, the son of Agni grew encompassing the worlds. The Kṛttikās saw that lustrous foetal form in a thicket of Śara reeds, and each one cried out "he is mine". The Lord knowing their maternal affection drank the effluent milk of their breast with six mouths."

Śalyaparvan, Ch. 45 (6—12)

tejo māheśvaram skaunam
Agnau prapatitam purā
tat sarvam bhagavān agniḥ
nā' śakad dhartum akṣayam
tena sīdatī tejasvī
dīptimān havyavāhanaḥ
na ca'inam dhārayāmāsa
brahmaṇe uktavān prabhuḥ
sa gaṅgām upasaṅgamya
niyogād brahmaṇaḥ prabhuḥ
garbham āhitavān divyam
bhāskaropamatejasam
atha gaṅgā'pi tam garbham
asahantī vidhāraṇe

utsasarja girau ramye
himavaty amarārcite
sa tatra vavṛdhe lokān
āvṛtya jvalanātmajaḥ
dadṛśur jvalanākāram
tam garbham atha kṛttikāḥ
śarastambe mahātmānam
analātmajam Īśvaram
mamā'yam iti tāḥ sarvāḥ
putrārthinyo' bhicukruśuḥ
tāsām viditvā bhāvam tam
mātṛṇām bhagavān prabhuḥ
prasnutānām payaḥ ṣaḍbhir
vadanair apibat tadā.

(Salyaparvan, Ch. 45 (6—12)

Finally we get a summary of results.

Some regard him as the son of Brahman, some as the eternal boy, the eldest born, some as the son of Śiva, and some as the son of Agni, of Umā, of Kṛttikās and of the Ganges".

Śalyaparvan, Ch. 45 (98-99).

Kecid enam vyavasyanti
pitāmahasutam prabhum
sanatkumāram sarveśam
brahmayonim tam agrajam
kecid maheśvarasutam
kecit putram vibhāvasoḥ
Umāyāḥ kṛttikānām ca
gaṅgāyāś ca vadanty uta

(Śalyaparvan Ch. 45 (98—99)

These varying accounts confirm our suspicion.

We are now going to tread on more controversial ground. Dionysos is said to be the son of Zeus and Skanda is the son of Śivā. Could it be that the very word Śiva itself is an

Indianization of Zeus and imported from outside? The word Zeus has a long history behind it. Philogists are agreed that Zeus is the Greek form of the Sanskrit word "dyaus" which means sky, and we have the form "divas pitṛ" corresponding to the western form Zeus-pater or Jupiter. But the word Śiva in the sense of a god, we do not come across in the Vedas. We are familiar with Rudra, the Vedic counterpart of the Puranic Śiva. We meet Śiva in some Upaniṣads, the chronology of which is questionable. Pāṇini is familiar with Śiva, and Patanjali too. That is to say, earlier than the 4th century B. C. the usually accepted date of Pāṇini, there is no authentic mention of Śiva. It is not proposed here to claim Śiva to be a thorough-bred foreigner. The excavations at Mohenja Daro have brought to light a seal (Plate XII of Sir Jon Marshall's work) representing a prototype of Śiva Paśupati; and it reveals the hoary antiquity of such a conception. As so often happens in the history of religion, new names and new notions were overlaid on the old. But a question might naturally arise. If the word Śiva has come from Greece, how could Pāṇini be aware of him in the 4th century or thereabout? India had come into contact with the western world, long before the conquest of Alexander. From the days of Xerxes who invaded the North-west, India had frequent intercourse with the West. Contingents of Indian troops had served in the armies of Xerxes and Darius in their expeditions against Greece. Trade and commerce might have helped the process of the diffusion of religion and culture. But it is rather a hazardous venture to hang on the frail form of a verbal resemblance in matters like this. But the parallelism does not stop with the word.

Attributes of Śiva with which we are familiar in Indian religious literature are discernible in the case of his Greek counter-part Zeus. We note Zeus as Jupiter triophthalmos[66]

66. India in Greece by E. Pococke, p. 386.

the triple-eyed god. Siva as triambaka is worshipped throughout India ; and triambaka is always explained as three-eyed. We become aware, for once, of the fact, that there is a word amba or ambaka in Sanskrit which means an eye. It is suspicious.

In Egypt, we encounter the Solar god variously called Atin, Atys, or Attin,[67] who was both male and female (Macrobius-Saturn I, 26). We meet the double-sexed god again in Europe. Says Rawlinson,[68] "Macrobius (Saturn III, 7) speaks of a bearded Venus in Cyprus and She is called by Aristophanes 'Aphroditos', apparently according with the notion of Jupiter being of two sexes, as well as of many characters, and with the Egyptian notion of a self-producing and self-engendering deity. This union of the two sexes is found also in Hindoo Mythology, and similarly emblematic of the generative and productive principles." Of course, the double-sexed Zeus of Hindu Mythology is Śiva, Ardhanārīśvara. It is a striking similarity.

Herodotus speaks of a Jupiter Stratius worshipped by the Carians.[69] "He was also called Jupiter Labrandeus, either from his temple at Labranda or from the fact that he bore in his right hand a double-headed battle-axe ('Labra' in the Lydian language). Such a representation of Jupiter is sometimes found upon Carian coins. And a similar axe appears frequently as an architectural ornament in the buildings of the country."[70] We are naturally reminded of Śiva as Khaṇḍa paraśu figuring so frequently in Sanskrit literature.

It is an admitted fact that the word 'Tues' of Tuesday is derived from the name of the old German God Zio, (Zeus) or Tius.[71] The Indian names of the days of the week are

67. Rawlinson's Herodotus. Vol. III, p. 180, n. 6.
68. ib. Vol. II, p. 452.
69. Herodotus (Rawlinson) Vol. III, p. 262
70. ib. p. 262, n. 1
71. ib. Vol. II, p. 81, n. 1

exactly corresponding to the western names. These names assuredly, had a common origin. Dion Cassius[72] expressly states that the seven days were first referred to the seven planets by the Egyptians. The 'tues' of Tuesday appears as Cevva in Dravidian languages. That is as much as to say that the Dravidian word Cevva corresponds to the western word Zeus. Now in Tamil, the alleged root of the word Cevva may be spelt either way as 'Civ' or Cev', and C is pronounced as Ś. If this process of reasoning is sound, it would follow that, while directly through Vedic and Sanskrit, various forms of the word 'dyaus' became current in India, it reached India again through the Greek form Zeus, after circuitous migrations in diverse lands, passing through diverse tongues. This fact explains the absence of the God Śiva in the Vedas, and probably South India hugged to her bosom this new-come god with fervid devotion. Of course, there were gods and goddesses too before the arrival of Śiva. But again, they paled into insignificance before the impetuous new-comer. The conception of Śiva as aṣṭamūrti is a bold attempt at an all-embracing symposium of diverse allied cults of the worship of Zeus, as the sun, the moon, etc. Even the practice of the devotees of Śiva daubing themselves with white ashes (bhasman) is analogous to the orphic rite of the worshippers of Zeus besmearing their body with dust or ashes or gypsum which the ancients call 'titanos'. [73]Archbishop Eustathius commenting on the word Titan says, "we apply the word titanos in general to dust, in particular to what is called asbestos, which is the white fluffy substance in burnt stones".

It is claimed by some that Skanda is a purely South Indian God and there are no Skanda temples in the north. It might be so or not now. But even during the days of Kalidasa, we come across great Skanda Shrines of note in the

72. Ib. Vol. II p. 283

73. Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion by Dr. J E. Harrison, p. 493.

north. Cf. 'Tatra skandam niyatavasatim'—Meghadūta. Śaṅkarācārya invokes him as the God of the Indus region.

Cf. Subrahmaṇya bhujaṅga.

"Iti vyañjayan sindhutīre ya āste
tam ṛṣe pavitram parāśaktiputram."
"namas sindhavē sindhu deśāya tasmai
punas skandamūrte namas te namo' stu".

Before the introduction of the Skanda or Kārttikeya cult from the north, under the name of Subrahmaṇya, South India was paying her divine homage to Muruka, amongst other local primitive deities. Amongst Dravidians it was a very ancient worship. But even here, palpable affinities could be traced to similar religious rites elsewhere. Muruka, like Skanda, is the God of War. He was also the God of hunting. We are told of a Babylonian and Cushite God of Hunting and of War under a name variously spelt as [74]Murik, [75]Mirukh and Mirikh. Murik is really the original Cushite name and it is still applied by the Arabs to the planet Mars which has always represented the God of War: and does even today represent Skanda in India. The word occurs still in this its vernacular form in Ethiopian inscriptions. The worship of the same god with the same functions under the same name by apparently different races is a problem for ethnologists to tackle. But the fact remains. Either the Cushites and Dravidians might both belong to the same race, or one might have adopted the practice from the other. The former is the more probable hypothesis.

Theocrasia, or the fusing of one god with another has played a conspicuous part in the history of religion from prehistoric times. In the oldest Egyptian religion, Horus, the son of God Osiris (Serapis) was regarded as the intercessor with the Father for sinners. H. G. Wells says, [76]"Many of the hymns to Horus are singularly like Christian hymns in

74. A History of Sumer and Akkad, by L. W. King.
75. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. I, p. 361, n. 1.
76. H. G. Wells' The Outline of History, p. 384 and 385.

Jones, and Colebrooke, and Warren Hastings, the study of Vedic texts and of classical literature has been systematic and fruitful. Controversy and doubts then arose as to the value of Oriental studies but, fortunately, Goethe, Schopenhauer, Max Müller and a long succession of brilliant authors and scholars kept alive the spirit of oriental research. England, France, Italy, Scandinavia, Germany, Russia and America helped in their several ways, and the results of their labours have been amongst the formative influences of the world of today.

India can never forget its debt of gratitude to those lovers of learning in the West who, when India was in danger of neglecting its own scholarship and its literature, gave a stimulus to oriental learning. This debt India is repaying in the best possible manner by bringing into existence a line of Indian scholars, who, in the fields of antiquities and history, of Dravidian and Sanskrit philology and literature, of law and economics and polity, in the intensive study of the Art of India and outer India, are co-operating in the recreation of the mind and soul of our country. A great deal still remains to be accomplished in the collection of Art treasures, of manuscripts and of folklore, and above all, in the welding of the new learning and the old, so as to preserve the unforgettable heritage of the Paṇḍit, and to utilise his hereditary aptitudes and traditions in aid of modern scholarship.

It would, however, be correct to add that the thoughts enshrined in our literatures, both Sanskritic and Dravidian, and the felicities of their setting and diction and the range and comprehensiveness of our philosophies, have not yet been fully appreciated by the Western world, but it is gratifying to see that there is an increasing appreciation of the value and significance of Indian scholarship, and the recent recognition awarded to a thinker like Professor Radhakrishnan is a satisfactory feature. It is a matter of special pride to us that the Syriac, the Catholic, the Protestant and Muslim faiths

their spirit and phraseology. That beautiful hymn "Sun of my soul, thou Saviour dear", was once sung in Egypt to Horus. In this worship of Serapis which spread very widely throughout the civilized world in the third and second centuries B. C., we see the most remarkable anticipations of usages and forms of expression that were destined to dominate the European world throughout the Christian era. The essential idea, the living spirit of Christianity was, as we shall presently show, a new thing in the history of the mind and will of man; but the garments of ritual and symbol and formula that Christianity has worn, and still in many countries wears to this day, were certainly woven in the cult and temples of Jupiter-Serapis and Isis".

The cult of Skanda was super-imposed on the Muruka cult. But the ancient form of worship persisted. With slight modifications, it exists to the present day.

When Dionysos first came to Greece—from where exactly we do not know whether from Thrace or elsewhere—he came with a vast train of attendants ; [77]his revel rout of Satyrs and Centaurs and Maenads. "The Centaurs, it used to be said, are Vedic Gandharvas, cloud-demons. Mythology now-a-days has fallen from the clouds, and with it the Centaurs." [78]Homer alludes to them as "wild men, mountain-haunting". On the metopes of the Parthenon, they appear as horses with the head and trunk of a man. [79]"By the middle of the 5th century B. C., in knightly horse-loving Athens, the horse-form had got the upper hand. In Archaic representations, the reverse is the case. The Centaurs are in art what they are in reality, *men*, with men's legs and feet, but they are shaggy mountain-men with some of the qualities and habits of beasts, so to indicate this in a horse-loving country, they have the hind quarters of a horse tacked on to

77. Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p. 379.
78. Ib. — p. 380.
79. Ib. — p. 381.

their human bodies." The Satyrs were essentially akin to the Centaurs.[80] But when the Centaurs evolved in mythology from wild men to become more and more horse-like, the Satyrs retained their characteristics of wild men with diverse beastly adjuncts. The Maenads are the women-attendans of Dionysos, his nursing nymphs, in mythology. [81]Maenad means 'mad woman'. In actual ceremonial, they were women worshippers[82] 'possessed, maddened, or inspired by his spirit. They had various titles,[83] "Maenad, Thyiad, Phoibad, Lyssad", meaning "Mad one, Rushing one, Inspired one, Raging one". These Satyrs and Centaurs and Maenads correspond to the Sattvas (bhūtas) and Kinnaras and Mātṛgaṇas of Indian Mythology. The Bhūtagaṇas retain, in India too, the same mischievous and frolicsome Puck-like traits of their Greek counter-parts. The Kinnaras appear with palpable corporal inversion. Their trunks are human, but the heads are horse-like, and they are frequently referred to as aśva-mukhas. The Mātṛgaṇas figure prominently in the Mahabharata and the Puranas. The women who were seized with divine frenzy when possessed by the God have left traces of their vanishing existence in Ancient Tamil Poetry, though they have faded out of the social life of modern times in India.

These Maenads or nursing nymphs were represented, as we know, [84]by "frenzied sanctified women" who worshipped Dionysos as a babe in his cradle. In this particular form, Dionysos came to be called Dionysos Liknites' — Liknon meaning a cradle. The Orphic ceremonial of the Liknophoria or the carrying of the liknon was widely practised in Greece. Votive offerings of various sorts, originally the first fruits of the earth and often the best of things dear to man were carried in the liknon to the shrine of Dionysos.

80. Ib. — p. 383.
81. Ib. — p. 388.
82. Ib. — p. 388.
83 Ib. — p. 389.
24. Prolegomena to the study of Greek Religion, p. 401.

The Kāvaḍi in South India is almost the representation of an Indian cradle, carried topsy-turvy by the devotee on his shoulder with offerings hung from the horizontal pole. The word Kāvaḍi means, in Tamil [85]"a decorated pole of wood with an arch over it carried on shoulders with offerings, mostly for Muruka's temple." In a vase-painting from a Krater in the Hermitage Museum at St. Petersburg, we get an exact representation of the modern Indian Kāvaḍi - the outline of an arch covered with fillets, curving over the ends of a horizontal pole with foliar decorations, placed under the feet of Dionysos. Dr. J. E. Harrison, the talented author of the [86]Prolegomena' and 'Themis' regards this representation as the Omphalos of Gaia, the Earth Goddess, the mother of Dionysos. But, the Earth Goddess does not appear in the picture, and the filleted arch is under Dionysos's feet. Whatever that be, its resemblance to the Kāvaḍi is striking and noteworthy.

How was Dionysos worshipped in Ancient Greece ? Exact details of mystic rites cannot possibly be had. But we get interesting descriptions. [88] "His worshippers, women especially, held nightly revels in his honour by torch-light on the mountain tops. Dancing in ecstasy to the sound of cymbals and drums, they tore in pieces a sacrificial animal, whose blood they drank with wine".

In Athens, the worship of Dionysos was later reformed by Epimenides and was purged of certain objectionable elements. [89] Dr. J. E. Harrison quotes a dialogue between Pentheus and Dionysos.

85. Tamil Lexicon, Madras University.

86. Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p. 390.

87. Themis, p. 443.

88. A History of the Ancient World by Rostovtzeff, p. 233 & 234.

89. Prolegomena, p. 400.

"P. How is this worship held, by night or day ?
D. Most oft by night, 'tis a majestic thing
The Darkness.
P. Ha ! with women worshipping
'Tis craft and rottenness".

Herodotus speaks of the maddening influences of Dionysos. The band of raving revellers seized by the god go dancing in divine frenzy.[90] The scenes were similar in India. The veteran scholar Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar says,—

> " The god of the hilly region was the Red God (Śeyon) also called murugan, who was the patron of pre-nuptial love. He was offered by his worshippers balls of rice mixed with the red blood of goats killed in his behalf. He was a hunter and carried the Vel or Spear This god created a love-frenzy in girls.[91]

He quotes again from the Paṭṭinapālai, ll. 154-158, and translates,

> "In the market streets there were ceaseless festivals to Murugan, in which women, obsessed by him, danced, and the flute and the Yāḻ were sounded and the drums beaten."[92]

We behold to-day with our own eyes, around us here, pious devotees of Skanda dancing in ecstasy to the rhythmic beat of resounding drums. We cannot afford to ignore the unchanging persistence of this very ancient cult. Men may come and men may go, but it seems, the cult goes on for ever.

I have attempted to show that the very name Skanda is a foreign importation, that many prominent features of the Skanda cult are immigrants.

90. Rawlinson's Herodotus Vol. III, p. 58 & 59.
91. History of the Tamils by P. T. S. Aiyangar, p. 76 and 77.
92. Do. Do. p. 355.

Different strata of beliefs could be distinguished in the conglomerate mass of myths and legends woven round Skanda. Various races and ages have left the impression of their diverse contributions. Egyptian, Babylonian, Cushite, Dravidian and Greek and Indo-Aryan conceptions of a particular form of divinity have all coalesced into a complex faith. Each has impressed its indelible seal in its present form. Since the advent of Alexander, old faiths took a new turn, assumed a new cloak. That new trend is discernible. I have but advanced here a few evidences which go to prove my contention.

But there could be a serious objection. If the word Skanda has been introduced into India after Alexander's conquest, Indian literature before the days of Alexander could not possibly refer to him. Are there not references in the pre-Alexandrine literature of India? There is no mention of Skanda in the Vedas. But it occurs once in the Upaniṣadic literature. In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, a seer of the name Skanda Sanatkumāra is mentioned. It must, first, be noted that it is not a god Skanda yet, that is referred to. Secondly, the chronology of Upaniṣads and of Vedic literature in general first stated by Maxmuller and accepted by the majority of scholars is open to grave doubts. Thirdly, the passage where it occurs has been alleged to be an interpolation by competent authorities.[93]

The problem of Vedic Chronology is one of the most intricate problems of Sanskrit literature. Chronology is, in general, the weak point of Indian Literary history. Whitney in the introduction to his Sanskrit Grammar said, "all dates given in Indian literary history are pins set up to be bowled down again". Those words ring true even to-day.

Maxmuller started from the few known facts of Indian history—the Invasion of Alexander, and the rise of

93. The Thirteen Principal Upanisads translated by D. R. E. Hume p-262

Buddhism in his chronological theory. His arguments were as follows :

1. Buddhism is nothing but a reaction against Brahminism and it presupposes the existence of the entire Veda Saṃhitas, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads. Therefore, it must have arisen before 500 B. C.

2. Vedāṅga and Sūtra literature probably arose simultaneously with the origin and early spread of Buddhism. These works may be placed in the period from 600 to 200 B. C. But the Sūtra works presuppose the Brāhmaṇas. For these he set apart 200 years. Thus the Brāhmaṇas came to be dated from 800-600 B. C.

3. The Brāhmaṇas in their turn, presuppose the Saṃhitas. Let 200 years be allotted for the arrangement of the Saṃhitas. Thus the Saṃhitas were arranged from 1000-800 B. C.

4. But arrangements could not take place before composition. Another 200 years for composition. Thus Vedas were composed during the period from 1200-1000 B. C.

The arguments, indeed, are simple. But from the starting point of the Sūtra period fixed during 600-200 B. C. through the generous and uniform intervals of 200 years, his hypothesis flounders on. And Maxmuller himself had no absolute faith in his theory. He says, in his Gifford lectures on Physical Religion, "Whether the Vedic hymns were composed 1000 or 1500 or 2000 or 3000 years B. C., no power on earth will ever determine." But those who followed him would not leave his theory forlorn. When he vacillated, his followers took it up in right earnest and said that he could not go back, they would support him. That is in short, the story of Vedic Chronology.

The premise that Budhism presupposes the entire Veda from Saṃhitas to Upaniṣads can hardly be held. In fact the

earliest Upaniṣads like the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and the Chāndogya show, let alone the later ones, traces of Buddhistic influence. Dr. R E. Hume, the learned translator of the thirteen principal Upaniṣads says :

> "Yet, evidence of Buddhistic influence is not wanting in them. In Bṛhadāraṇyaka 3-2-13 it is stated that after death the different parts of a person return to the different parts of nature from whence they came, that even his soul (ātman) goes into space and that only his Karma, or effect of work remains over. This is out and out of the Buddhist doctrine. Connections in the point of dialect may also be shown. Sarvāvat is 'a word which as yet has not been discovered in the whole range of Sanskrit literature, except in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and in Northern Buddhist writings'. Its Pali equivalent is sabbava. In Bṛh, 4-3-2-5 'r' is changed to 'l', i. e., palyayate for pary-ayate—a change which is regularly made in the Pali dialect in which the books of southern Buddhism are written..... Somewhat surer evidence, however, is the use of the second person plural ending 'tha' for 'ta'. Muller pointed out in connection with the word acaratha (Muṇḍaka 1-2-1) that this irregularity looks suspiciously Buddhistic. There are, however, four other similar instances".[94]

In reference to the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, Prof. Keith says [95] "By a division, which seems to have no precedent in Brahmanical texts, and which has certainly no merit, logical or psychological, the individual is divided into five aggregates or groups (Khandha) the Sanskrit equivalent of which means 'body' in the phrase Dharma Skandha in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad". "Trayo dharmaskandhāh" (Chandogya 2.23) Beck compares it with the Dīgha Nikāya passage, where the

94. The Thirteen Principal Upanisads, p. 6.

95. Buddhist Philosophy by A. B. Keith, p. 85.

three imperfect conceptions of self as body, as mind and as ideas are referred to.

The Upaniṣads, it must be noted, mark a break from the tradition of Vedic sacerdotalism. It is not a normal and regular development of the speculation of the Saṃhitas, what little there is. New thoughts and new theories radically opposed to already existent forms, strike us at every turn. Ritual acts are condemned. Priests are [ridiculed.[96] The new and sublime doctrine of the soul and again the doctrine of transmigration appear here, for the first time. The Kṣatriya is elevated, often, above the Brahmin. It is a revolt. It is as much a revolt as Buddhism. Buddhism was the expression of the revolt of a master mind against the darker forces of the world, against the inequities of life, against the thraldom of a rigid social hierarchy, against dirt and sin and slavery. Whenever in the history of human thought, we find an abrupt break, a swift swerve from the regular course of normal evolution, the impact of a master mind will be evident somewhere. That came from the Buddha. But it is possible that the Buddha himself represented the normal reaction of a different race against the incursion of new Aryan tendencies. And Upaniṣadic literature reflects the tendencies of that new spirit. The hypothesis usually held, that Buddhism presupposes the Upaniṣads seems ill-founded. The converse might be nearer the truth.

There are scholars like Hopkins[97] and Jackson who place the bulk of the Ṛgveda hymns between 800 and 600 B. C. on the evidence of the very close affinity of the contents and language of the Ṛgveda and the Avesta.[98]

96. Note for instance the Chāndogya passage of bitter sarcasm hurled against priests—I. 12 4/5. It describes a procession of dogs marching on like a procession of priests, each holding the tail of the other in front and saying, "Om! let us eat. Om, let us drink etc."

97. Religions of India, p. 7.

98. The Origin and Development of Religion in Vedic literature by Dr. P. S. Deshmukh, p. 196.

But, whatever be the chronology of the Upaniṣads, it is admitted on all hands that the two Upaniṣads Bṛhadāraṇyaka and Chāndogya are of a composite character. Different books have been strung together—ill-strung though—to give us the present versions. And naturally enough, interpolations easily creep in.

If certain notions of the deification of a great foreign prince have been incorporated into legends concerning an Indian God it need not perturb us. The Bhagavad Gītā assures us—

> Ye Yathā mām prapadyante
> tāns tathaiva bhajāmy aham.

and Gauḍapāda says—

> Yam bhāvam darśayed yasya
> tam bhāvam sa tu paśyati
> tam cā'vati sa bhūtvā' sau
> tadgrahaḥ samupaiti tam,
>
> Kārikā II, 29.

The fountain-head of all religions is the pure and devout heart of man, thrilled by the awe and mystery of the universe. The stream might course through diverse regions, carrying with it the various tributes of minor streams. But it cleanses and refreshes and strengthens all that seek it, and moves onward to its final goal, the vast and mysterious ocean.

> "Bahudhā' py āgamair bhinnāḥ
> panthānaḥ siddhihetavaḥ
> tvayy eva nipatanty oghā
> jāhnavīyā ivā 'rṇave.
>
> Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa.

The culture and civilization of India have always been assimilative. India, at heart, knows no distinction of East

and West. Well and truly has the noble Marquess of Zetland said—

"The legacy of India; how rich a heritage, drawing contributions, as it does, from diverse races and from many epochs both preceding and following the great Aryan incursion from the lands lying beyond the snow-capped ranges of the Hindu-Kush".

Introduction to the Legacy of India
Edited by G. T. Garatt, 1937.

SKANDA ṢAṬKAM.

Skandaḥ kumāraḥ senānīḥ
Śaktibhṛd raktaketanaḥ
Aśvārūḍhas tārakārir
Mahiṣāsuramardanaḥ 1

Devasenāpatir devaḥ
Krauñcarandhravidāraṇaḥ
Mayūravarasaṃsevyaḥ
Sindhu deśa samādṛtaḥ 2

Naigameyaś chāgavaktro
Madhvado vahninandanaḥ
Apām suto dvijo divyo
Guhaḥ śaravaṇodbhavaḥ 3

Mahyā umāyāḥ pārvatyās
Tanayaḥ kṛttikāsutaḥ
Vallīvṛto bhadraśākho
Bhūtakinnarasevitaḥ 4

Nānāvāditra kuśalair
Nānā lāsya vilāsibhiḥ
Bhaktamātṛganaiḥ sevyo
Murukaś śivanandanaḥ. 5

Ábrahmā stamba saṃvyāpto
Yo brahmaṇyaḥ sanātanaḥ
Saṅkalpa kalpavṛkṣāya
Tasmai sarvātmane namaḥ 6

and philosophies are cultivated in this State with zeal and in mutual peace; and I am glad to see that all aspects of Eastern Art and learning are represented in this gathering.

For many years under the auspices of this State, publications have been issued bringing to light rare manuscripts and the productions of many forgotten authors, including the great Bhāsa. A vast field of research is still open to the orientalist even if he should confine himself to the history and antiquities and the arts and sciences of Malabar in general and of Travancore in particular. In addition to our own archives and libraries, the records of the Nestorians of Syria and of the museums and collections in the Dutch, Portuguese and French countries and the inexhaustible resources of the British museums are bound to yield fresh treasures; and I fervently trust that the members of the Conference will be stimulated by their visit to this part of the world to bestow attention on the history, the archaeology and the literature of a country, which is indissolubly linked with the rest of India in diverse ways, but still retains in its outlook, and its laws and customs, certain special and characteristic features.

Equally important, however, with this collation of ancient texts, is the work of popularising the art and thought of our ancestors, and rendering the same service to oriental literature as was bestowed by the scholars and publishers who have made classical European literature available to a constantly increasing public in cheap and beautiful format. On all these lines, we hope to start work in the nascent Travancore University, whose ambition will be not only to preserve what is best in our indigenous thought and art, but to utilise the material in the fashioning of a truly national culture.

Indian culture is apparently complex; but, as has been justly remarked, men as a rule, have been more conscious of the diversity than of the unity of India. In the words of a well-known historian, that unity transcends the innumerable

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IS GAṆESHA ORIGINALLY A CORN-DEITY?

M. M. Pandit Lachhmidhar Shastri, M. A., M. O. L.

The evolution of Gaṇesha in Hindu Mythology is full of interest. Gaṇesha who has acquired the foremost place among gods in Hindu pantheon appears to be originally a *corn-deity*! One of the legends of origin of Gaṇesha is that he sprang from the scurf of Pārvati's body. Śiva having gone out, Pārvati went to her bath and her son Gaṇesha who had sprung from the scurf of her body was keeping the door. Śiva returned home and met Gaṇesha at the door. Gaṇesha stood in the way of Śiva and would not admit him to meet Pārvati. At this Śiva cut off Gaṇesha's head, but to placate Pārvati he replaced it with an elephant's head. This pet son of Pārvati born of the scurf of her own body soon became the chief of all the attendants of *Gaṇas* of Śiva and came to be known as Gaṇesha or Gaṇapati or the lord of the *Gaṇas*. Such is the simple story of the birth of Gaṇesha. His more relevant names are: Gaurīputra, Gajānana, Vakratuṇḍa, Ekadanta, Lambakarṇa, or *Śūrpakarṇa* Lambodara, Dhūmravarṇa,[1] Ākhuratha or *Mūshavāhana*. Thus Gaṇesha figures before us as a short, fat man of a yellowish colour having a protuberant belly, with ear and tusk of an elephant's head, having a rat as an attendant. This represents the original figure of Gaṇesha, most realistic in its description. It appears to be a symbolical representation of a crop of corn and a deification of it. Let the legend of Gaṇesha be divested of all personification, then we shall discover the natural phenomena which it represents.

Let us analyse, Śiva, in one of his eight forms, represents the Sun[2] and Gauri or Pārvati may be taken to represent the earth. Śiva goes out and Pārvati takes her bath, that is, the Sun disappears during the rainy time and the earth is flooded with waters. The son that is born of the scurf of the body

1. Vide Nārada Purāṇa—Sankaṣhṭanāshana Stotram.
2. Cf. Viṣṇu purāṇa 1. 8.

of Pārvati is the crop that grows from the soil of the earth—the crop of the earth is personified as *Gauriputra*. Śiva in due course, returns home to meet Pārvati, that is, after the rainy season is over, in the months of autumn, the hot sun of October revisits the earth, with its piercing rays. Gaṇesha opposes Śiva's admission to Pārvati's inner apartments, that is, the standing crops that cover the fields obstruct the sun and do not allow its rays to meet directly the soil of the earth. Gaṇesha is beheaded and Pārvati is disconsolate, that is, the crop that is now ripe under the October sun is, as it were, beheaded by it, as it is reaped in the harvest time ; and the earth with its fields that were smiling with crops, looks desolate ! Pārvati is placated when Gaṇesha is rejuvenated and his body is reframed by replacing the elephant's head, that is, the earth in harvest time again assumes a happy look when the corn sheaf is gathered in barns in the fields. Now the elephant's head requires an explanation. The elephant's head consists of the snout, the tusk and the long ears. The snout represents the corn-sheaf swinging to and fro, the tusk is the sickle with which the corn is reaped, and the ears of the elephant are the winnowing baskets—the *Śūrpakarṇa* being a significant epithet of Gajānana who is both *Vakratuṇḍa* and *Ekadanta*. The big belly or *Lambodara* of Ganeśha is a symbolical representation of the barn. The yellowish colour or *Dhūmra-Varṇa* of Gaṇesha is the colour that is so characteristic of a corn-sheaf. Gaṇesha who is the personification of a good harvest is shown as riding over a rat—he is *Māshavāhana*; this illustrates the fact that rats make devestations in the fields of the farmers and that no good crop is possible without the rats being kept under control. But rat in the picture of Gaṇesha may also serve a religious purpose ! Frazer in the Golden Bough [3] mentions that in the East Indian Island of Bāli, the mice which ravage the rice-fields are caught in great numbers and burned in the same way

3. See Frazer Golden Bough page 531.

that corpses are burned. *But two of the captured mice are allowed to live*, and receive a little packet of white linen. Then the people bow down before them as before gods and let them go. From this illustration, Frazer concludes that in primitive religion, sometimes the desired object is supposed to be attained by treating with high distinction one or two chosen individuals of the obnoxious species, while the rest are pursued with relentless vigour. The distinction of rats in ancient religions, may further be noted as below. In the old Testament in the Book of I. Samuel 6 (4–5), we read that the Philistines were advised by their priests to give trespass-offering of five golden mice—"Make images of your mice that mar the land and you shall give glory unto the God of Israel." We also read in the Kaṭha, the Kāpiṣṭhala, and the Maitrāyaṇa Saṁhitas that rat is given as an offering to Rudra [4] and his sister *Ambikā* who in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa is identified with autumn [5] that is, the harvest-earth. Rudra in later mythology is identified with Śiva, and Ambikā with Pārvati, [6] while rat which is the offering of Rudra-Ambikā is associated with Ganeśha the son of Śiva and Pārvati, who is known as *Rudraputra* [7] and Ākhuyāna. Thus the original conception of Gaṇeśha with rat as his attendant is complete when he is regarded as the lord of the harvest.

Ganesha is soon married to the eight *Siddhis*. Naturally in an agricultural country, a good crop leads to all kinds of success in life, and as success implies wisdom, so the god wedded to success is promoted to the

4. रुद्रार्थं ते पशुं करोमि — एष ते रुद्रभागस्सह स्वस्राम्बिकया तं जुषस्व स्वाहा Kaṭha 36. 4, Kāp. 8. 10, Maitrā. 1. 10. 20.

5. शरद् वा अस्य (रुद्रस्य) अम्बिका स्वसा Taitt Brāhm. 1. 6. 10.

6. Ambikā may thus be a phase of the earth (Gauri) during the autumn when the harvest is reaped, Rudra in his multiple form may originally represent the rays of the sun, of, Rud, Rudh in Rudhir, ruddy, Lat ruber.

7. Vaijayantī Kosha.

rank of wisdom which is the first rank among all gods. Thus the *Gajānana* becomes the *Gaṇādhipa*, the *Siddhi-vināyaka* and even the lord of Saraswatī! This explains the historical development of the idea of Gaṇesha in Hindu mythology. Later mythographers not taking into account the primitive conception of Gaṇesha and its historical development try to explain, as it suits them best, the allegorical meaning of the form of Gaṇesha—his elephant-head and his rat-vehicle! But, we have nothing to do with an explanation which is not supported by any historical evidence. We are at present concerned with the original conception of Gaṇesha which on analysis, appears originally to be a *corn-deity*. It should be remembered that the original conception of Ganesha with an elephant-head and a rat-vehicle was not a deliberate creation of the people's mind. It was a result of *suggestion* from material around them. The personifying habit of mind almost unconsciously, by a sheer force of association of ideas, evolved a form of the deity; however grotesque it may appear to its aesthetic sense! It was not the result of a conscious effort on the part of an artist, but a spontaneous production of the imaginative faculty of an agricultural people. Gaṇesha is only an appellative name—the highest title of the deity; whose original name must be one wearing an elephant head such as *Gajavadana* or *Gajānana*. I have tried to explain the metaphor of the elephant-head which gave rise to the mythical form of Gaṇesha, in the light of which Gaṇesha appears to be a corn-deity of the Indian farmery!

THE BLACK ART AND RITUAL IN ANCIENT KERALA.

M. R. Balakrishna Warrier, M. A.

1. *Its all-pervading influence.*

Kērala has a unique record of achievement in many a sphere of human thought and culture. Its manifold contribution to Indian culture is great and remarkable. No systematic attempt has yet been made to appraise its true extent. The great part which Kērala played in the growth of Indian Literature, Arts, Sciences, Religion, Philosophy and Social institutions deserves greater attention at the hands of scholars. No other part of India had such intimate culture contacts with the most enterprising nations of the ancient world. Kerala was from prehistoric times the cynosure of the maritime races of the world ; its fragrant herbs and spices lured many a nation to its shores. The most enterprising of its inhabitants ventured far into the uncharted seas in their rude catamarans to the coast of Arabia and the islands of the Indian Archipelago. This extensive trade with the nations of the west and the east had its far reaching results in the cultural history of this country. The constant and lively interchange of ideas and experiences with the myriad races of the ancient world contributed not a little to the march of its civilisation and culture. Kerala culture, though a confluence of several streams, retains aggressively its distinctive individuality and homogeneity. This is clearly brought out by a study of the body of primitive customs and social institutions, that once prevailed all over the country but are now fast disappearing with the spread of English Education and the changed ways of living. An attempt is made in this essay to briefly describe the part that magic and sorcery played in the cultural life of ancient Kerala.

2 *Factors leading to it.*

Kerala is par excellence the land of magic and sorcery ; faith in the magic art and ritual has permeated and coloured the Malayāli outlook on life. It was the very essence of his religion in the past and the universality and permanence of a belief in magic are such that even now the Malayāli is looked upon with awe as a dabbler in the black art by those beyond the Ghats. It may seem strange that a country which has been the roosting place of all the great religions of the world from very early times should be the strong-hold of the black art. The plethora of religious creeds that found a safe haven here did not very much affect this solid layer of savagery beneath the surface of society. The earliest literature of the country throws some light on this universal sway of magic in the daily life and routine of its inhabitants. The Patittipathu, the earliest literary work so far obtained from here and which forms a collection of ten decads in praise of the Chēra kings, pictures a society in whose cultural life magic and superstition played no inconsiderable part. The lyrics in the Puranānūr and Akanānūr collections composed by Kerala poets and which reflect the customs and manners of the time, tell the same tale. Chilapathikāram and Manimēkhalai, two of the five great Tamil epics, enable us considerably in drawing a sketch of the main lines of development of the religion and magic of Kerala in the early centuries of the Christian Era. The study of the earliest Tamil literature is of incalculable value in unfolding the gradual growth of the religion of this country. There was a stage prior to that in the evolution of the Malayāli race when magic was universally practised, when it was conspicuously present and religion was conspicuously absent. During this period lost in hoary antiquity, the indigenous religion consisted largely of magical superstition and demonolatry. The advent of the Aryans and the Brahminical systems of thought and practice changed and modified the independent primitive

religion of Kerala. The early Tamil classics mirror that stage in the history of Kerala religion when it began to be subjected to Aryan influences. But the diffusion of Aryan ideas was a slow process ; they never gained an easy acceptance and their appeal was made almost exclusively to the higher castes. The main bulk of the population continued to be the votaries of the more primitive form of faith. The spread of Buddhism and Jainism which challenged the supremacy of the Vedic religion, made a deeper and more profound appeal to the masses of the people and exercised a more important influence on the development of the Kerala religion and magic. The infusion of fresh blood added energy and vigour, richness and depth. The dominance of Aryan thought in Kerala was complete only after the final overthrow of Buddhism by Kumarila and Sankara, the prime figures of the new revival of Hinduism in the eighth and the ninth centuries. The introduction of Mimāmsa and the Āgamic cults heightened the value of ritual, and the Tantric beliefs and practices gained a strong hold on the higher castes of Kerala. Mimāmsa attained a high stage of development in this country and found innumerable hordas of disciples. In no other part of India has this branch of theistic philosophy found such able exponents as Kumarila, Prabhākara and the Payyūr Bhattathiris. The elaboration of ritual and Vedic ceremony was the direct result of this rapid popularity of the Mimamsa in the land. The Kerala Brahmins ranged themselves on two sides and formed two sects, the Bhatta and the Prabhākara Schools. The history of the conflict between the two schools is an interesting chapter of the cultural and religious development of the people of this country. Kerala came to be the strong hold of orthodox Brahminism and the home of untouchability and other pernicious socio-religious customs and manners, because it was the Karmabhūmi where Mimamsa and the Tantric cults have held their sway ever since.

diversities of blood, colour, language, dress, manners and sects. It is with the consciousness of that unity and with a desire to perfect it that I feel sure this Conference will function. In discharging its work, this body of accredited scholars has the great privilege of the presidency of a sávant who is not only actively associated with one of the greatest centres of learning in the world, but whose labours in the cause of archaeology and of Buddhist, Tibetan and Nepalese studies, have been as conspicuous as his philosophical researches and his profound acquaintance with the classical literature of India.

I have great pleasure in declaring this Conference open, and may I be allowed on this occasion to repeat the sacred invocation.

"तेजस्विनावधीतमस्तु
मा विद्विषावहै"

["May our scholarship be illustrious and may there be no rivalry and hatred amongst us."]

3. *The two systems of the Magic Art.*

Thus the art of Magic or Manthravādam consisted mainly of these two main strands, Vedic and Tantric on the one hand, and the primitive Dravidian on the other. Side by side they existed, each assimilating occasionally some elements from the other and providing fresh impetus and stimulus to each other. A marked divergence of culture between their respective votaries prevented their fusion, though the highbrow Brahmin showed not reluctance to admit some of the primicive Gods and minor deities into the Orthodox Hindu pantheon. Many of the indigenous cults such as the worship of the Serpent, Siva, Subrahmonya etc., were gradually assimilated with a few modifications in beliefs and practices. This spirit of compromise and readiness to bring their system into harmony as far as possible with the existing practices and usages of the land was inevitable in view of the increasingly predominant indigenous element in the race mixture. It was only with the Hindu revival and the building of numerous temples that the Nampoodiris gradually came into power, became the sole land owners of Kerala and established a theocracy of their own in the country. The Buddha and Jaina Vihāras and Chaithyās were transformed into the Hindu temples and the followers of those religion were welcomed into the Hindu fold. The ascendancy of the Nampoodiris in the temporal and religious life of the land marked the supremacy of the Brahminical religion and practices. The Tantric practices and ritual regulated the worship in the temples ; some of the cults and practices which were till then exclusively in the hands of the masses of the indigenous population, were appropriated by the Nampoodiris and modified in accordance with their system. The religious ministrations of the orthodox Vedic Nampoodiris could not be claimed by all the lower castes in spite of the attempts to minimise the gulf that existed between them and render possible their gradual amalgamation. The task of casting the Dravidian conceptions and practices

in the mould of the Aryan spiritual ideal was destined to remain unfulfilled owing to the mould proving too narrow and inelastic to fit into the sort of religious life which many of the lower communities lived. The more primitive Dravidian cults of Magic and superstition survived among the lower classes and the uncivilised jungle and hill tribes.

4. *Professional classes of Sorcerers.*

These parallel streams of the Magic art, the Tantric and the purely Dravidian, had thus their own exclusive high priests and followers. The Nampoodiris and a few of the Savarna Castes practised the Tantric Ritual and ceremonies. The proper performance of these rites with the recital of the holy Mantrams was calculated to bring about the desired end. They propitiated besides the Vedic Gods, a heterogeneous class of deities presiding over multifarious maladies, demons, mischievous imps and spirits who were generally inclined to be malevolent to man, by means of Japams (Meditation), Hōmams (Incantations) and other votive offerings. The higher Tantric magic was thus exclusively in the hands of the Nampoodiris and the exalted castes and they rarely imparted the mysteries of the art to any member of the low castes. The Nampoodiris adopted more the Tantric methods and incantations, than the Ritual and hymns of the Atharva Veda which were little studied in Kerala. But some of the Ābhichāraka, Krithyaprathiharana and Sthrīkarmani Hymns of the Atharva Veda which are to be found in Agamic treatises were chanted at certain ceremonies by the Nampoodiris. Even the traditional families of the Nampoodiris associated for several centuries with the practice of Magic and Sorcery do not seem to have been followers of the fourth Veda. A few of the Rigvedic hymns were also employed by them in witchcraft, in the curing of diseases and for the destruction of the enemy. Besides the Nampoodiris, there are several classes of people associated in popular estimation with the practice of the Black Art-

The Velans, Valluvans, Parayans, Pānans, Malayans Kaniyans etc., are notorious for their magical powers. The Velans are primarily a caste of devil dancers and sorcerers, and they believe that all the ailments to which man is subject, are caused by the agency of the Malevolent demons, and they pretend to cure with their incantations and charms people suffering from various maladies. All their Mantrams are composed in old Malayalam, sometimes in prose. Various are the purposes for which their vernacular Manthrams are invoked; they are invoked for the cure of disease, for preparing curative water, for warding off the malign influence of birds on children, for exorcising demons, for causing delay in the occurence of menses, for change of shape and for inflicting injury on the enemy. The incantations of the Velans are believed to be auspicious and powerful enough to remove the evil effects of Ābhichāram and Kūdapathram and on the first day of every month they do it in every well-to-do family of the higher castes. Even in some temples of Travancore the Vēlan has to make these incantations with the accompaniment of the drum on the first day of every Malabar month, for which he receives a few fanams and a certain quantity of paddy. The Valluvan who is the traditional priest of the Pulaya has the professional duty of writing charms for the sick people and making forecasts of good and evil by means of cabalistic squares marked on the ground. The Parayan sorcerer is celebrated for his knowledge of the Black Art and is often consulted in matters relating to theft, demonaical influence and the killing of enemies. The Pānans are said to perform magical rites of a very repulsive and gruesome nature in order to become the possessors of a powerful medicine which is believed to confer on them anything they wish. The Yōgi Kurukkal of Malabar, the priest of the Mukkuvans and the Theeyans has also great reputation as a sorcerer and exorcist. He performs a species of Saktipoojā, different from the Tantric worship of Kali, in their own houses on behalf of their clients. There

are sorcerers among the Ūrālis ; the novice has to leave the community and wander alone in the forest for a number of months until the spirits of his ancestors appear to him and impart to him the mystical arts. The majority of these hill tribes follow pure animism and the dominance of this elementary religion explains the great part that Black Art plays in their lives. These magicians seem to acquire a sort of sacerdotal rank in the esteem of society due to their astuteness and their powers as exorcists.

5. *The Gods and Godlings.*

There was a regular heirarchy of Gods and Godlings who were supposed to help these magicians in their nefarious purposes. Many of these independent animistic Godlings have been readily absorbed into the official Hindu pantheon, because they were too weak to resist the ecletic and tolerant Brahminism which compromised with them by occasionally admitting those found to be the most efficient and influential as incarnations and manifestations of the greater Gods and Goddesses. Their position with the Brahminical body is certainly one of subordination ; these Godlings and malignant deities are primarily the Upāsana Devathas of the lower classes and are often propitiated by means of blood sacrifices of fowls and goats. No temple or permanent habitation is often consecrated to them, and no elaborate ritual worship established. Many of the Dravidian deities are invested with some sphere of special activity such as the control of disease, hunting of the field, and in process of time are assigned particular duties. Of these Kāli stands supreme. The worship of Kāli in her diverse manifestations, goes far back into the corridor of time ; the earliest literature in Kerala bears testimony to the worship of Korravai. Almost all the barbarous hill tribes worship her in some form or other. The Kādars are her particular devotees and the virgins among them are to bathe before the preparation of the offering which consists of rice and vegetables cooked in

honey and made into a delicious pudding. The Malayans and Eravallans adore the mighty Goddess to protect them in the forest. The Pulayans, Vettuvans, Koodans, Vil-Kurups, Eshavans, in fact all the lower and higher castes are devout worshippers of this Goddess. Of the Kāli temples those at Cranganoor, Mandakaud, and Mannadi are of great importance. The Cranganoor temple was built by the illustrious Chera Monarch, Chenkuttuvan, who was to a great extent responsible for the propagation of the Kannaki cult in Ceylon and South India. It is probable that the cult of the Mother Goddess had its cradle in this land though it later on came back here in a new Tantric garb and was embraced by the higher castes. Tārnath came to Kērala to study Sakti-Pūja at first hand Next to Kali, Parakutti holds a prominent place among the Gods of Kerala magicians. He is the God of the hunters and the forest tribes, invoked and propitiated to aid them in their hunting expeditions and to protect them from the wild beasts. He is the favourite deity of the Parayan who recovers stolen property through his intervention. The images of Buddha on the high hills of Kerala came to be worshipped as the images of Parakutti, and when received into the orthodox pantheon, this deity took the name of Sastha and became the guardian God of the country watching its hilly borders. The Malavāzhi is a sylvan deity who protects the Kādars and the Nāyadis, from the ravages of wild beasts. Veerabhadran, Mallan, Muniappan, Kāppiri, Karimkutti, Kalladimuthan, Mākhan are other animistic deities invoked by the hill tribes for some purpose or other. Among the malevolent demons, Kutti-chāthan has a well established place and influence. The most mischievous imp in Kerala Demonology is this Ariel-like Chāthan, a willing slave of the master whose behests are attended to and carried out with scrupulous care. The pranks of this boy Satan are not calculated to injure the victims but only to harass and annoy them. He has unchecked powers of movement in any medium and in any

element. The malevolent acts committed through his instrumentality are believed to recoil on the prompter who es childless or after frightful agonies at the last moment. There are certain Nampoodiri families like the Kunjaman Poti and the Avanāvu Manackal who are the traditional masters of this annoying spirit. The other spirits who are associated with the Black Act in Kerala are too numerous to mention. The means by which these Godlings and demons are brought under control and made willing drudges, are diverse. Sacrifices, offerings, Japam and other ritual forms of worship are resorted to by the magicians to obtain the favour and the mastery of these malevolent deities and spirits Occasionally these may become cross and they will not hesitate to remind the master of their power.

6. *Exorcism.*

This forms one of the most important branches of the Black art and Ritual in Kerala. Among the professional magicians of the lower classes the variety of methods adopted for the purpose is astonishing. The Thandā Pulayan performs a ceremony called 'Urasikotukkuka' with a view to get rid of the devil with which a person is possessed. A leaf on which the blood of the sacrificed fowl is shed, is placed in the vicinity of the house with some lime and turmeric, and the person who first sets eyes on it becomes possessed of the devil and sets free the individual who was previously under its influence. The Pāthalahōmam of the Pānan is calculated to exorcise the spirits. A pit six feet in length and three feet in depth is made and a Pānan covered with a new piece of cloth, is made to lie in the pit which is soon after covered with earth after leaving a small hole for him to breathe. A sacred fire is made over it and is fed by offerings of various articles such as mustard, ghee and oil with incantations of Manthrams. In a large square with sixtyfour divisions are placed small leaves with rice,

flowers and small torches. After the recital of the Manthrams the magician turns an oracle and announces the departure of the devil from the body of the possessed person. Another Hōmam performed by him to drive the demon of disease is a case of sympathetic magic. A Pānan is placed in a bier, which is brought before the sacrificial fire when offerings of fowls and sheep are made. He shams death as if killed by the demon, and the affected person is thus supposed to be free from the molestation of this spirit. The Uchaveli of the Pānan seems to be a survival of imitation of human sacrifice. The Theyyāttam of Malabar, in which eighteen Vēlans wear masks representing demons and furies and dance round the figure of Chāmundi drawn on the ground with multicoloured powders, is another method of exorcism. The Kōlam-Thullal of the Kaniyan, the Parayan devil-dance etc are other ceremonies for driving the demons out of their temporary tabernacle of flesh.

The ritual in the magic of the higher order of the Nampoodiris for this purpose, is different. The supernatural agencies which are supposed to bring about the maladies are divined by the professional astrologer, and the Brahmin exorcist with the aid of his family deity, is able to subdue them. If the malignant spirit happens to be the phantom of a person who has died a violent and unnatural death by suicide, murder or drowning, the Brahmin magician purifies him by means of certain ceremonies such as Thilahōmam and transfers him to an image of gold or silver which is afterwards placed in a temple or under the shade of a banyan tree.

The magical rites in time of pestilence such as cholera and small-pox, believed to be the handiwork of malignant Godlings, are also numerous. Sacrifices are offered to Vasantha, the Goddess of the small-pox or Mari Amman, the Goddess of cholera. The votive offerings of boiled rice in hundred and one pots known as Nōōttonnukalam is made to

the Kâli of the village. Theeyyāttu is performed when small-pox prevails in any locality, and this is believed to mitigate the wrath of the demon.

7. *Charms and the evil eye.*

The belief in the danger arising from the evil eye is wide spread. It is supposed that certain people can radiate glances which possess a baneful influence on the victim and strike him like darts. There is some grain of truth in this apparently superstitions belief as is proved by Dr. C. Russ that the direct gaze of certain persons is so malevolent towards those at whom it is directed, that the 'radii pernicoise' produce an uncomfortable and annoying effect on the retina of the object of the gaze and that the effect can be gauged by the instrument he has invented. Often this power of the baneful eye is believed to be conferred on the person by some demon or spirit. The most common method of avoiding the evil eye is to wear a charm or amulet. Domestic animals are protected from this by tying a conch shell conspicuously about the horns in the case of a cow. The Māpilla cart drivers of Malabar tie a black rope round the neck of their bullocks. When a new building is under construction there will be exposed conspicuously on a pole some ludicrous doll-like creature or a pot with white and black marks suspended downwards. The sudden illness of children is attributed to the evil eye and the most common magical rite to ward it off is Theeyyattu. Salt, chillies, mustard, and a few other articles are placed in a vessel, waved round the face of the afflicted person and then thrown into the fire. The custom of making a wave offering at puberty and marriage ceremony is for the same purpose. To avert the evil eye and disease Yanthrams are used by the magicians. These are cabalistic figures drawn on thin plates of gold, silver, copper or lead or on the palmyra leaf. These Yanthrams are employed also for the exorcism of the devil and for protection against their maleficent influence. The

magician draws a mystic square on the ground consisting of several small divisions each of which is coloured differently with powders. He writes on each portion a letter of the holy Gayatri Manthram which he mutters also. The possessed woman is allowed to take her seat by its side and to put some flowers and rice on the square. The magician and his colleagues then begin to sing songs to the accompaniment of the drum and the strident pipe. The afflicted woman is excited and is thrown into convulsive movements when the magician asks her several questions. If she does not answer these, he beats her with a cane believing that the demon will writhe in agony until the demon speaks through her and promises to leave her. Then the offering of Kurithi is made and she is supposed to be freed of the demon. Yanthrams are used for the Sakthi worship; the mystical diagram is drawn on a copper plate and is placed on a lotus diagram, the Bija Manthrams pertaining to the Goddess being inscribed on each side of the petals. The Yanthrams inscribed on metal plates become efficacious only after the requisite Poojas are performed. There are various Yanthrams mentioned in the Tantric works; the Sarabha Yanthram will cure men from epilepsy or intermittent fever; the Bhairava Yanthram cures disease and drives out the devil; the Mulathrikona Yanthram ensures the exorcism of spirits. The Mohammedan practitioner of the Black Arts writes the names of the holy persons with their sayings on palmyra leaves and believes them to be efficacious in the cure of many obstinate diseases. The Pakshi Yanthram is believed to be a safeguard against snake bite so common in Kerala.

8. *Serpent cult.*

Serpent worship, originally the totemistic faith of the Nagas, probably the progenitors of the modern Nayars became so universal a cult that in the garden of almost every Hindu household, carved granite stones representing the Serpent Gods were placed on the Chitrakūtam in the Kāvu.

The propitiation of the Serpent deities is deemed essential to the prosperity and wellbeing of the household. For the cure of leprosy and other malignant skin-diseases, offerings to these Serpent Shrines are considered efficacious. Though the Nayars were the high priests of this cult it later on passed into the hands of the Brahmins and the high priests of Serpent worship in Kerala are the Pampumekkad Nampoodiri and the Mannarchala Nambiyathiri whose households are full of Cobras. The inmates can scarcely move about without trampling on one of the serpents. But owing to the magic influence of the families the serpents cannot and will not injure them. The ritual to remove the Serpent Shrine from one place to another is entirely in the hands of these. The Pāmpumthullal of the Pulluvan, Nūrumpālum ceremony and Sarpabali are some of the methods of conciliating these gods. Snakebites are often cured with the aid of incantations by the Kudumi medicine-men of Travancore. Manthrams and charms are deemed powerful to ward off the poisonous effect of a snake-bite. The Kakkālans, the traditional snake charmers of Kerala, gain complete control over them and often bring about a radical cure of the snake-bite by means of incantations. The magician chants certain powerful Manthrams when there is any delay in the bitten person recovering consciousness, and soon afterwards, lures the very same snake to his side and makes it suck back the poison. Sometimes the snake may turn against the magician himself; he then takes a betel leaf, murmurs some manthrams and tears it to pieces; the snake also simultaneously falls dead, cut into two.

9. *Māranakriakal.*

Death of men and animals is contrived by means of the Black Art. These Māranakriakal have an important place in the practice and ritual of the art. The Thandā Pulayans are notorious for this, and practise it to bring about the death of an enemy. He achieves this by writing certain



GENERAL PRESIDENT:

Dr. F. W. THOMAS, M. A., Ph. D., C. I. E.

incantations on a palm leaf and burying it in the ground belonging to the enemy. The Parayans resort to various methods for the realisation of this sinister end. He makes an image of wax representing the enemy and burns it with due rites. This will destroy the enemy within a fortnight. Often this image is made of metal, and to it some mystic diagrams are added. It is buried in some place which the person to be destroyed is in the habit of haunting. Should he pass over the place, it is supposed that the charm will take effect at the time stipulated. Sometimes a little quantity of earth from a spot where an enemy has urinated, or a small tuft of his hair is placed inside a tender cocoanut, which is pierced with many nails and buried with incantations on the enemy's grounds. The most notorious of these Māranakriakal in Malabar is the Odi cult practised by the Parayans and the Pānans. The Odyan acquires the power of transforming himself into any shape or form by means of a potent bewitching medicine called Pilla thailam or Ankola-thailam. He waits at the door of the enemy in a dark night in the form of a bullock. If the victim is inside the house the Odyan assumes the shape of a cat, gains entrance into the house and induces the victim to come out. On coming out, he is knocked down or strangled. Often the victim is brought down by shooting him with a blunt arrow in the nape of the neck and once the victim is prostrate, the Odyan beats him all over the body with the Odivadi resembling the police-man's baton, and breaks all his ribs and bones. The Odyan by means of his Black Art is able to induce sleeping persons to open closed doors and come out of their houses. Pregnant women are thus enticed out of the house, murdered and the foetus extracted from them for the preparation of the powerful Pilla thailam. There is an elaborate ritual associated with the preparation of this potent medicine. The novice has to approach a preceptor who puts him to severe ordeals to test his courage and strength of will. If he comes unscathed from them, he is initiated into the brotherhood after

the performance of a Pooja to the Kalladikode Neeli, through whose aid he is to practise the art. On a favourable night the Odyan sets out at midnight for the house of the woman he has chosen as his victim, and walks round the building several times chanting certain Manthrams and drawing cabalistic squares on the ground. The woman in due course comes out of the house even if the doors are bolted and gives herself up to him. He leads her to a secluded nook, strips her naked and extracts the foetus out of her womb, receiving it in a vessel without allowing it to touch the ground. Then it is cut into pieces and boiled in a pot and with this is mixed the powdered matter of a human skull. The Aṅkola thailam is also prepared in a similar manner from the fruit of that tree with the same ritual. A mark made on the forehead with this extracted oil enables him to transform himself into any animal he likes. The Pānan Odyan has a magical medicine prepared from the Koduvēli plant after a very elaborate ritual. The plant is worshiped by him for about three months and at last is plucked by its roots, buried in ashes in the cremation ground and taken out after some time. This has the power of enticing the pregnant woman out of the house. The Odi cult was practised very largely by the Pānans and Parayans in the northern division of Cochin and in Palghat and Valluvanad. They were in the habit of kidnapping women of the higher classes, who for fear never came out of the house after dusk. The Brahmin magicians resort to Tantric methods for bringing about the death of the enemy. Besides the Hōmams such as Arimārana Hōmam, they depend upon the several death-bringing Yanthrams. The Chamundi and Raktha-Chamundi Yanthram, Pathingiri Yanthram, Varāti Yanthram, Bhadrakāli Yanthram and others are believed to be very efficacious in this. These are inscribed on metal plates, rendered potent with incantations, and deposited or buried underground in the vicinity of the enemy's house. The Prapanchasāra in its thirteenth chapter enumerates the several devices of the Brahmins for

the destruction of the enemy. In the famous quarrel between the two Brahmin Grāmams of Irinjālakodai and Thrikkanāmathilakam, they resorted to the ceremony called Kanamirikkal. This ceremony consisted of the Brahmins of Irinjālakodai assembling in the temple at three in the morning after bath, and chanting Samhāra Manthrams till midday, when an elaborate feast would be prepared for them. All of them would take their seats for the meals but would refuse to touch it unless their grievances were redressed. They would take a solemn vow of starvation and rise up from their seats and begin a Samhāra Hōman which occupied them till sunset. After the Customary Santhyavandanam, they would continue chanting Manthrams calculated to bring about the destruction of the enemy. This went on for forty-one days, the Brahmins appeasing their hunger by a single meal of a few fruits and cold water every night. In the meanwhile internecine strife arose between the two managers of Thrikkanāmathilakam Grāmam, which ultimately led to its disruption and ruin.

10. Enticement, Stupefaction, and separation of friends.

The magic rites adopted by Kerala warlocks and wizards for these purposes form another integral part of the Black Art in this country. The Vachīkarana ceremonies are intended to tempt or bring under control a deity, spirit or human being for unlawful purposes. Of these, Kaivisham is prominent. The woman who wants her husband to be henpecked, the lover in despair at the cruelty of the lady whom he loves, those who desire influence over some powerful person, all these seek the help of the magician who gives them some medicine after having rendered it potent by means of Manthrams. Those who taste it, like the Lotus-eaters, lose their individuality and become puppets in the hands of others. The Kaivisham is generally administered along with food and in the Thiruvizha temple, a few miles north of Alleppey, an antidote is given, which cures the person of the affliction. Love charms and amulets prepared

by the magicians are believed to confer on a person some power of influencing another. Love philtre to win the affection of the husband is composed of Dhātura in chatney, or of the charred remains of a mouse and a spider, or a sort of decoction distilled from the body of a first born child exhumed after burial. Many elaborate rites such as the Sarva-vachīkarana-Hōmam and Yanthrams are described in Prayogasāra and Manthra-mahārnavam for this purpose, and these are resorted to by the magicians of the higher classes. The separation of friends and discord in the family are brought about by similar means. The Vēlans are considered very proficient in this Art and they take the ashes from the cremation ground, chant some Manthrams and deposit it somewhere in the house, where the seeds of discord are to be sown. The recipes given in their magical compendium are too many. A human bone from a burial ground over which powerful Manthrams have been recited, if thrown into the house, will cause discord and ruin in the family. The magician is also able by means of the Black Art to bring stupefaction on any and the Sthambana rites vary with the higher and lower orders of the necromancer. The victim will become insensible as if he had taken some soporific drug. The Parayan warlock practises these rites to make his victim come out of his house in a state of stupefaction. Some magicians by means of their Manthrams are capable of rendering certain weapons harmless. The rite for this Bānavedham described in the Prapanchasāra, was practised by the late Raja Kerala Varma, the Great Sanskrit scholar and poet, and it was shown that rifle shots aimed at him could not hurt him; the bullets touching him fell down without inflicting any injury.

11. *The Black Art in Hunting, Agriculture etc.*

Though the Black Art is anti-social in general scope and purpose, it occasionally serves social ends. One of the uses to which magic is put for the good of agriculture is to

control the weather and especially to ensure an adequate fall of rain. The rites for the purpose of regulating the heavenly water supply generally adopted by the Brahmins, are Varuna-Japam and other Tantric methods. In South Travancore the image of Kodumpāvy is made in clay, placed in a cart and dragged through the streets for a few days. On the last day the death ceremonies of the figure are celebrated by the Parayans who accompany it. This is believed to stay the drought and bring down rain. There is a peculiar ceremony performed by the Vēlan to drive away the locusts that occasionally infest the paddy crop. In hunting also, there are certain magic rites to protect the hunters from the attack of wild beasts. Certain incantations are believed to be powerful for seducing game out of its den. The late Raja Kerala Varma demonstrated before H. H. The Maharaja Ayilyam Thirunal this Art of fetching the animal at the desired spot by means of magical rites. Conviction is deeprooted that unless the traduced animal is killed, it will bring about the death of the magician. The Parayan sorcerer is sought in the detection of crime, especially theft. He after bathing, makes certain offerings to his favourite deity, who is represented by a stone in front of his hut. Rattling an iron instrument and singing till his voice fails, he invokes the God and if the stolen property is not forthcoming, he resorts to a more indignant and abusive form of invocation. If the thief has to be caught, his prayers are redoubled and he, like a Velichapad, makes frantic movements and finally pitches upon the culprit. The Vēlan has also his own rites for the recovery of stolen property.

12. *Notable Kerala Magicians. Kerala contribution to the Literature of the Art.*

Though many of the magical rites are fast disappearing and there is a dearth of able and clever practitioners of the Art at present, Kerala could boast of a good number of notable sorcerers who were believed to have worked miracles

and left behind them many a legend. The three famous Namputhiri families of Kallūr, Kattumātam and Chēnnas, who were traditionally associated with the practice of the art, produced from time to time men endowed with supernatural powers and acquiring great reputation. No country has been so prolific of magicians as Kerala; nowhere has the divine grace been poured out in a more liberal measure on all classes of society from the highest Brahmin to the lowest Parayan. Even among the Christians and Mohammedans there was no paucity of the votaries of the Black Art. The marvellous exploits of Kadamattathachan, Alithankal, Usānan Rowther, Kāladi Bhattathiri, Puliyampalli Nampoothiri Kunjaman Poti, Atimittathu Bhattathiri, Thēlapurathu Nambi, Pāvumbā Warrier, Rekshassu Nambiyar and a host of others are so well known in this land. They achieved many things which might seem incredible to the man of the modern day. A scion of the Kallūr Nampoothiri family within living memory, astonished the audience by pressing a betel leaf and twisting it in his hand and producing a shower of shining sovereigns. Kunjaman Potti could sail in a boat without anyone to propell it, as he was always attended by the army of the invisible Kuttichāttans.

Apart from the achievements of these in the practice of the art, Kerala has produced a body of Literature on the subject both in Sanskrit and Malayalam. Nowhere else in South India were these Tantric and magical rites so extensively practised and codified into treatises for future guidance. I shall close this brief survey of the Black Art in Kerala with an enumeration of the chief Kerala works on the subject. Prapanchasāram by the great Sankara is a notable compendium of these Tantric practices, and remains a standard work. Various commentaries of this such as, Sambhanda-deepika by Uttamabōdha-yati, Padārtha-deepika by Purushothama, Artha-deepa by Narāyana, and Vivarana

are in vogue in Kerala. Prayogasāram by Gōvinda, Manthrasāram, Yanthrasāram, Tanthrasāram, Manthrānushtāna-kramathi, Prayōgavijaya-sāravali by Siva, Upadēsa-sāra-samuchayam by Damōdara, Dushta-graha-bādha-pariharam, Bhahu-dhaivatyam, Saparya-saptakam, Sarada-thilakam, Prayoga-manjari by Ravi, Echānu-Gurudeva-Paddhathi by EchānuGurudeva, Rektha-Chamuni-Kalpam by Sankara and Tanthrānushtāna-kalpa-samgraham by Narayana, are some of the published and unpublished works on the subject composed by the Kerala writers. The several works of Kadamattathachan and the treatises of the lower classes are the works in the Malayalam Language. Many unpublished manuscripts in the vernacular are to be found in some of the Brahmin families throughout the country. A fuller study of the theory and ritual of the Black Art in Kerala will be fruitful in revealing the slow progress of thought from magic to religion. The enlightened Malayali has come to a tardy recognition of the inherent falsehood and utter barrenness of the magic Art, but the masses still cherish the fond illusion, and the Black Art is a living agency familiar to and dreaded by all except the most intelligent classes, "If the Black Art has done much evil, it cannot be denied that it has also been the source of much good: though the child of error, it has yet been the mother of freedom and truth."

SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN EARLY KERALA.

(A Study in Folk Songs)

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In the elucidation of the history and culture of early Kerala, which has baffled the best efforts of her historians to unravel, the folk-songs of Kerala will no doubt play a leading role. The ballad, singing the might and prowess of Valia Aromer Chekaver of North Kerala,[1] is by far the most valuable of the historical romances of early days. Unique for the insight it gives into the society and culture of early Kerala, it is particularly remarkable for the light it throws on the institution of matriarchy, and the matrilineal form of descent in Kerala.

While there is no doubt that society was organised on a matriarchal basis among the Nayars in the North Kerala, the social organisation as disclosed in this song seems to have been different among the Tiyars and the Izhuver. An elaborate system of dowry seems to have prevailed among the latter, the bride being endowed upon marriage with her share of the family property or wealth including domestic utensils and cows. She was thenceforward a member of her husband's household ; and she and her children for ever belonged to it. Due provision was nevertheless made for her return to her parental home in the unforseen contingency of anything untoward happening in the course of her married life, ending in separation. This was provided for by a system of what amounted to guarantees of good faith announced on behalf of either partner at the marriage ceremonial, the compensation agreed upon having to be paid to the aggrieved partner by the one who is adjudged to be in the wrong.

1. For a full translation of the song, by the present writer see Indian Antiquary Vol. LXI.

If this represented the form of social organisation which obtained in early days among the Tiyar of North Malabar, as seems to have been the case, great changes must have taken place in course of ages resulting in their adoption of the Marumakkattayam law or the matrilineal form of descent, which now prevails among the community in the north of the district. What these changes were, and how they have operated in transforming Tiyar society, are matters for further investigation. The partrilineal character of Tiyar society, it is interesting to observe, has in the main continued unchanged among the Izhuver in South Malabar.

A point of interest is the community to which the Chekors belonged. "Chēkon" —is an appellation derived from a Malayalam word, "Chēkam" which means "service," "chiefly about the Rajah's person"[1] —a derivation largely accepted, and supported by internal evidence from the songs. Specific references in the Chekavar group of folk songs afford abundant evidence to conclude that the Chekors were Izhuver by caste. But all Izhuver were not necessarily designated *chekor*, though the name must have since been generally used to denote the members of the caste, as is clear from its survival in the suffix "*Chaen*" largely used with Tiyar names in Calicut, Cochin and Travancore. The expression, ॥ *angam pitichāle Chēkōrāva* = "angam fighting alone makes a *chekon*," conveys, much the same sense as the expressions which follow, such as " wearing the *pulasyam*[2] makes a Nayar, or the sacred thread, a Nambudiri", "or the investment of the tali, makes a woman". The intention obviously is, as "*pulasyam*" was the badge of one deserving

1. Gundert. Malayalam-English Dictionary.

2. A silk band presented to soldiers by Nattuvazhis, on demonstrating their prowess before them. The soldiers are expected to tie the band round the waist when they appear in public. It is an insignia of their proficiency in the art of warfare.

of the name of Nayar, or the sacred thread that of a Nambudiri, so was engagement in an *angam* the badge of a *chekon*,—only it was not an external symbol as other badges were ; in short, the expression means that to deserve the name *chekon*, one must have actually served as a combatant at an *angam*, and a *chekon* is born as such, and not made. This is obvious from the words,

Chēkavanmārāyi Janichehāl pinne
Vālkkānayil Chōrallō Chēkonmārku—

"When one is born a Chekon,
"He earns his bread on the point of his sword".

Angam fighting was clearly therefore the function of those born as Chekon.

The names Choen, Tiyar, Tandan, & Izhuver are now used in different parts of Kerala to denote the same community. Tandān is by origin clearly a Sthānam or rank conferred on the headman of the community, as Moopan or Mukyathan ranks are in parts of North Malabar. Tandan is probably derived from *tandu*, a palanquin, and denoted personages privileged to be conveyed in palanquins.

Ārōmer traces his forefathers to the land of "Izham" which is believed to be the old name for the island of Ceylon. His narrative of the migration is of special interest. This apparently is the corner stone of the theory of the migration of the Tiyar from Ceylon. The subject is too vast to be discussed here. A full investigation has yet to be made as to how far the theory is sound that the Tiyar originally belonged to the island of Ceylon, whence they migrated to the mainland of India in or about the 7th century A. D.

Aromal Chekaver's song has yet another interest, for the information it gives of the institution of Kalari and the martial practices which it fostered. It is the most important of the Kerala folk-songs in this respect. The community of Chekor is mentioned as having been first established at

Dr. F. W. Thomas, the General President of the Conference next delivered his Presidential Address as follows —

Your Highnesses, Mr. Resident, Sachivottama Sir Ramaswamy Aiyar, Delegates, Ladies & Gentlemen,

The occasion of taking part in this important Conference with the high distinction of functioning as its President, has for me felicities both numerous and of singular appeal. Speaking in the presence of His Highness, whose eminent patronage and enlightened liberality have made the gathering so attractive, whose administration by its generous hospitality has facilitated my own participation, in the presence, moreover, of the Vice-Patrons, Her Highness Maharāni Sētu Pārvati Bayi, the distinguished administrator and traveller, the Resident, Madras States, Mr. Skrine and the eminent Dewan, Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, I am moved to refer in the first place to the fact that we are meeting in Travancore. Delightful indeed is the memory of my first visit, in December 1920; to this State, the entrancing vision of moonlit forest glades, when at night I drew my curtain in the train, the flourishing paysage inclined towards the radiant Indian Ocean, which the first daylight revealed. The incidents of a three days' sojourn under His Highness' hospitable protection, the visits to colleges, museums and libraries and the intercourse with scholars and custodians of unmistakable earnestness as well as by competence, the smiling aspect of the towns and the sturdy bearing of the people, remarked during a long day's drive to Cape Comorin, left ineffaceable memories; and the visit terminated with the fairy panorama witnessed by those who take the boats threading the backwaters northwards, until the next morning brings them through deep, luxuriantly wooded, reaches to the noble bay of Trivandrum. What wonder if a romantic charm envelopes the land, so richly dowered with mountains and streams, with flora and fauna, abundant and in part unique, which Paraśu-rāma gave to his people? Nature, exempting it from serious drought or

Kadathanad (in North Malabar) by the ruling prince of the day. There they flourished both as *angam* fighters and as Kalari Asans, or preceptors in physical culture and martial practices, which are still fostered in parts of North Malabar, where the Kalari as an institution has shown remarkable survival in recent years. If any one fact emerges from a critical study of the folksongs, it is that the Kalari as an institution has been always above caste. The youth of the locality, irrespective of caste, or creed, enjoyed the benefits of the physical training that the Kalari stood for. As Dr. Achutha Menon [1] has pointed out, the differences that have grown up between the two major communities of Malabar, the Nayar and the Tiyar, scarcely existed in Chekavar's days, the best of social relations having subsisted between members of the two communities.

The *Angam*, as the single combat which obtained in medieval Kerala is called, is another of the institutions best portrayed in Aromer's song. *Angam* comes as the last resort in the settlement of a dispute, when every other means of effecting a settlement has been tried. The *raison de' etre* of the *angam* is clear from the words of the Naduvazi :—

Padavettu tammil tudaññiyālō
Eṛiyajanaññal nasichupōkum
Nallanga Chekavare tēḍikōlin
Angampitīchu jayikkunnōrku
Avarkumet annēyummūppuvārka=

"If you wage war,
Many a man will die,
Choose your own anga Chekavar,
Who wins in the combat,
He rules as the elder".

1. Ballads of North Malabar, p 15

It was an institution recognised by the State, and the State had its privileges and responsibilities. The fixing of the date, selecting the site, erecting the platform or arena on which the combat was to be fought, were all State functions.

As a medieval institution designed to settle disputes and avoid mass fighting, it has no parallel. That it served its purpose is undoubted, while its contribution to the culture of Kerala was far reaching. It fostered the art of single combat which found its champions and exponents in the Chēkōrs, who rendered yeomen service by founding Kalaries as family institutions.

The Chekor were invested with almost baronial honours and prerogatives, and great were the ceremonials and pomp which attended the procession of the Chekor and his protagonists to the spot consecrated for the combat. The death of either of the combatants being inevitable, each settled all his worldly affairs betimes. An adventure attendant with such great personal risk was of course well remunerated. And the remuneration was on a liberal scale. The payments prescribed were in gold *panams*, and were to be paid in three lots—*Viṭṭu Kizhi*, or the share of the Chekor's family, *Nāṭṭu Kizhi* or the State's share, and *Anga Kizhi* or the Chekor's personal share.

As an institution, the *angam* fell into desuetude between the period of Aromel Chekavar and of Tachōli Ōthenan, until it was quite unheard of after the time of the latter, about the eighteenth century.

The sequel to Aromer's death at the moment of his victory affords a fitting illustration of what is known as *Kudi paka*, the characteristic institution of the blood feud in medieval Kerala. The attitude of mind at the bottom of the institution of *Kudi paka*, was that straight dealing was of the essence of all disputes, no foul play or anything contravening the principles of right conduct being tolerated by

the community or by the State. Any one who contrived the death or ruin of another, was subjected to an almost unending vendetta, which took different forms according to the wrong avenged. It was the essence of the vow that the vengeance should be continued until any male member survived in the hostile family group.

Almost with his last breath, Aromer entrusts his blood-stained sash to his sister, Unniarcha. He presumes that her yet unborn child will be a son, and enjoins on her to narrate to him when he grows to be a man, all the incidents which led to his untimely end. A son is born to her. The boy in time becomes a youth. One fine morning enraged at the sight of his uncle's blood-stained sash, he prevails on his mother to narrate to him the life history of his uncle. As the narrative ends, he rushes to his cousin and traitor Chandu, announcing himself at the latter's Kalari and the object of his visit. He engages him in a single combat on the spot, and takes his life, thus avenging his uncle's death.

Such in brief are a few of the cultural aspects disclosed in a study of the folk-songs. These songs have long been neglected, and need further collecting and studying, if we are not to lose the rich heritage of the past, or the continuity of the cultural history of South India.



Rangavilas Palace Art Gallery.

SECTION X

Fine Arts

A THEORY OF INDIAN ART

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, FINE ARTS SECTION

STELLA KRAMRISCH

From year to year documents for the study of Indian art are becoming known in increasing numbers; buildings, works of sculpture and painting and also relevant texts dealing with their methods and materials. Several are the ways by which we are made aware of monuments hitherto unknown. Excavations expose towns and single buildings along with varied relics to the light of day and to scholarly scrutiny. The most ancient past is slowly becoming revealed and the long stretches of time which extend to an antiquity less remote are being filled with an increasing variety of monuments. The act of recognition, is not restricted to monuments and relics brought to light and seen for the first time It encompasses also monuments preserved above ground and already familiar. Paintings, for instance, hitherto unnoticed have been spotted recently at Bādāmī and cleaning operations have revealed a series of painted panels of similar importance as the paintings at Ajantā and Bāgh. Discoveries of branches of Indian art the survival of which is not favoured by the Indian climate have been made outside the motherland; carved ivories from Begram, Afghanistan and printed Indian textiles preserved at Fostat, in Egypt supplement the masses of works in stone, brick, clay and even in wood recently added to the growing heritage of ancient Indian craftsmanship. A quickened perception however discovers a wider range of new materials in the still living practice of the people of India; traditional output, variously refracted in the many parts of the country is accepted as a token of aboriginal validity; many of its motifs have at the same time a most widely spread currency.

The texts hitherto edited and partly also translated are technical treatises transmitting current knowledge for the guidance of the practising craftsman; frequent references to works of art in the general writings point to the reactions of the contemporaries. According to their respective level of reference they are on the sensual or intellectual plane. Where precisely they are to be placed on either, has to be inferred. The implications of any such statement were generally understood and taken for granted by the contemporaries. The application on the other hand of the norms laid down for the craftsmen by craftsmen and priests rested upon a foundation of hereditary knowledge which it was not necessary to put into words. The unexpressed support and basis of the single references is absent in a mere quotation.

What use can be made of all this material while yet it goes on accumulating?

It is cleaned from accidental and external accretions, it is classified and made accessible by display in galleries and publications. Classification entails a knowledge of related objects in and outside India. Connections are then elaborated and influenced. These may be restricted to the shape of the relics only or else they may extend to results and symptoms of other and varied spheres of activity, such as worded thought, migrations, stages of technical knowledge, represented for instance in different pre-historic conditions of living. The monuments and relics then are commented upon in the light thrown on them by the several other factors of civilisation. Different groups of approach, the strictly historical, the ethnological, those of the religious and cultural history, yield each an access valid within the archaeological method. It leads through external evidence and works in two directions. The one proceeds towards the object as the unknown factor to be determined from data established in related domains or under similar conditions; the other proceeds from the object and uses the reflected light gathered on its surface, for an

illumination of particular aspects of the religious ideas or social usages of which it is taken to be a product. Whatever direction the archaeological approach takes, it relies on external evidence and does not make the artefact itself the object of investigation. From an archaeological point of view the being of the artefact matters not; the specimen is relevant, the work even need not be there at all if the circumstantial evidence suffices. Assuming two carvings were found by the side of another, of the same stone, the one an image of a particular divinity and without an inscription, the other a pedestal without any image and with a full inscription in which are given the name and particular characteristics of that divinity, the date of the dedication, and the name of the donor, etc., the latter fragment would yield the fuller information to the average archaeologist. Or, two images from the same place of roughly the same date and identical as far as iconography goes are archaeologically of the same value. The artefact is described like any manufactured object; no account is taken of the art in it; it need not be there. The value of the artefact to archaeology lies in the information which it supplies regarding technical knowledge, current beliefs, etc. The degree and method by which it is thus informed are not taken into account.

Our approach may be called a theory of art in its literal sense. The nearest equivalent of the word theory in its literal sense is contemplation. A work of art is altogether visible. There is nothing in it which cannot be seen. Only by seeing all that is in it, it becomes known. The kind of information which a theory of the work of art derives from it, is equal to the degree and method by which the work is informed by its contents. Contents and form are inseparable. The former are conveyed by the latter and can be understood only by its aspect. Form on the other hand is without significance if it is not brought forth from, and understood in its origins. The vision of the seer holds the origins of form. Vision and form are beheld in the visibility of the

artefact The visibility of the artefact shows by what contents and to which extent it is informed. It is the medium of communication and works from the eye to the mind of the man who contemplates it. Only by a split in visual consciousness it is at all possible to single out contents from form and to divest form of its contents The consequences of the alternative of the split vary according to the level of consciousness on which they occur. That art should be didactic or serve purposes which cannot be conveyed by its form has been asked of it by unseeing and misled minds in the last century in Europe. Such works as resulted from this attitude had their immediate public to whom the tendencies illustrated appealed. Their actuality no longer being there, the empty shells compiled with a tendency and framed as pictures, have no place in the world of art. The inevitable reaction was a search of 'pure form' existing for its own sake and to be aesthetically appraised. It was discovered in Negro art for instance and voiced as 'significant' in English art literature. Contents without form, form without contents or else the one in search of the other are visible symptoms of a disjointed mind. The search of pure form highly recommended as a symptom of recovery from painted literature and as a path of salvation is tantamount to an encouragement of logical thought which has nothing to think about but the clarity of its own logic. Against the hedonistic dwelling on pure form reaction in the literature on art has once more set in, now on a higher level ; the form of the artefact is divested from its style. Form in this sense would be the inner realisation made visible outwardly and in a concrete medium. Style would be the blur in it, the residue left in the form, of the shortcomings of the maker. The slur of style is applied not only to the individual artist, uprooted from a living tradition and groping in the dark to assert himself, and to prove by his style that he is there at all and that this matters. It is cast equally over the inevitable idiom in which anonymous art traditions have laid down their utterance. Style as



Government Museum, Trivandrum.

an accident dependent upon time, place and people historically and psychologically determined is segregated from form informed and precipitated as it were from the inner realisation and vision without the contaminating intervention of the seer and the contingencies of his work. Beheld from its metaphysical origins, the artefact is viewed as holding its theme in the shell or disguise of style. Meaning, thus comprehended, would adequately be shown by a perennial form untouched by human agency.

Form stressed to the inanity of "pure form" has no existence. Form is no entity; it is a relation in several dimensions. One is effected on a level where points, lines, surface masses, light and shade and colour are intertwined. The other is active in a direction at a right angle; from there every point and aspect of visibility is being informed. Form is a manifold relation concreted into stability. Altogether visible it is laid out. The product consists of lines, colours, etc., and these are contingent. Form itself is not absolute and style is its most exposed and friable part.

Form and style of the artefact are the visible part of meaning; they cannot be sundered and are differentiated only by degrees of contingency. Pure form empty of contents is meaningless. It may be used as a sophisticated decoration. The meaning then is in its use.

The split consciousness from which result the dogmas of: contents irrespective of form, pure form without or irrespective of contents, form at one with contents but uncontaminated by style, is nowhere apparent in Indian art nor can it be reconstructed from Śāstric texts. It is a product of the modern West. "Pure form," a refuge from the cumbersome attempt at painting literature, into the void of form, understood as a relation on one level only and significant of nothing but its balance and consistency, had its existence and justification in the West. In India also, at the present, the "pure form" theory meets a

scarcity, allows of a population more dense than that of any other country, but saved by the homestead system from congestion. History has spared it some violences. Rome brought here her commerce but not her empire ; Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity came early with a purely missionary purpose, and the Musalman-population is an outcome of trade. The ancient Tamil Classic, the *Śilappadikāram* which relates the victorious campaigns of Śeṅkuṭṭuvan, its supposed author's royal brother, enlarges more upon the arts of music and drama and the administration of an organized state. Need I refer to the ancient intellectual glory of the Kerala people, which gave birth to the most soaring mind in the history of Indian thought, to Śaṅkarācārya, also it is said, to Prabhākara, and contributed to Sanskrit literature the *Nalodaya*, one of its most elaborate kāvyas, the *Pradyumnābhyudaya* of Ravivarman, the *Mukunda-mālā* and *Āścaryamañjarī* (*Āścaryamālā*?) of the royal poet Kulasekhara and the two plays by his successor of like name. A literary tradition has never deserted the rulers of the Kerala country, which as late as the first half of the nineteenth century could boast of *Saṅgīta Kṛtis* and other works by a royal author, Śvāti Śrī Rāmavarman.

But the invitation to so living an organization as is the All-India Oriental Conference to hold its ninth session in Trivandrum was given and accepted, doubtless, in the light not of ancient glories, but of conditions established during the past half-century or so by the policy of enlightened rulers. It is not for me, who am no politician, to dilate upon the spirit of paternal encouragement whereby the people, and not the male population only, have been advanced to ever greater participation in the counsels of the State; of the progressive administration, which, as the annual reports and censuses show, has now been equipped with practically every modern organ of civic welfare ; or of ameliorations in the condition of particular classes. The increasing regard to education ; the high average, equalled only by Burma and

"Western" situation due to imported notions. The sundering on the other hand of style from form proceeds from an Eastern situation while it runs counter to it with Western means: The absolute is beyond form ; yet form as far as it is informed by a realisation of the absolute or an approach towards it within the special circumstances that condition its coming about, partakes of it. The latter are chastened out of their contingency into style. This makes the total of the physiognomy of the artefact. Style becomes apparent then only as something in addition to form when the work of art is not beheld as a physiognomy having its own intrinsic and inevitable cast.

The public in whose midst the artefact was made had an easy relation towards it. They knew what they wanted when they had it made and how to use it when it was ready. The public other than for whom it was made, has no direct use for it and accepts or rejects it according to its preoccupations. From its midst the historian of styles arises. He accounts for variations of style by the changing preoccupations and idiosyncrasies of the public and of the makers of the works of art. The distinguishing traits of form occupy the entire field of his vision. They are described, classified and accounted for as modes of physical seeing. Excursions by the historians of style into sociological applications to the works of art are frequent. The stylistic approach hemmed in by history, sociology and psychology deals with the work of art from its contingent side only. Even there it moves within artificial limits. Enduring factors are not accounted for. That they persist is taken for granted or ignored. An escape from the pressure of social contacts and environment is provided by assigning a place to the uniqueness of artistic inspiration.

This attitude towards art has its basis in Western individualism which distinguishes the genius from the stupidity of the masses. The genius has to struggle against their prepossessions and their dumbness to his message. He then

stresses his expression, enforces the uniqueness of his individuality, exploits and exhibits it compelled as he is to devise a poster for his limitations and talents to make them known. In the end his individuality is accepted and overridden once more. The spectacle however which the accumulating works of art of ancient civilisations provide holds no such discord. The public and artisans were unanimous; struggling against the current of things was no requisite of the artist who is to be considered as the executive of the visual needs of the people towards a concrete form of the object of their visions and realisations. The craftsman provides the perfect instrument for the shaping of the vessels and channels in which these are deposited and along which they circulate.

The study of art developed during the last decades is a Western product at one with the Western type of art of the corresponding phases. Its standards are not applicable to Indian or any other traditional art. To give just one example. In the West the different branches of art, writing, music and painting for instance are specified, and even in the visual arts the rules valid for pictorial form make clear its distinction from carving and its effect. This isolation and definition of the several branches of art is unknown in India. The most ancient and authoritative treatise on Indian painting for instance, the Viṣṇudharmottara has it that a person cannot understand the rules of painting unless he knows the rules of dancing. He cannot understand the rules of dancing unless he knows the rules of music. Technically too, sculpture and painting are one, to an extent to which in the West drawing and painting combine. In Ajantā, Bādāmī and Elūra, the painted scenes and figures are near to carved figures and form one whole, for the painting is modelled in colour and the carving is painted. Materials too, are not employed in separation. One and the same relief for instance in Pahārpur is carved in stone in its major extent and supplemented by terracotta.

This non-separation of the various branches, techniques and materials of art is but an application to a more limited field, of a rule which is widely valid. As the forms of visual art, painting and sculpture, are not separated and as visual art is linked essentially with dance and music, so also is the entire field of art essentially linked with religion and philosophy in India. This does not mean that all Indian art is religious in its subject matter. It signifies that these aspects are interconnected and have one origin. Works of painting, pronouncedly "secular" in subject, as the illustrations of Vasanta Vilāsa or Rati Rahasya do not differ in form from the mode in which religious manuscripts of the same zone and age are illustrated. There is no distinction in their form between the two as there is no separation of religion and daily life, but one consistent mode of being, which is present in both.

In what manner then can Indian art be studied? If artefacts are the unavoidable visible vessels and channels of contents which they carry and by which they are shaped it is incumbent to know the contents which originate the works and also the origin of the contents. The pivot of a theory of traditional art rests in its sources. From there it has also its resources. The vessels and channels as which we consider the artefacts are becoming known nominally at least, in growing numbers, every year. They yield a net-work of connections, affiliations, analogies and the historian and collector of motifs seek for origins in one common prehistoric base. With him the original forms and conceptions as found in pre-history constitute the stock around which the art traditions of the different countries are built up. A seeking for origins in pre-history belongs to a historical attitude which deals with motifs. To the wholeness however of the single artefact as which or in which these motifs are found, a secondary importance is given. The search for origins in pre-history, may amount to a quest for an original home

located on earth, possibly near the north pole of the widely diffused motifs full of meaning in the art of widely separate places and times.

This approach considers the single motifs as ideograms. They are localized i. e., clad and disguised in the manner in which according to various art traditions they are shaped as they appear on the artefacts. The purpose of this approach is to read the ideograms. This however is only a part of a theory of art. Their origins when not sought after historically are beheld ontologically as the contents of a work of traditional art. The method by which they become visible, concrete and contingent constitutes the problem of form. Form has no independent existence. It is the form of something. It is a method of becoming, a translation from the origins to the wholeness of the work of art A theory of the work of art beholds in outward shape not the ideogram alone. Its identification is the business of the intellect which discerns the ideogram as sign of a completed result on the one hand and as an antecedent on the other, in view of the single artefact on which it is located. The translation however from the origins to the wholeness of the artefact, to its entire and consistent visibility is the form of the work of art. The sensualist and aesthetician, the scholar of styles react or else attempt to do justice to form as if it were an object and not a process. Form means to be seen in a manner analogous to reading a score of music. By reading it the music is evoked and produced. It has been rightly said in the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra that the picture is not in the colours. It must not be overlooked however that without colours there is no picture. Colour and all the other components of articulate visibility which the artefact proffers are the score through which is brought to life the theme by one who knows music. In the same way in which a traditional work of art presupposes a structure of society in consonance with its contents and related to its form, different from the split

consciousness of modern life, so also does the traditional work of art require to be contemplated in its wholeness so as to be comprehended ; the reader of ideograms and the person sensitive to optical, etc., values may think or feel to know it while he gets away with a text-book or a caress. Various exercises of thought are possible on the basis of form as a result of composition, *i. e.*, of putting together the factors of visibility. They require a more subtle sensibility if less textual knowledge, than is requisite for the reader of ideograms or symbols. Language does much thinking for us, not only in the case of a natural but also in that of artificial or technical language. Composition and symbol, the one word of Latin, the other of Greek origin, signify a putting or throwing together, according to an immanent and preconceived order. To understand a symbol only verbatim, as a name and not as a sign is as deficient as seeing a composition as lines, colours, etc., only.

The artefact to yield its meaning is to be taken in in its own intrinsic form 'svarūpa'. It is the result of activity on the side of the craftsman, not only physical or esthetic, for he knows what he does and does what he knows, carrying out his work as an executive member of his people whose notions he shares in an intensified degree, able and trained to state them in terms of form. Elation and intensity are part of his competent activity.

Form is a function of meaning and work; by a systematic contemplation of its achievement it leads us to its origins. Contemplation in India is an approach to any kind of realisation and knowledge. The object of art is the outcome of contemplation. A method to meet its object must partake of the nature of the object. The method of contemplation is that theory of art which sees artefacts in their origins and being. The origins, ontologically present, are seen from a historical point of view as the enduring factors. We are not

only referring to motifs *i. e.*, to the completed act but to that process of their becoming in which they are shaped and fall into place.

While we are ignorant of objects not yet known and which may be excavated or discovered, it will appear hazardous to attempt a theory of art when so little of it relatively can be seen as yet. Still, for all there is to become known by further excavations and a keener looking around on monuments exposed, the vast masses of works of perishable material—preserved exceptionally only in sporadic fragments—remain lost. With objects not yet known and gaps unknowable, the discipline of contemplation distinguishes in the extant artefacts the enduring factors. They are elastic and capable of bearing. The carvings for instance of the railing of stūpa II Sāñcī, abound with a symbolism and, contrasting with the majority of contemporary reliefs, are almost free of narration. A corresponding attitude is shown in the carvings of the fountain stones of Camba and of the bifurcated pillars at Dimāpur, Assam, although these monuments belong to Central India of the second century B. C., to the Western Himālaya in the twelfth century A.D. and to Assam of the Cachari kings. The connecting strata of works in wood are lost A particular tradition however is seen to endure in these monuments which are incidentally known. Other series of connected kind and motif also show the constitutional traits which belong to their origins. To some of the 'historical phases' elements of nomadism also contribute their share while at the same time persistent and almost changeless factors are integrated in just these historical phases.

It is not a question of comparisons which can be drawn at random. Constitutional coherence and not isolated and superficial similarities compel to view a whole. Imitation of externals and copy on the side of the artist are transient symptoms. Not in the accidents of appearance but in the manner of working cognate traditions are shown. They rely

on a reserve, which is their own. It is possible to copy the results which are achieved and come forth from this reserve. But it is impossible for the copyist to do as they do, to draw from a reserve which is not his. The physiognomy of any tradition is as consistently worked up from within as is the form of any single work. It is handed over from work to work. This constitutional coherence refers to the process itself which is active in the physiognomy of the various traditions. Alike to form in the single artefact it is a dynamic relation. The realisation of origins from where the play is set into motion, so that physiognomies are cast consistently and ever afresh is the task of a theory of art beginning with a discipline of contemplation from artefact to artefact, beheld each in its own intrinsic form (svarūpa)



SECTION X (*a*).

KERALA ART AND CULTURE.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

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TRAVANCORE.

Introductory.

We have in Kerala the tradition of a golden age which reigned under Mahābali, who, according to Hindu tradition, was dispossessed of his empire and worldly wealth by Mahā Viṣṇu and driven into the nether world. This ideal epoch has been characterised as one in which truth prevailed in thought, word and deed; in which weights and measures were genuine and people lived a life of righteousness, contentment and happiness without jealousy or hatred. Mahābali was permitted to revisit his ancient domains on one day in the year, the Śrāvaṇa day in the month of *Śrāvaṇa* which is also reputed to be the date on which a new *Kollam* or Malabar Era was inaugurated in 825 A. D. This reckoning started at Quilon and is now followed in all parts of Malabar, and it was prevalent in parts of Tinnevelly also. *Tiru Ōṇam* is a characteristic national festival. When the land has yielded its crops, and a plentiful monsoon has dowered the earth with fertility and charm, and a cool and bracing atmosphere of long days and moonlit nights ushers in the Ōṇam season, Mahābali is supposed to see his people living as of old under the aegis of peace and plenty. The women of Malabar have their allotted part in the "carrying out of winter" and the invocation of the Goddess of Spring

the harbinger of productivity and plenty. In the *Tiruvātira* season, in which we have met here today, Malayali womenfolk are supposed to lament the annihilation of the God of Love by Śiva, at the moment of the inception of the God's love for the World Mother, Pārvati. There is no killing and eating of fatted animals, as was practised by primitive peoples in other parts of the world, to inaugurate the season of productivity, but the sowing and germination of cereals and corn (gardens of Adonis), the panspermia or the pot of all seeds, and the bringing in of new flowers are factors common to those ancient rituals and the rites of the *Tiruvātira* season. Fasting and feasting, lamentations and dances are equally appropriate to the exorcising of Winter and the invocation of Spring ; and they form parts of such festivals all over the world. The totem trees developed into the *Kavus*, the wooded shrines of the household and the village ; the spirits of the dead represented by small triangular tomb-stones or *citrakūṭams* were embellished by sculptured representations of *Nāgas* or serpents which were the natural denizens of such shrines. The lords of the forest were the *Śastas* who were propitiated, in later days, for the defence of the land frontier against the incursion of foreigners into the country. The coastal region of sandy waste and extensive plains was placed under the watch and ward of the *Kāḷi*, whose temples are much more numerous and more widely scattered than those of any other God or Goddess in this land. This deity assumed, like Athena many forms and became invested with diverse functions. Above all, she presided over the *Kaḷaris* or the gymnasia which were characteristic of the social organisation of Kerala till the 18th century.

We have here the key to the Art and Culture of Kerala, their antiquity as well as their mutations, their simplicity and their short-comings. Wherein and what truth the Paraśurāma legend and the account of social and political

origins, contained in the *Kēraḷōlpatti* and *Kēraḷamāhātmyam*, convey has been hotly discussed in the columns of the Indian Antiquary and other learned periodicals. So also with the legend of St. Thomas, the dates of the Perumals and a host of other historical points. But such attempts have been few and far between, in regard to the interpretation of the obvious facts of social life and everyday beliefs, such as we have indicated above. How far the antiquities, the cromlechs, stone-cists, kistavens and dolmens, unearthed by Mr. Poduval in different parts of Travancore, point to a primitive civilisation, anterior to the *Sangham* Age, it is still impossible to say. Whether the Pulayas (Cherumars), the Nairs or some earlier Kolarian or Negroid communities were the earliest of the peoples who inhabited this land is still in doubt. Some broad facts of social and political history have been discovered by the study of the *Sangham* literature, from which a high stage of civilisation appears to have been reached in Kerala in a few centuries before and after the birth of Christ. The prominent workers in this field count some distinguished Travancoreans like Mr. K. G. Sesha Iyer, Pandit Desikavinayakam Pillai and Mr. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, while Kanakasabhai Pillai and V. Raghava Aiyangar loom large across the Ghats. Tamil literature has again helped us to visualise the religious influences—Mīmāmsaka, Buddhistic, Jain, Saivite and Vaiṣṇavaite—which spread over the land in successive waves from very early times down to the 12th century A. D. The survival of many communities which claim foreign origins and affinities, like the Jews, the Syrian Christians, the Ishavas, the Muslims, the Nāḍārs, the Parayas and a host of others, too numerous to mention, is a positive fact ; but the part they have played in the formation of a common Kerala culture, the influence they have exerted and the contributions they have made, are much too obscure and have not been adequately evaluated. Outside the Archæological Department, some anthropological investigation has been possible only in connection with the

Cochin, of literacy in the vernacular and in English ; the foundation of colleges and special institutions, now to be consolidated into an university, which in addition to important social aims is to encourage research and to maintain a Faculty of Oriental Studies and Fine Arts touch us more nearly. But it is the great work done for literature and archæology that most vividly appeals to us orientalists. I could not without emotion speak of the work accomplished by the Department for the publication of Sanskrit Manuscripts first under the charge of that great scholar and man, Dr. Gaṇapati Śāstri, whom I am proud to have known as a friend and who might well, had he lived, have been your President on this occasion, and subsequently under his able and indefatigable successor, Paṇḍit K. Śāmbasiva Śāstri, the present Curator. The Library of Sanskrit texts which it has given to the world, and which includes important works, previously unknown, in many departments of the literature, constitutes a sort of epoch in Sanskrit studies. I cannot possibly stay to particularize ; but I must not without mention pass over the labours of the Paṇḍits in preparing the excellently printed editions, not only of Sanskrit, but also of Malayâlam works, their zeal in discovering new manuscripts and their enormous industry in copying : they have well repaid the privilege of using so many valuable manuscripts from His Highness's own library and their own support and maintenance by the State.

In the work of the Archæological Department I had already become acquainted with what had been accomplished by the zeal of the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao, author of that extensive and fundamental work *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, in four volumes, and editor of numerous inscriptions, including the huge Kanyâkumâri inscription of Vira-Râjendra, deciphered with great toil. But it was in Trivandrum that I made the acquaintance of a modest young scholar, lent by the Madras Archæological Department as successor in the office of Superintendent of Archæology,

decennial censuses. Dewan Bahadur L. K. Anantakrishna Aiyar of Cochin has done much research in this field; and his son, Mr. L. A. Krishna Aiyar, a member of the Forest Service in Travancore, has published some monographs on our hill-tribes. Apart from a few articles contributed by a few scholars to learned periodicals in Malayalam and in English, which are now almost inaccessible, and the accounts of social and political life which are found scattered in the writings of early travellers, who visited Malabar from the first to the third century A. D., and from the 13th to the 16th centuries, researches into the cultural antiquities of Kerala have been undertaken on a large scale only by two or three eminent scholars—Logan in Malabar, P. Sankunni Menon in Travancore and his son K. P. Padmanabha Menon in Cochin. M. R. Ry. M. Rajarajavarma Avl., M. A., B. L., and Dr. L. A. Ravi Varma have made special contributions to some aspects of the study. It is, however, to be regretted that neither the accounts of early travellers nor the independent studies conducted by Logan, Sankunny Menon and others have been widely made known to the Malayalis. For the student also, they have become rarities which cannot be had either for love or for money. Christian antiquities have evoked much greater interest and have been assiduously sought after from the days of the Portuguese down to our own times, by scholars like Rev. Hosten, Rev. Schurhammer, Mr. T. K. Joseph, Mr. K. N. Daniel and Prof. P. J. Thomas, among others. It is gratifying to us of the Educational Department in Travancore that among the band of workers who have contributed to a proper appraisal of Malabar tradition in the dark ages from the 4th to the 14th centuries, we find the names of Messrs. A. Krishna Pisharoti, R. Narayana Panickar and M. R. Balakrishna Varier, who have made substantial contributions in the form of books and periodical literature on the subject in Malayalam. Here is a vast field for assiduous research to be undertaken by students of history and

languages working in collaboration, such as are now attached to Mr. Krishnan Tampi and me, assisted by a band of local enthusiasts who could investigate and write up the accounts of leading families, institutions and social customs for correlation and comparison. The creation of a central agency which can provide the material and the resources, as well as the atmosphere of pure research for such work to be organised has been a long-felt want.

Main aspects of Kerala Culture

The myth that Kerala was at any time isolated from the rest of India and that its culture, language and art had a hothouse growth, or an indigenous development, has been exploded in recent years. Whatever may be the origin of the Namputiris and of Sanskritic influences in Kerala, they have only been super-imposed on a Dravidian foundation. Thus much the *Sangham* literature has demonstrated beyond doubt. Only the peaceful penetration of Aryan influences, through a long period of time, in close association with Religion and the practical arts of Medicine, Astronomy &c., can account for the gradual, but complete, transformation of habits and customs no less than language and literature, which made the culture of Kerala distinct, from both the Tamilian and the Sanskritic cultures of a later day. That Tamil should have given place to *Maṇipravāḷam*, the mellifluous combination of Sanskrit and Malayalam, and that Malayalam should wean itself from both Tamil and Sanskrit and grow into the sturdy language that it is today, is one of the significant facts of first magnitude in the culture of Kerala. During a considerably long period of time, probably from the 7th to the 17th century, Sanskrit literature itself received considerable and conspicuous contribution from scholars of Kerala. This is evidenced by the publications of the Curator's Department in Travancore, as well as by the manuscripts of important works that have gone abroad from Kerala during the last hundred years and are occasionally seeing the light of day.

It is no longer held to be true that the Namputiris represented the only source of Aryan influence in Kerala. Bands of mendicants from all parts of India came into the land from time to time. Poets and scholars, religious teachers and preachers, communities of traders and migratory hordes of all kinds, civil and military, entered the country from Coimbatore, Madura and Tinnevelly, through the passes in the Mountains, which were the highways of traffic from very early times. There was thus for many centuries much intimate contact and intercourse between the lands on either side of the Ghats. What happened within the country can, however, only be surmised. It is possible that society was in a state of flux during the dark ages of the 7th to the 14th centuries A.D. and a steadying influence was supplied by the Brahmin hierarchy which had formed itself at some stage during that period. The process was one of assimilation and organised social exploitation. The *Kaḷaris* formed the secular schools, the gymnasia which trained the youth in the feats of war. The people of the land, who belonged to the *Taravāḍs*, or fixed territorial units, were bound to the profession of arms. But the *Kaḷaris* themselves were not confined to the Nair inhabitants. The Numputiris, and in later days the Izhavas, the Muslims and the Syrian Christians established their own *Kaḷaris*; and the ballads of the time point to the existence of much social intercourse between them amounting almost to a brotherhood in arms. To this period may also be traced the growth of from three to four hundred chiefships which had their own militia of Nairs and mercenaries of other communities to maintain their authority in times of danger. Like the Spartans of old, the fighting men had little time to spare for the gentler arts. Trade and industry passed into other hands, and the settlers from strange lands prospered side by side with the natives. Military training and pursuits did not make the people dull or brutish, because the art of war in mediæval times was in Kerala regulated by customs and rules which

avoided needless slaughter, rapine or pillage of any kind. The institution of the *chaṅgāttam* and *chāvēr* alone rendered some promiscuous slaughter a matter of duty and obligation.

It is the pride of Kerala that the management of the household and the periodic rites of religion and social ceremonials were mostly looked after by the women of the *Taṛa-rūḍ* who, at least in their sense of family dignity or the prejudices of rank and station, as well as a strict sense of discipline, surpassed even their sturdier brothers. As was aptly observed by Her Highness Maharani Setu Parvati Bai on a memorable occasion, they were 'the custodians of the culture of our race, intent on conserving our ancient and undying ideals'. The strong devotion of the whole community to religion, and the attachment to established religious practices such as the observances of fasts and festivals, the high regard for the duty each family owed to the local deities and an awe of the unknown, constituted a power supervening everything. They had little learning and less philosophy; but they believed in the efficacy of customary rites and ceremonies, the *pāṭṭus* for *Śāsta* and *Kāḷi*, the offerings to Gods far and near, and the respect due to religious preceptors, mendicants and shrines.

The life of mediæval Kerala centred round the *ampalam* and the *kāvu*, and Brahmins came to be revered in proportion as they secured ascendancy over these places of worship, Aryan as well as Dravidian. The Nair was a fighter more by necessity than by temperament. Retribution was known only in the form of '*Kuḍipaka*' or family feuds. The average Malayali was obsessed to a certain extent by a fear of the unknown. Magic and witchcraft had great vogue in those times, and the Namputiri and other castes, which could ensure him against the dread of witchcraft, the *Yakṣis* and *Chāttans*, hoodoos and taboos, apparitions of beasts that gore and kill, and of 'beauties,' that entice man to destruction, received his greatest veneration and absolute

obeisance. One is inclined to think that the idea of distance-pollution, which obtained here until the world-famous Temple Entry Proclamation, was in origin due to the fear of the evil eye and witchcraft. It was not so very long ago (1696-97) that a King of Travancore had to publish an edict against the practice of *pulappēḍi* and *maṇṇāppēḍi* in south Travancore. A recent case in the Madras High Court was concerned with the practice of humans assuming the shape of beasts to attack and destroy their enemies. The spiritual dominion which all religions that could satisfy the Malayali in this regard gradually acquired in this country, from time to time, left deep-rooted superstitions which even today form the bed-rock of Kerala culture. I wish to draw your attention in this connection to the learned paper which Mr. M. R. Balakrishna Varier, M. A, is reading on the subject at the Ethnology and Folklore Section.

The priestly class had its own organisations which grew around their own shrines, developed a common culture and gradually intertwined itself with the life and institutions of each locality, by consorting with the women of Nair *Taravāḍs*. Its members were freely admitted to the innermost counsels of the military class, and they became not only its preceptors but also its masters. They claimed great power and efficacy as exorcists. Some famous among them like 'Kalloor' and 'Kattumatam' acquired great reputation as lords over the spirits of darkness, while others are associated with the special favour of *Kāḷi*, *Gaṇapati* and *Subrahmaṇya*. Some like the' Pāmpummēkkāṭṭu Namputiris' and 'Maṇṇārśāla Nampiatiris' have even the serpents under their control, as we can well verify even today. The Nāga temple at Nagercoil, once a Jaina shrine, passed under the priesthood of the Pampummekkāṭṭu Namputiris, and the removal of serpent groves from inconvenient sites is still done only under their auspices. The temples were the centres of learning and the stronghold of the Brahmin community.

They developed *Sanketams* or sanctuaries. They were endowed with properties which were irrevocable gifts, and in the process, conferred what were known as rights of *Janmam* on the priests, who were associated with them. The protectorship of the '*Sanketam*' became a coveted prize among the numerous Chiefs, not only for its association with the temples, but also for the prestige it conferred in other States within whose jurisdiction they were generally situated. The Namputiris who could confer such honours became the confidantes of Kings. But they sowed at the same time the seed for much future trouble, as the involutions of later Kerala history reveal.

For a very long time there was little distinction of caste, although many communities lived side by side and enjoyed different social privileges. These privileges were not the exclusive rights of any class, for we find, from the Jewish and Christian grants, that high social rank could be earned by royal gift. The Kings had always enjoyed the power of conferring social dignities. Services to the king, companionship with him and marriage in his family, resulted in a superior social status enjoyed by certain priestly families. Through such marriages arose the distinction of sub-castes among the chiefs and the Nairs within the country. In the course of contacts with other parts of South India where caste divisions were solidifying, more castes and a regular caste system developed here on the basis of service to the Brahmin '*Illams*,' the chief's household, the temple and such like. As each creed decayed and its votaries, particularly the educated priests, returned to the Hindu fold, their status in society was determined by the occupations assigned to them. The Pisharotis, Kurukkals and others survive to-day to illustrate this fact. This occupational division did not, however, apply to non-Hindus, so that, neither the profession of arms nor the pursuit of trade and industry could confer the privileges of a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya on the Christian or the Muslim, although among Hindus

military occupation might have raised many powerful non-Aryan Hindu families to the higher castes, and reduced Brahmin families to a lower social rank. While the immigrants from other parts of India received a social status according to occupation and strength, foreign communities stood outside the social system. They had no proselytising mission at the time and had little cultural contact with the rest of the people. Kerala culture was, therefore, Hindu and Aryan superimposed on a permanent Dravidian foundation, as evidence of which latter stands the *Marumakkattāyam* or matriarchal system of inheritance. It was perpetuated by the convenience it afforded to the system of 'connubium' and 'consortium' which the priestly class practised, and the high regard for family unity and status which the *Taravāḍs* fostered. The institution had, however, repercussions on the patriarchal system of the Namputiris themselves, and influenced even the immigrant communities to modify their customs in regard to inheritance.

The pervading influence of one solid priestly class strongly entrenched behind the power of Princes and the Military classes in the community gave Kerala society and culture its peculiarities. As obtained nowhere else among the Hindus, the priests and their flocks were closely and intimately associated in Kerala. All lands belonged to them or the temples they managed ; and in the days of a landed aristocracy, they exercised great control over the life and actions, the outlook and aspirations of individuals, as well as the structure and organisation of society. They thus allotted to each class and community its place in the social scale, and did it so perfectly that there is probably no Hindu society, outside Kerala, in which a hundred castes and sub-castes are so closely knit into a well-ordered social system. It is significant in this arrangement to observe that the *Kurukkaḷs* who were in ordinary charge of *Kāḷi* and *Śāsta* temples, the *Chitiyans* and *Elayatus* who guide the Nayars in the performance of funeral obsequies, and even the *Ezhuttaccans*

or *Kaṇakkanmars* who form the race of village schoolmasters have a distinct affinity to similar classes of the Tamil land. The Namputiris set the ideals and regulated the rituals and propounded the philosophy which dominated the individual and society. As new communities like weavers and carpenters, blacksmiths and silversmiths, fisherfolk and leather-workers, came in and settled down, they too accepted the distance or degree of approach allotted to them, without demur.

It was the work of this great community that refined the diverse elements, literary, religious, philosophical, political and practical, which affected the lives of the people and harmonised them into a unified whole. In its hands the Dravidian Gods received their due share of importance, their affiliation with the other prominent deities of Hindusm. Its members pursued the study of Sanskrit as well as of Tamil literature, and it is due to their fine taste and critical mind that only the very best of contemporary works gained currency in this land. They fostered education and developed Sanskrit and Malayalam literatures, giving the latter new forms and new content, more in keeping with the practical aspects of religion which the masses appreciated. Philosophy and the sciences received equal attention, as evidenced by the great works which they have left behind and the numerous commentaries and manuscripts of original works which are still extant. All systems of philosophy flourished: and Kerala's special contribution to world-philosophy is represented by Śaṅkara. But till at least the time of the great Tuncchattu Ezhuttaccan such philosophy and religious speculation among the masses were confined mostly to Tamil. Remarkable progress was made in *Jyotiṣa* and *Āyurveda*, and Veterinary science, particularly the treatment of cows and elephants, reached a high level. Quilon and Chengannūr were pre-eminent in the south for the development of such sciences. The ability of the physicians and astrologers of

Quilon has been extolled by all the travellers of the 13th century. The prestige of the healing art in Kerala is perpetuated by the *Aṣṭavaidyans*, and that of *pratiṣṭhamārga* and *jyotiṣa* by the Pāzhūr Kaṇiyans. This latter aspect, in which Kerala takes a front rank, will be dealt with here by Mr. K. Sundaram Aiyar M. A., L. T., who is a member of our Education Service; and I invite your special attention to his learned paper.

Like the Athenians, the Brahmins formed an aristocracy of learning and culture, supported by a population of workers who were designed to cater to their comforts. They had the joy of life, being practically immune from the dangers of war and witchcraft; honoured and respected in every court they were diplomats and enjoyed unique opportunities to observe life. No wonder that they developed a high sense of humour, which is now-a-days unfortunately quoted to raise a laugh against them. Each Court had its band of scholars or *Sadas* for the entertainment and instruction of the chiefs. The pervasive influence of the priestly class, however, maintained the ideal of unity and handed down the pan-Kerala concept which inspired the glorious achievements of the Zamorins in the North and the Kulasekhara Perumals in the South. The courts of the chiefs, of which there were many, became the resort of scholars, poets and musicians, and in different epochs they rose to much fame. It was under the patronage of the chiefs, and very often with their active participation, that the Drama arose in Kerala. Originally conceived for religious instruction as well as social enjoyment, *Paṭakam* and *Chakyār Kūttu* developed a high educational value. The *Utsavams* with their attendant processions, feasts and spectacular ceremonial embellished by Buddhist influence, offered a grand opportunity for the learned people to meet. Pan-Kerala festivals like the "Aṣṭami" at Vaikam, "Śivarātri" at Alwaye, 'Bharani" at Cranganore, "Pūram" at Ārāṭṭupuzha and Trichūr, and the "*Murajapam*" festival at Trivandrum

as well as "the *Mamankam*" of Tirunāvai were such opportunities to create and foster a national life, beyond the bounds of petty chiefships.

What little we know of the condition of life and society, and the enormous activity, cultural, political and religious which happened before the 18th century has to be gleaned from the publication of manuscripts and the critical study of published works by State and private agencies. Fortunately, they have important centres in different parts of Kerala, and in recent times, their co-operation has been secured to a certain extent by the Kerala Sāhitya Pariṣad, which has already met twice at Trivandrum. A lead was given to such efforts and the critical study of old works for the elucidation of the history and culture of the country by Sahityapanchānana P. K. Narayana Pillai Avergal and Mahākavi Rao Sahib Ullūr S. Parameswara Aiyar Avergal. Modern scholars imbued with a zest for critical study abound, but the material for them to work upon is still inadequate. An institution like the Travancore University, inaugurated recently by His Gracious Highness the Maharaja, with the promotion of Kerala Art and Culture as one of its primary aims, has to play a leading role in filling up these gaps and interpreting Kerala to the outside world. Manuscripts of books on various subjects are still available in the lofts and cellars of many old families, and our Curator, Mr. Sambasiva Sastri, has worked out a plan to secure public co-operation in facilitating their discovery and safe preservation. But the collection and publication of Malayalam manuscripts will be of little use to the outside world, unless their contents are examined and discussed by competent scholars working with a view to co-ordinating available information and correlating them with contemporary conditions and movements outside. On this point, it has to be admitted that very little has been done hitherto for the comparative study of Kerala culture, as between different epochs and centres within the country, or in its relation to the general

whose collection of old records in the Vaṭṭeluttu and other scripts and his devoted study of them, and the perusal of his *Historical Studies of Ancient Dekhan*, fully prepared me to hear of his later promotion in the Madras Epigraphical Office. We have since had to take note of his very many critical editions of inscriptions in fasciculi of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, in *Epigraphia Indica* and finally in the form of the huge volumes of *South Indian Inscriptions*. That the Archaeological enterprise of Travancore has continued to yield good fruit, and even novel and fascinating discoveries, may be seen in the fasciculi issued by Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar's successor, Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar, and in the Administration Reports of the present Superintendent, the Local Secretary of this Conference, Mr. R. Vasudeva Poduval. As regards the ethnographical and sociological research for which the State offers so rich a field, we may point to the elaborate study in the Census Reports; and, for Cochin, to the monumental work of Dr. Anantakrishna Aiyar on the tribes and castes of that part of Malabar. You will say that I am skipping over much. But enough has been said to make it clear that from Mysore, with its likewise great record of literary and archaeological research and publication, the Conference was well advised to continue its southern *anusaṃyāna* to this apex of Indian land.

Another special felicity which, in becoming your President at the first moment of release from duties elsewhere, affects me deeply, resides in the fact that the torch has been handed on from a succession of scholars and friends, under whose inspiration the Conference has ripened into a permanent organ of Indian intellectuality. It was by that veteran scholar, Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, a Bhishma, as it were, enunciating *śāstras* from his couch of spikes, that the foundation was laid in that first meeting, so rich in instruction. I knew his generous insistence upon the centribution of European critical methods to our common studies: it was accompanied by familiarity with that old

background of Dravidian and Indian culture. It may be possible in due course for the Travancore University to issue a series of Translations of Malayalam works of general interest; but it would be equally necessary for the other Universities in India to create a general interest in the literature and culture of their own centres. Many anthologies of foreign literatures come to us; but approved selections from the leading literatures of India have yet to be published, in a generally understandable form, by the Universities concerned. Such a series is certainly desirable to promote interchange of ideas and the proper appreciation of the different cultures in which each has flourished. It is the only way to foster the sense of national fellowship.

Kerala Art.

In a Land of rituals (*Karmabhūmi*) like Kerala, it is not surprising that the development of Art has been considerable and of varied kinds. Ritual makes the bridge between real life and Art. Poetry and Music appear to have flourished from *Saṅgham Age* down to our own days. The Malayalis are lovers of Music, and they can claim to have contributed something unique in this field as well. There are probably very few parts of India where the old Dravidian as well as the Aryan metres have been so very fully worked up. We have songs for every occasion of life and every variety of play and religious observance. The *Pānas, Ūñjalpāṭṭus, Ōṇapāṭṭus, Tiruvatira pāṭṭus, Puḷḷanpāṭṭus* and *Vaḷḷapāṭṭus, Śastāmpāṭṭus, Kalyāṇapāṭṭus* and *Brahmaṇipāṭṭus*, to mention only a few, have an aptness and technique special to each. Some samples of these, Mr. C. I. Gopala Pillai, M. A., Lecturer in the Arts College, has promised to give us. There is no doubt that in this field also, there has been considerable mixture and interchange. It is distinctively clear in a later age that the contact with the Carnatic, Telugu and Marathi forms supplied the model and the inspiration for the great musicians and composers of our own country, in the days of the great Rulers of Travancore in

learning which, like the Classical studies in Europe, not only developed the intellect, but also moulded the character and helped to form the soul. In succession came Sylvain Lévi, a brilliant, enthusiastic and incredibly accomplished savant; Dr. Gangānātha Jhā, whose scholarly translations and studies of Sanskrit philosophical texts had enabled us to follow the intricate reasoning of that great literature; Sir Jivanjī Jamshedjī Modi, the very prolific investigator of old Iranian literature, and culture; the genial veteran, Haraprasād Sastri, who out of his own experience could discourse so shrewdly and wisely upon many departments of Indian studies a very fountain of unpremeditated and original instruction; Hiralāl, with his exhaustive knowledge of Indian archæology; Kāshīprasād Jayaswāl and Dewan Bahadur Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, whom I must reserve for a later mention. These have all by their wisdom lent dignity and direction to the Conference. The gatherings over which they presided gave a worthy response, maintaining a high standard of sound scholarship of originality and method in research, of insight into the problems calling for solution and of judgment in valuing results. This is the heritage entrusted for this occasion to those who are now met here: it should be our endeavour to transmit it unimpaired.

If I might claim to bring, in return for the honour conferred upon one invited from outside, anything worthy of consideration, it would be, I know, only as the vehicle of a tradition. I do indeed sincerely feel that circumstances have conspired to invest me with a quasi-representative character which happily shrouds my personal inadequacy. As a pupil of Cowell and a remote successor in London and Oxford of Horace Hayman Wilson, in London also of Ballantyne and others; as having worshipped at the feet of Barth, Kern, and of Aufrecht, whose tradition went back to the days of Lassen and Bopp; as a junior friend of Bühler, Kielhorn, Fleet, Jacob and Burgess, whom you knew in India, and of Senart, Kuhn, Pischel, Oldenberg,

Eggeling, Jacobi, Rhys Davids, and how many others, I feel, that, though I may not have personally known Max Müller and Monier Williams, Weber, Böhtlingk or Roth, not to mention many another famous name of that period, yet my roots do really reach far back into the European past of our studies, and that in some degree I am authorized to pronounce in their name a benediction upon your work. You will remember also other scholars, more my contemporaries of whom some happily would be able to greet you with a living voice, while others have passed away too recently to seem to belong to the past. Indian scholarship has ever been ready to acknowledge indebtedness to such co-workers, teachers and inspirers from the west: your zeal and devotion may be an encouragement to their successors.

I am charged to represent here the oldest and perhaps the youngest of the English corporations particularly concerned with Oriental studies, namely, the University of Oxford, with which may be associated its Indian Institute, and the School of Oriental Studies in the University of London. In representing the Royal Asiatic Society I am a colleague of Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar. The World Congress of Faiths also, in the person of its British National Chairman, Sir Francis Younghusband, sends a greeting. Other institutions in Great Britain, on the Continent of Europe and in America and Asia have no doubt, communicated their good wishes through other channels.

There are still two matters of a personal character which you would not, I think, permit me to pass over. Ripe in years, as in wisdom, most of my predecessors have attained a well-earned rest: they were *kṛta-kṛtya* and they have left us the heritage of their good deeds. But concerning one, recently taken from us, we cannot but feel that an obscure destiny has forestalled the fruition of his strenuous labour. Already at the Patna Conference in 1930 a main factor, as President of the Reception Committee, in the success of the

gathering, Dr. Kāshiprasād Jayaswāl was judged worthy of election to the Presidency of the Baroda Conference held in 1933 ; and well did he, the youngest in the series of Presidents, by his eloquent, comprehensive and learned address as well as by his vigorous discharge of the other duties of his office, sustain the dignity and efficiency of the Conference. His extensive published researches, which, as we know, were seconded by personal labours in the archæological field and by active stimulus of, and participation in, enterprises carried on by his Society and by the Government of Bihar and Orissa, might encourage in an outsider the thought that he had done enough. That that was not his own view is evident from the increasing output of his latest years : and those who had followed his scholarly career from his earliest brilliant papers in the *Modern Review*, and had marked the increasing gravity and sense of reality apparent in his methods and deportment during those last years, will share the conviction that the outcome of his exceptional vigour and insight would have been crowned by a ripe master-piece of enduring value. In sympathy with the relatives and friends of Dr. Kāshiprasād Jayaswāl and with the Bihar and Orissa Society, which proposes to commemorate him in a special volume, and also in gratitude for his personal services to the Conference, I invite you to pay him the tribute of rising for a moment from your seats.

All the more thankfully, in view of this heavy loss, do our thoughts turn to those old friends and pillars of the Conference who can still receive our tribute. To Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Gangānātha Jhā, Vidyāsāgara, President of the Madras Conference in 1924, to that unrivalled authority on ancient Sanskrit philosophical texts, to that scholarly translator of *Sūtras* and *Bhāshyas*, to the re-discoverer of the system of Prabhākara, to the Editor of *Indian Thought*, we tender our heartfelt congratulations upon the completion of his translation of the *Śābara-bhāshya*, filling more than 2,000 closely printed pages in the Gaekwad's

Oriental Series, a work of enormous difficulty and importance. If the announcement, in the latest preface, that this great achievement completes Dr. Jhā's proposed life-task is to be accepted as definite, though we hope that that may not be the case, we must at any rate agree that the annals of pure Sanskrit scholarship record no more monumental contribution than is constituted by the work of Dr. Gangānātha Jhā. I feel that in stating so much I am using also the voice of my old friend Colonel Jacob, who greeted with enthusiasm the earlier part of Dr. Jhā's writings and would certainly have been thrilled could he have conceived the whole.

A second retirement, threatened by your late President and Permanent Honorary Secretary, Dewan Bahadur Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, will, we may hope, in the face of your unanimous protest, remain in the state of *prāg-abhāva*. Vainly could he urge, in the presence of a senior successor, that, like Dr. Jhā, he has received in the form of a large Commemoration Volume, replete with notable essays, a sort of winding-up statement. Others have survived that experience and continued undaunted on their old lines. The plant of South Indian history and antiquities, object of his youthful cult and life work, fostered not only by his own important and original volumes, but by the writings of his progeny of pupils and by his editorial care on behalf of the *Indian Antiquary*, the *Journal of Indian History* and the late Mr. Sewell's large chronological conspectus of *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, can still not spare the tendance of the scholar who keeps it under his eye from its earliest period to the Nāyaks of Madura.

I must now embark upon another portion of my subject and invite your attention to the Conference itself. On the present occasion we have no less than fourteen Sections, and no single human being could embrace them all in one purview. Fortunately each will have a specially qualified chairman, whose inaugural address will give what he deems requisite in the way of orientation. It is true that a certain

pervasiveness belongs to the Sanskrit, which in its own right commands some three Sections, and which plays an important rôle in five or six others. This will partly explain the large space which my predecessors for the most part have given to Sanskrit in their Addresses. Far be it from me to belittle the primacy of Sanskrit, which contains the key to nearly everything that is old in India, and in Greater India too, and which is constantly revealing new fundamental utilities in all branches of Middle-Eastern and Far-Eastern studies. But you have also Persian and Islamic interests; and among the living languages, the Dravidian, and especially the speech and culture of Malabar, have, on this occasion, a just predominance in two Sections. The Sections of Philosophy and Religion, History, Ethnology and Folklore, Fine Arts, Philology and Indian Linguistics, Ayur-veda and Technical Sciences, and Modern Indian Languages, would, no doubt, demur to a radical subordination to Sanskrit; and I feel accordingly directed to address you in the first instance from a wider point of view.

The Conference is now firmly established and need feel no apprehension for its future. Like the International Orientalist Congresses, whose spirit and critical methods it shares, it exists for the intellectual study of a certain department of humanities: the modern world-wide depreciation of such studies does not touch us at all; for that bears upon their predominance in education and society, and not upon their value as subjects of research. The discreet limitation to India, which at our past meetings has been partly observed, has not been able to preclude studies of the daughter cultures in Further India, Malaisia, and elsewhere. It cannot exclude any area or literature of Buddhism in its vast extra-Indian expansion: nor can we refuse to consider the pre-Indian developments of influences, Mesopotamian, Iranian, Islamic, Turco-Mongol, and even European, which at different periods have been incorporated into India. Still more generally may we not say that in its modern situation India, which in

periodical and general literature takes its view of all subjects of interest in the world, and which has its special organs for the study of the natural sciences, of Economics, of Law, of Mathematics, of Medicine and so forth, must in due course make its independent, but not self-centred, contributions to all the departments of Orientalist studies?

Nevertheless there is a difference to which we cannot be blind. The small groups of Orientalists in western countries are pursuing an absorbing intellectual interest but they have not much practically at stake. They might say with Janaka of old.

Mithilāyām pradīptāyām na me dahyati kiñcana.

The Conference, whose interests embrace studies represented in each European country by a plurality of associations,—classical and sacred literature, history sacred, ecclesiastical and profane, archaeology and art and folk-lore, vernacular languages and literature with the stages of their development, grammar and linguistic science—is at many points in touch with living conditions. However much we may become emancipated from old views, however the young especially may strive to lead an entirely modern life, we cannot eliminate that inherited mass of ideas and usages which are the basis of our mental and social being. The ideals of religion and conduct, the aesthetic prepossessions and the literary works embodying them, which through immemorial tradition have become engrained in our normal existence, have an independent vitality. Intellectual criticism does not easily modify them; they receive with new interpretations new leases of life and become really antiquated only when replaced by some equivalent. We cannot work upon the assumption that the old beliefs and literatures of India are *corpus mortuum*. But critical scholarship is not therefore futile: it helps to create an intellectual back-ground, whence the gradual changes of popular opinion and sentiment emerge. The Conference, whose detachment and unbiassed regard for scientific truth have been conspicuous in

the whole series of excellent papers recorded in its proceedings, is at the same time, for that great self-transforming Person, the Indian people in its modern situation, an organ of intellectual clarity.

In two ways this vital relation may be considered favourable to the Conference's work. Regarding the details of some old studies pursued in an artificially narrow horizon and now tending to be absorbed in views of wider sweep, for instance dynastic, political and local history, we are becoming somewhat philosophical; concentration upon such details, now infinitely multiplied, is possible for vigorous minds only under the influence of intellectual self-abnegation or upon the principle of the old grammarian that 'one word properly understood conducts to heaven', which we may paraphrase by saying that to know one thing in all its concatenations is to know the universe. But still for each particular country and area the details of its own political and social and literary history are not of simply theoretical interest: for purpose of law, politics and life any one of them may at a given moment prove decisive. Thus a good part of the work of the Conference is for India supported by solid values in the practical world.

A second favourable consequence is the multitude of potential collaborators. Consider, for instance, the number of specific old literatures, local or sectarian, falling within the scope of the Conference. How many educated Gujarātīs or Malayālīs, for instance, have some spontaneous interest in the old literatures of their respective languages; how many Hindustānis are repositories of knowledge of old ballads and poetry or local lore; how many Śrī-Vaiṣṇava, or Liṅgāyat, or Jain Paṇḍits are absolutely at home in their religious literature and tenets. If in such persons the group or Conference spirit could be kindled into activity, there could hardly, it seems, be a limit to the amount of collaboration which in the several provinces or other areas or centres would be at our command.

This conception of co-operative action I would select since we cannot, as in the storied Chinese examination, set down every item of our information—as the keynote of what I have still to say. Consider what co-operation has already achieved and is achieving for India.

The work of Governments, in the first place, the Government of India, the administrations of provinces, and the rulers of States, have given us the Census Reports and Gazetteers. All honour to the individual pioneers whose work paved the way for these great thesauruses. But it is in these that we find the full actual facts concerning localities and populations, with sketches of their past. For a great part of India we have also lists of villages, which are usable for historical research.

Though as yet we have no general ethnographical survey yet, in addition to the notices contained in Census Reports, for great parts—I need only recall the names of Crooke, Risley, Thurston, Anantakrishna Iyer, and Enthoven—we have what is practically equivalent. Elaborate special memoirs have been published by the Government of Assam and the Central Provinces. In Burma there was a systematic beginning of work, now unfortunately suspended.

Of the Linguistic Survey and the Archaeological Survey of India, with which may be associated the independent work in Mysore, Travancore, and Hyderabad, not to mention some other States and the commencement in Kashmir, we have monuments more massive perhaps than exists in the case of any other country. The Linguistic Survey, exposing the facts of language and dialect for the whole vast area within its scope, embraces also their classification and history, and records in most useful bibliographies the prior researches concerning them. It is revelatory in regard to present and past linguistic conditions in India. As concerns Indo-Aryan languages, it is to be completed by a comparative grammar from the hand of Professor R. L. Turner.

whose *Nepālī Dictionary* is in a good measure an etymological dictionary for the whole group. The Archaeological Survey, despite its array of imperial and provincial reports, its series of special memoirs, wherewith we may surely associate the three splendid folios laying the foundations for all future knowledge of Mohenjo-daro; despite its huge work of exploration, excavation and conservation and its network of museums, has indeed not by any means approximated to a full survey of the culture sites of the sub-continent; but it has driven through the centuries a board trench, which now projects far beyond the historic period and which will serve as a guide and scale for all future research. From the Survey may proceed that many-volumed, profusely illustrated, compilation which we conceive under the title *Dictionary of Indian Antiquities*. We cannot refer to that side of the work which is represented by the *Epigraphia Indica*, the *Epigraphia Moslemica*, the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, the *Epigraphia Burmanica*, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, the *Mysore Archaeological Series*, the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, and the many great volumes *of South Indian Inscriptions*, without expressing appreciation of the recent work of indexing, which increases our control of them: the previously mentioned volume by Mr. Sewell and Dewan Bahadur Krishnaswamy Aiyangar; the three volumes of inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, published by Mr. V. Rangacarya; Mr. H. Krishna Aiyangar's indexes to the Mysore reports and to *Epigraphia Carnatica*; and most recent of all, Professor D. R. Bhandarkar's happily completed index to the Brāhmi inscriptions of northern India. If I have not mentioned the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* or the six splendid volumes of *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, which we owe to the fine scholarship of Barth Bergaigne and their worthy successor, M. George Coedes or the *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam*, also by M. Coedes, it is because this All-India Conference must not exceed its bounds.

I must not linger endlessly over this matter of co-operation, or enlarge, for instance, upon great enterprises of collaboration in the editing of texts— the splendid ***Mahābhārata*** of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute will be in all our minds ; and so I will only refer in passing to the vast work which has been accomplished in the collecting and cataloguing of Manuscripts. Of course, that has been concerned mainly with Sanskrit, and we can now feel that, though many works remain to be discovered, we possess a fairly comprehensive conception of what exists of that great literature: when Professor Kuppuswāmi's projected continuation and amplification of the *Catalogus Catalogorum* becomes available, we shall be able in the case of most works to refer at once to descriptive entries. For Arabic and Persian also we have the extensive catalogues of the Bankipore Library and the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. For Tamil and Telugu there are the notices in the old work of Taylor and the lists in the summary catalogue of the Government Oriental MSS. Library in Madras, and now also Prof. P. P. S. Sastri's volumes dealing with Telugu and those dealing with Tamil Manuscripts in the Tanjore Library ; for Malayālam the lists published in Trivandrum ; for Marāthī the Tanjore volumes; for Hindī some Benares annual reports, and for Bengali the work of the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishat. When we have added to these the catalogues published by the British Museum and the India Office, we may yet feel that for the vernacular languages we still lack an adequate conception of the existing Manuscript remains. To conclude with a reference to dictionary work, we cannot omit a mention of such extensive enterprises as the Tamil Dictionary, the Oriya Dictionary, the Marāthi Encyclopaedia, the vast storehouse of Jainism contained in the *Rājendra-abhidhāna-koša*, and the extraordinary labour on Vedic Sanskrit which is being carried on by the Vishveswarānand Vedic Research Institute in Lahore. Dr. Bodding's monumental *Santal Dictionary* is, of course, an individual achievement.

Pulses.

Next come the pulses (shimbi dhanyam). There are fifteen varieties of it described in our Sastras. The commonly used pulses as dietery articles are green gram phaseolus radiatus (mudga) black gram, phaseolus mungo (masha) bengal gram cicer arietinum (Adaki). These are generally supposed to be good to increase strength (Balyam) increase weight and fat of the body (Brimhanam and medasyam). For every vegetarian these pulses play a prominent part. These contain in a large quantity vitamin A, B1 and B2.

Trinadanya.

In the last class come the Kshudra danyam or Trina danyam. Under this group grains like ragi, kambu etc. are mentioned. There are eleven varieties of these. They are used mainly by the poorer class of people and ordinarily they are not considered as good as Shali, Shashtika or Godhuma.

Methods of expression in Ayurveda.

In describing the properties of dietetic articles simple method of expression are used, It is divided first into two classes heavy diets, (Guruaharam) and light diet (laghu). The former would contain more of solid and liquid matter (Parthiva and Apyamsa) and consequently these food stuffs will have greater power to build the tissues. The laghu dravyas are generally composed of gasseous and radiant states of matter (Vayu and Tejas) and so the material will have greater power to lessen the build and make the person weaker, So the selection of food stuffs become easy. If a person wants to grow fatter and stronger he has only to take greater amounts of Parthiva articles and if reducing the body is required he has to take more Thejasa and Vayavya articles.

Seasonal variations

The Ayurvedic people recognise that a person's strength varies according to the seasons. In cold weather his strength is great in hot weather his strength is very low and in other seasons moderate. On account of this seasonal variation the food also is selected to suit the condition and one kind of food is not advocated all through the year. In cold weather the following diet is recommended :—Wheat, black gram, milk and its derivities. In hot weather as the persons strength becomes less the food that is recommended should be more nutritious, easy to digest containing more liquids and sweets.

The classification of articles of diet does not stop with the staple food alone, (dhanya varga) but also done under Shaka Varga (group of pot herbs and vegetables). There are six varieties of Shakas: Patram, (leaf) pushpam (flower) Phalam (fruit) Nalam (stalk) and Kandam (Bulbous root) Sam swedayam (mushrooms). Innumerable varieties of these are described and the selection mainly depends upon the season and availability.

Meat group—Mamsa Varga.

So far about the classification of vegatarian group of foods. The meat diet is divided into two broad groups. Jangala, (obtained from dry places) and anupa (obtained from marshy and watery places). The first group is again divided into five varieties. The properties of the first group of food mainly is balyam, brimhanam, vrishyam (aphorodisiac) whereas the second group builds the tissues to a grater extent. In the Jangala group all the animals like deer, goat, birds etc are included and in the anupa group fish, tortise and others are included. As any text book would give the individual merits of various kinds of meat they are not given here.

Prepared diet —Kritannavarga.

In the Ayurvedic texts not merely these foods are men tioned but a large grou of foods which come under

what are known as prepared diet (Kritanna Varga) also is included. It is recognised that food materials change their characters to some extent or to a great extent as the case may be during preparation. This consists both of vegetarian and non-vegetarian preparations. As the preparations will vary according to the tastes it is not possible to group them. Yet more than seventy-five varieties of prepared foods are described. These prepared foods generally come into use in diseases more than as general articles of food. In these preparations both solid and liquid preparations are included along light and heavy ones. The therapeutic action is generally enhanced by adding certain drugs also in these preparation.

Diet during pregnancy.

The recognition of diet is so great in Avurvedic medicine, diet from mouth to mouth is described during pregnancy and after child birth. Now-a-days public health centres devote so much attention on these points. During pregnancy Shali and Shashtikam are prefered and plenty of milk and its derivitives. In the same way during the post natal and lactation period Yava and Godhuma are prefered.

Diet for children.

In the diet for children human milk is recommended. In the absence of it, either goat's or cow's milk is to be given As the child should grow, more of light and easily digestable things full of madhura rasam (sweet taste) should be given.

Influence of food on mind.

Perhaps what would be considered as the most important contribution of Ayurvedic medicine on dietetics is its recognition of the influence of food on mind, an important point ignored by modern researeh workers. To recommend a particular food merely on accouut of its nutritive value to any class of man is wrong and positively harmful. The

avocations of people also should be taken into consideration and also their temperaments. Generally people are divided into three groups, Satvaikas, Rajasikas and Tamasikas according to their temperament. It may roughly be classified as intellectual class, martial class and labouring class. As the temperament and avocation of people differ naturally the food stuffs also should differ. The modern research workers have agreed that the food required for a labourer in the calorie value differs from that of a soldier and both differ from that of a financier, or an administrator. This difference in calori is merely physical and let it be hoped ere long they will recognise this principle of influence of mind also.

Six tastes in foods are recognised. They are madhura (sweet) amla (sour) lavana (Saltish) katu (Pungent) thikta, (bitter) and kashaya (astringent). These rasas or tastes are capable of influencing the bodily doshas vata, pitta and Kapha. So also they are capable of influencing the mind. Even the food which is dear to each of them is of three kinds.

"Food; that promote length of life, vitality, strength, health happiness and cheerfulness and those that are sweet, soft, nurishing and agreeable are the favourites of "Satvika".

"Foods that are bitter, sour, salted, over hot, pungent, dry and burning and those that produce pain, grief and disease are liked by the Rajasika."

"And that which is not freshly cooked, which is tasteless, putrid and stale, which is of the leavings and is unclean is the food dear to Tamasa person." The foregoing quotations from Bhagavadgita amply justify the statement that indiscriminate propaganda to one particular kind of food is wrong and useless.

How it could be popularised.

To explain the value of food in terms of modern scientific terminology of caloric values and chemical or bio-chemical content will not serve the purpose of popularising it, as the majority of people in India will not understand it. Therefore, the information given in nutrition should be non-technical so that the lay man may understand. As mentioned in the previous pages, the classification should be according to the rasas in the first instance, then according to their activities. The economic condition of the people in India is so poor that if the diet reform is to be successful much careful propaganda should be done. There is no use condemning a particular diet because the laboratory analysis of food stuff is not encouraging. The molicular combination (Vichitra prathyayarabda) of certain food is so complicated that analysis would not reveal anything. So, nutritional research scholars should go about in the country, study the conditions of the people and the common diet that they take. In the majority of cases the diet is good for them and they are enormously strong and healthy. The local food alone is the best as the medicinal herbs around him, for, both of them, the person and the food, have got the same climatic conditions. Leaving aside the food that is easily procurable, if a person is asked to get some other food, in the present economic condition of India he is unable to get. But still his faith in the findings of the modern research scholars is so much that he wants to get the food that they recommend. He is unable to get enough and he is undernourished.

Milk, fruits, nuts and other such costly things are essential for the body and they should certainly be got. But when the people are unable to find the means to procure them suitable substitutes should be suggested. In the case of milk for example on account of its prohibitive cost, people should be advised to take plenty of buttermilk. Though from

tand point of Ayurvedic medicine the characters of both

are different but from the modern stand point they resemble very much the same. In the case of fruits people should be advised to take plenty of plantains and lemons, perhaps the cheapest fruits that could be got. It is very happy to note that people in Kerala, rich or poor has imbibed the idea of taking plenty of bananas (Nendrankai). Merely publication of periodicals or lectures in urban areas, emphasising the 'balanced' from 'ill balanced' diet is not enough Such kind of propaganda help only the educated and richer class who frequent or reside in the cities. But statistics would show that the under nourishment and diseases due to it are more among the labourers who are unable to get proper nourishment on account of illiteracy and low wages. So the Public Health Department should take up the question and by suitable agency house to house propoganda is to be done. When it is said suitable agency, it is meant people who know the local conditions, local diet and traditions and customs and not merely people whose knowledge of dietetics is either bookish or from the laboratory.

By saying the above it is not intended to decry the value of modern research on dietetics. But like many things that are foreign, the findings of the expert body, calories, vitamins, and minerals fail to reach the ear of the person to whom these findings are intended. It merely serves the high class people, who, if anything suffer from over nourishment.

Tuberculosis Fund.

Recently Her Excellency Lady Linlithgow has floated a fund to combat against tuberculosis. The appalling death rate per year due to this disease in India is great. Among the various causes of this disease, want of proper nourishment is the most important. If any money is to be spent on the disease it is very essential that preventive measures are to be adopted than curative. When tuberculosis becomes

established in a person, it is not generally possible to give him a cure. But the disease may be prevented. Not by providing open play grounds, ventilated houses etc. They are of course essential, but by giving food, nourishing food which they lack very much. In certain places free distribution of milk is being given to the school children and the results are very comforting. In the same way proper food also should be supplied.

Perhaps when the provincial Governments could command more money, when there could be wealthy philanthrophists and if educated young men and women could take up the work of propagating the knowledge of dietetics, India also ere long would become a healty nation

SODHANAKARMAS.

VAIDYA BHUSHANA BHISHANG MANI,

DR. T. JIYYAR ROSS, GUNTUR DISTRICT

Before coming to the subject proper, I may be permitted to say that the holding of this Ayurvedic Section along with other technical science is new in its kind taking important place in the history of All-India Oriental Conference. If we trace back the history of this Oriental Conference, there was no occasion when an Ayurvedic Section was held separately though there has been some provision under technical sciences. The introduction of Ayurvedic Section at present is mainly due to the agitation of the All-India Hereditary Ayurvedic Doctors' League which has been functioning for the development and the propagation of the science.

I extent my humble thanks on behalf of our League to the Government of Travancore for the due recognition of the Ayurvedic science. As it was responsible for the inception of a separate section for Ayurveda, this League is also responsible for the change in the selection of sectional president of Ayurveda. At any rate, I wish that the promotion of Ayurvedic Science will come out in its true colours under the able guidence of Dr. Ravi Varma, the president of this section.

Further I want to draw the attention of the Conference that the existence of the ancient and the revered science of Ayurveda is mainly due to the hereditary Ayurvedic Physicians without being drowned in the ocean of oblivion in spite of continued foreign domination and mischievous propaganda of rival systems of healing.

The attention of the Conference is invited to the fact that the practising Ayurvedic Physicians as a whole have been committing an incorrigible blunder by neglecting the

"Sodhanakarmas" which form the most integrel part of treatment of diseases. The various Sodhanakarmas or the eliminative measures are indispensable for removal of Doshas which spread, occupy, and spoil the respective portions of body. The Sodhanakarmas are as follows :—

1. Vasthi 2. Vamana, 3 .Rechana 4. Swedana and 5. Sneha, etc.

Vasthikarma.

Vasthi is generally intended for removal of Vayu or the derangement in the sympathetic nervous system which is the sole cause of several diseases. Vasthikarma is the foremost of all the remedial agents for elimination of Doshas. Vasthikarma is again divided into :—

1. Anuvasa 2. Niruha 3. Uttara

Anuvasa is prepared with medicated Tylas or oils or milk, or both.

Niruha is prepared with dicoctions.

Uttara is intended for cleansing urethra and bladder. The particular kind of dicoctions and medicated oils depend more upon the nature of the patients and the disease. Vasthikarma is the foremost of all. Yogins also adopt this as an important one among Shatkarmas for Kayasudhi or regenerration of bodies, though their way of conduction is quite different.

There is also Sirovasthi though tailed with the name of Vasthi, it is not intended to eliminate poisons or Doshas from Vasthi portion *i. e*, the portion below the naval. It is purely intended for the creation of Etheric space and thus giving a full play for nerve force.

In the case of Sirovasthi, oils poured retained on head remove vayu from the head and thus stimulate the nervous

system. This kind of Sodhana has been playing an important part in all mental and brain disorders, and any diseases that appear above the neck such as eyes, nose ears, etc.

Vamana.

Vomiting or Vamana is an another important eliminating measure. It is meant for cleaning phlegm and hypersecretion of bile (Oordhvagata Pitta). Mangn is considered to be the best agent for producing vomiting. It does not irritate the mucus membrane as other ingredients. The modern way of introducing Stomach-tube for vomiting has also been prescribed in our text books with the aid of the stem of a lotus. In the text books of Yoga, there is Douthikarma or swallowing a long piece of cloth for the same purpose. Neither Douthi nor modern Stomach washing is potent enough to remove the irritated bile completely and cause its Samanam or normal condition.

Next to vomiting, Rechanakarma is important. We must not mistake that the Vasti and the Rechana are intended for the same purpose. The former is intended for the removal of wind and the stimulation of nervous system whereas the latter for the removal of bile and over-accumulated mucus from the system; Trivrut (Jalap) has been considered to be the best for this purpose and its purification process expounded in our text books is yet unknown to our Western Researchers. We must consider the strength, constitution, time etc. before the administration of this karma and other karmas as well.

Next comes "Snehakarama" or prescription of medicated ghees and oils both as internal and external applications. This is an excellent process for removal of fat, Vayu, Phlegm and lubrication of the alimentary canal. Concentrated oils are also recommended for elimination of Vayu and

There are two great desiderata whereof during the years spent in the Library of the India Office I became conscious. I could not help being aware of a large output of pamphlets, in verse or prose, of a local character, relating mostly to shrines. And then I thought of the thousands of what in Wilson's Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection are styled 'Local Tracts', being Manuscripts in Sanskrit, Tamil Telugu, etc, and largely of that character. About the year 1840 they were returned to Madras, and perhaps most of them are named in the summary catalogue to which I have already referred. I do not know how far they were treated in the successive attempts, in the catalogues of Taylor and others, or how far the Sanskrit ones have been incorporated in the great, many volumed, catalogue raisonné, which we now have for that library. But we have only to open our eyes to the mass of local *māhātmyas*, attached to *Purāṇas* or separately current, to see that in all this we have the material for a veritable *Topographia Sacra*, giving descriptions of the sacred places of India with their legends. I think that in those years I sometimes gave expression to this idea; but now at any rate I do seriously propound it to you, conceiving that in old India, as in medieval England and Europe, topography was not primarily a matter of towns and villages, but of the great religious establishments about which they clustered.

Starting again from the same Mackenzie papers, we may note that they contain much local information, contemporary or narrative, which is not based upon actual writings; and the same may be said of the documents relating to Nepal left by Brian Houghton Hodgson, and of the Buchanan-Hamilton reports and journals which are now at last in a good part published, under the editorial care of Mr. V. H. Jackson, Mr. Oldham and others, by the Bihar and Orissa Society. Observations taken more than a century ago, these papers describe many things which are no longer actual, and they are become records. Records!

lubrication of the remotest parts of the system. One should be cautious not to administer this particular karma to the enfeebled and dspeptic patients.

Swedanam or the sweating process comes next. The various sweating processes advocated in the Ayurvedic science, are far superior to the western sweating applications like Russian baths, Turkish Baths, Dry-hot packs, etc.

Some of our sweat applications are prepared with Herbal dicoctions, suited to the constitutions, diseases Doshas etc. Some with oils, milk and cereals like "Pinda Sweda" and some as pastes as in the case of Upanah Sweda.

It has become very difficult to understand the valuable principles of Ayurveda for want of correctly framed annotations, State protections etc., Hence I appeal to the Congress and the other National Provincial Governments to give due impetus to the science of Ayurveda.

AYURVEDIC DIETOLOGY.

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It is really surprising to learn that the modern researchers on Dietology have been committing an Himalyan blunder by neglecting the treasure of knowledge found in the ancient Science of Ayurveda. Their conclusions would have been more sound and practicable, had they taken pains to consider the fundamentals on Dietitics in Ayurveda, for prevention of diseases, and restoration of health of the suffering humanity. In spite of the development of several systems of Dietology such as Mono-diet, Caloric-diet, Dry diet, Rational-diet, Tissue-building diet, Vegetarianism, non-toxin-forming diet, Protoplasomic diet, Mucusless diet, Salisbury's diet, non-Stimulating diet, Milk diet Raw and germinated diet Nut and Fruit diet, Vitamin diet etc., and there are many important points untouched until now, by the occidental researchers of Dietology in the Oriental Chemistry of Ayurveda. Though impossible to deal with the subject exhaustively in a very short time allowed, I shall trace the most important and vital points on Dietitics of Ayurveda.

All foodstuffs (Dravyas) are composed of the five elements. In all the foodstuffs only one Element predominates, while the remaining constituting the whole. The Element of the Earth in a foodstuff can be determined by the weight, stability, peculiar odour, not easily digestible capacity and nutritious characteristics, that of water can be known through its acidity, coolness, transparency, and, glittering conditions, that of fire from burning, heating

shining and digestible qualities, that of Air heating, spreading, effect producing, moving and reactionary nature and that of ether from its sound producing, prominent, yet insignificant and light qualities.

It is evident that all the six tastes are present in every foodstuff. As in the case of the Elements, a particular taste preceds others in each article of foodstuffs ; Each taste or Rasa contains all the five elements. Of all the five Elements any two prominent elements are responsible for production of a certain taste. It can be instanced that earth and water make up sweet taste or (Madhura Rasa). Similarly the other Rasas are composed of.

Each one of the tastes again has different qualities just as sweet taste has the power of producing enjoyment, vitality, blosoming-countenance, seminal strength, etc., and if it is taken in excess it causes obesity, Indigestion, etc, Sour taste has the capacity of producing stimulation of Salivery glands, digestibility, secretion of phlegm and Sinvoidial fluid, etc., in excess Anemea, debility, dropsy, skin-diseases, etc., are caused. Saltish taste is responsible for producing salivary secretion, burning sensation of the cheeks, appttite, bowel movement, etc., and in excess it causes gray hairs, baldness, thirst, dropsy etc. Bitter taste, though causes distaste of the tongue, can bring a cure in fevers, epilipsy, skin disorders, obesity etc., and in excess it produces paralysis, consumption, debility etc. Pungent taste, stimulating sweat and salivary glands and tear duct, removes constipation, ulcers, dropsy, diseases of skin throat and lungs etc., but in excess it produces nervousness, thirst, impotency, epilipsy etc. Astrogent taste producing contraction of the mucus membrane cures ulcers and Pulmonary disorders, biliousness and impurity of blood, and in excess it causes heart-diseases seminal loss, constipation etc.

Grouping of tastes.

All these six tastes can be grouped as following :—
Sweet can be mixed with all other tastes. Sour, with all others except sweet, Saltish with all but sweet and sour ;
Bitter with all others but sweet, sour and saltish,
Pungent with only bitter and astrogent,
Astrogent with pungent and bitter.

All the aforesaid articles of diet are classified as stimulating (Ushnaveerya) and cooling (Seethaveerya). Stimulating articles are those that produce thirst, tiresomeness, irritation, and digestion and cooling are those that produce strength, contentment, and seminal retention. Some of these foodstuffs undergo a peculiar chemical change in the process of digestion called 'Vipaka'. Every article of foodstuffs has its strange quality of power called "Prabhava"

Therefore in prescription of diet one should consider the composition of the Elements, tastes, and their Rational combination, the qualities of Vipaka and Prabhava as well.

Foodstuffs taken in limited quantities according to the individual predilictions and suitability of one's constitution is a correct diet.

Various kinds of incorrect combination of Foodstuffs.

Irrational or incorrect diet is the following :—

1. Unsuitability to one's own country (Desavirudha)
2. Uncopability to seasons (Kalavirudha)
3. Inproportionate combination (Mathravirudha)
4. What is not suited to one's own constitution and previous taste (Swathmyavirudha)
5. Toxin forming combination (Samskaravirudha)
6. Combination of unlike veerya articles (Veeryavirudha)

7. Taking very light articles of foodstuffs w. one's digestive capacity demands very stro food (Koshtavirudha)
8½ Taking Dosha-irritating foodstuffs when that particular Dosha has already been irritated by his ways of living (Avasthavirudha)
9. Taking food when no proper appetite (Kramavirudha)
10. Taking two contrary foodstuffs (Paraharavirudha)
11. Following a course of action which is quite contrary to the food, immediately after meal (Upacharavirudha)
12. Preparation of food with poisonous fire-wood, etc, and taking burned food-stuffs (Pakavirudha)
13. Irrational and incorrect combinations of food-stuffs in a single meal (Samyogavirudha)
14. Taking what is not liked (Hrudvirudha)
15½ Taking another meal immediately after a heavy meal (Vidhivirudha)

Important suggestions recommended.

Milk diet is recommended for those who have fasted, overtired, indulged in sexul intercourse and exhausted their vocal chords. Exclusive butter milk diet is recommended in cases of kidney disorders and Diarrhoea and honey to the obesed. Foodstuffs taken in excessive quantities, containing hairs etc., not properly cooked, either very cold or very hot, are always indigestable. Mental conditions and emotions play a great part in digestion. Food should be taken when only real appetite is felt. He who does not bathe is not fit for taking meal—. One who takes meal without satisfying the Angles, guests, children, masters and tamed animals cannot assimilate his food properly. Half the portion of the stomach should be filled with food, one-fourth with water, and the remaining one-fourth should be left vacant. Limited quantities of water should be drunk by those that suffer from diarrhoea, indigestion, enlargement of liver and spleen,

ascites, ulcers, leprosy, dropsy etc. One should not indulge in too much conversation, sleep, basking in the sun, jumping, riding, and walking immediately after meal.

It will be out of place if I leave the various principles involved in modern system of the dietitics and their combinations untouched. Therefore I will draw your attention to the following few points :—

1. That a certain amount of calories is needed according to the weight and height of a personage.
2. That the diet should be well balanced with starches, sugar, fat, Proteids, Mineral matter and Vitamins.
3. That it should be Proto-plasmic.
4. That it should not be over-stimulating.
5. That it must not be mucus-forming
6. That it must be with proper combinations.

This heading may be sub-divided as following :—

(*a*) No two starches should be mixed in a single meal.

(*b*) No fruits should be taken along with a starch meal.

(*c*) No starches and proteids should be mixed up.

(*d*) No two or more complete foods should be taken in a same meal.

(*d*) No acid and sweet articles of food should be combined.

(*e*) Non-starchy vegetables may be mixed up with any articles of food.

(*f*) Toasted food can be used with any articles of food.

7 Organic salts are always superior to Inorganic salts.

8. Some animal magnetism is indispensable in the shape of dairy products for promotion of life.

Let us now see if we are not following the aforesaid principles in prescription of diet to the patients and in our common practice.

We too give prominence to dairy products. We too restrict combination of acids and starches, starches and starches, and sweets and acids. If at all one is to use proteids and starches together we advise the starchy food to be toasted before using.

Some are under the notion that the combination of tamarind preparation and acid pickles along with a starch meal is injurious. But we never recommend fresh tamarind preparations. When the tamarind is preserved for a long time and pickles made up of acid fruits like oranges and lemons etc., for six months, there will be a beneficial alkaline chemical change. Again some argue that such foods are devoid of vitamins, though they are not really so. Because the anti-scurbitic vitamin 'c' contained in tamarind and on the peels of these acid fruits cannot be destroyed. The peels of these articles in their original shape are poisonous but when preserved in salt, they can be utilised as very useful article of food. It is also the case with Sorrel which is very rich in iron though it cannot be taken in its fresh and acid state. We also usually take raw non-starchy vegetable salads for promotion of health since times immemorial, though they are recently advocated. Our cooking is most scientific and appreciatable for the noninjurious combination of articles which have medicinal value. Experts on modern diets have failed to prevent fermentation, worm-production and alcholic reaction when sweets are taken in excessive quantities, while we long ago have been avoiding the injurious sequences by a reasonable and beneficial combination of saffron, pachakarpur, pepper, cardamum etc., with them.

Our prescription of Pays, Yavagu, Velape etc., is very simple but in no way inferior to several food-stuffs advocated nowadays. And Ushas exponded by our ancients are far superior to Salisbury's soups. So also our common diet prescribed for females during the days of their confinement, is quite similar to Dry-diet advocated by Dr. Schroth.

In our country centarians are found even among very poor classes of people. Unlike the rich and the Westerners they do not use articles of food like fruit and vegetable, their existence is solely attributed to their taking butter milk etc., and protoplasmic leafy vegetables obtained in the villages.

I hope that, to the best of my ability I have traced the important fundamentals on both the systems of diet for the use of our doctors and public as well and that showed how the so-called advanced theories of diatologists have already been in practice in the system of Ayurveda.

Section XII.

PHILOLOGY AND INDIAN LINGUISTICS. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

A STUDY OF LINGUISTICS IN INDIA AND SOME PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH IT.

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Linguistics or the science of Comparative Grammar as applied to Indo-European languages has not found much favour with Indian scholars up to now. There have been no doubt people interested in I-E. Linguistics in so far as it affected the comparative study of either Middle or New Indo-Aryan languages. India first contributed the direct impulse in opening up the new vista of Comparative Grammar, but practically all the new work has been done by the scholars of Europe or America, and with good reason too. The Indian scholar has not taken the trouble to master or even have a familiarity with the members of the I-E. family outside Sanskrit and perhaps Avesta. And in addition his general ignorance of either French or German is at the basis of this absence of genuine interest in Linguistics.

It is all the more surprising, therefore, that the English speaking world has not attempted a correct approach to the science of Comparative Grammar. The books written in English on the subject of Linguistics are either too general or else too elementary, and in any case there is lacking in all a synthetic method which brings together the results of research done in the whole field in a coherent whole. The science to day as applied to the I-E. field is essentially a French or German contribution, or at any rate the chief results are published in these languages. The first desideratum therefore so far as India and other English speaking countries are concerned is a good text book written by a

master of the subject, developing a correct approach to the subject as a whole ; and in the case of India it is further necessary that all the illustrative material should be taken from Sanskrit and Avesta as far as possible.

A second factor in India has been the absence of any active sympathy with the subject evinced by the Universities. With the exception of Calcutta no Indian University has given any importance to the subject and a scanty mention in a corner of the syllabus is all that we find in the Calendars. As a result of this apathy neither the Professors nor the research students have a desire to cultivate this science. If Linguistics applied to the I-E. family is to make headway in India it is necessary that the subject should be properly encouraged by the Universities by establishing chairs or readership lectures or even extension lectures which should be made compulsory in the case of all language students, lecturers and professors.

As most of the work done in the field of Indo-Aryan Linguistics has depended very largely on the corresponding work in the I-E. field (witness for instance Wackernagel's masterpiece " Altindische Grammatik " or Jules Bloch's two major works "La Langue Marathe " and "L'indo-aryen du Veda aux temps modernes "both of which were inspired by his great master Antoine Meillet) it is necessary in passing to make a cursory survey of the recent work done in this field, not so much for what has been done in I-A. as for what way be achieved in I-A. if research is carried out on similar lines.

2. *Recent Advances in Indo-European Linguistics.*

The discovery of Hittite and its intensive study have shown its affinity with the I-E. groups, though its actual position in this group is still *sub judice*. But its importance to the study of I-E grammar is shown by the recent remarkable results of Benveniste in France and Kurylowicz in Poland.

Does not the word recall long series of volumes edited for the India Office and arrays of thick folios printed and issued by several of the provincial Governments of India? Invaluable, however, as these are in regard to administration and politics and economics and biography and the lives of British and other European communities, they do not, except in casual gleams, fill the void which is at the heart of Indian history, namely, our failure to conceive with what mind the peoples of India lived through that history. For the Hindu period, though at one epoch each district had its chronicle, its *nila-pata* of 'blue-book', as it was called, we have indeed no records, except one or two formal histories and biographies and a number of genealogies, *rājāvalis* or *vaṁśāvalis*, which are anything but reliable. But at any rate we have enough of literature through which transpires the general mentality; and from the epigraphical 'records' it has been found possible, as we all know, to elicit much information concerning social and economic conditions. With what completeness the late authorities on the Musalman and early Portuguese-British French-Dutch period have taken note of the histories, biographies, and collections of letters in the Arabic, Persian and Turki languages, I am not in a position to state. But, certainly we cannot dispense with any additional light to be obtained from such Marāthi papers as those published in many volumes by Messrs. Sardesai and Patwardhan, of the Bhāratiya Itihāsa Samsodhaka Maṇḍala in Poona and by my lamented friend Rai Bahādur Pārasnīs in Sātārā. Marāthī documents are also comprised in the Mackenzie papers; and the India Office has a further collection, including a number of Bhonsla *bakhars*. We know also of the Assam *buranjis* which have been used by Sir Edward Gait for his *History* and some of which have been published. But is it not certain that the archives of many states and families in India contain collections of *sanads*, *khabars*, rent rolls, and correspondence which, if calendared, would add greatly to our inside knowledge of local history and give life to the history of India as a whole?

Though the results are not yet generally accepted on all hands they are sufficiently revolutionary in their character. This is especially so in the case of the P. I-E. long vowels *ē*, *ā* and *ō*; here a close study of Hittite *ḫ* has shown the existence in PI-E. of three varieties of I-E. (schwa secundum) which in combination with I-E. *e* has given us short *e*, *a* and *o* as well as their long varieties.

For the past sixty years or so the chief concern of Comparative Grammar had been the study of the correspondences between the members of the I-E. group on the basis of which an attempt could be made to explain the linguistic development of each of these members. It was thus necessary to pose at the back of all these a PI-E. language possessing all the different characteristics which appeared to have been inherited by each of these attested dialects with an implicit or explicit conviction that one could restore the immediate prototype of I-E. While I-E. studies proceeded with the principle of understanding the development of the attested dialects without the necessity of understanding the origin of such forms, the effort has been mainly directed towards the description of these forms without trying seriously to interpret them.

Another great defect of I-E. Linguistics has been the absence of a serious study of the chronology of Phonology and Morphology as applied to the different members of this family. The picture which we have to-day of PI-E. is based entirely on the comparison of documents belonging to different epochs and different countries, and thus does not correspond to a synchronic state of PI-E. To a certain extent, therefore, this defect affects our study of the individually attested languages of this family. For without a synchronic knowledge of PI-E. it is not possible always to trace the exact limits between conservations (or archaïsms) and innovations. From another point of view again it is not possible to determine the relationship of PI-E. with other

families of languages unless the linguistic phenomena of I-E. have been studied from the strictly chronological point of view.

It is precisely in these two fields that E. Benveniste and J. Kurylowicz have made signal contributions. It is sufficient for my purpose here to refer only to two books which appeared in the same year, without mentioning articles contributed by these two scholars to various learned journals. In 1935 the firm of Adrien-Maisonneuve in Paris brought out a fundamental volume entitled "Origines de la formations des noms en indoeuropeen I" by E. Benveniste. The object of this volume was to interpret the I-E. forms by looking at PI-E. as a language in the process of "becoming" or "being" offering the same diversity of origin and time as any of the historically attested languages of this group, and thus permitting in their turn (in spite of the "restitution") a genetic analysis. Since this analysis could be applied equally to nouns as to verbs M. Benveniste has here interpreted the nominal type as being the more archaique and heteroclitic by a gradual progression leading to his discussion of the PI-E. root system. His approach to the subject is by a slow progression which is at times irregular, necessitating on occasion a modification not only of the position but also of the entire nature of the question itself. Thus in the first chapter he considers the alternation *r/n* in the flexional system as a living reality in I-E., but in the last but one chapter dealing with the structure of the earliest noun derivatives in I-E., he demonstrates that this flexion in reality did not belong properly to the I-E. It is thus possible to study the chronology of I-E. morphology as well as phonology, and all future work in the field of Comparative Grammar now appears to be dominantly preoccupied with the question of the fixing of the chronology of I-E., grammar.

That same year appeared another fundamental work from Krakow by J. Kurylowicz entitled "Etudes indo-europeennes I". Its chief object is to show the profundity of the subject of a chronological approach to I-E. and to fill in the lacunae as far as possible by treating some problems of phonology and morphology connected with the noun in I-E. from the point of view of chronology. The solutions offered by him consist in attributing to the facts discussed a determined position in the chain of evolution of prehistoric PI-E. Among the subjects treated are the labiovelar occlusives, the consonantal elements which have disappeared in I-E., the vocalic changes and their chronology and some fundamental observations on nominal flexion and derivation.

What is remarkable in these two attempts is the amount of agreement in the results though their methods are somewhat different. This is a sure indication of the correctness of the approach, and it goes without saying that further work in the domain of I-E. must take cognisance of these results. All the phonological changes will have to be revised by taking into consideration the vocalic and consonantal elements which have disappeared in the process of evolution and even our conception of the PI-E. vowel and consonantal system will have to be completely modified.

I shall now pass on to another approach to linguistic study which yields interesting results. Here again the preliminary work has been carried on by a Polish scholar Jan Czekanowski; this scholar employed a statistical method called the method of differential diagnosis by quantitative correlation determinations. This method rests upon the recognition of isolable and definable features whose presence or absence can be determined for the different linguistic groups of I-E. In a recent paper contributed to LANGUAGE (Vol. 13, No. 2, April-June 1937) A. L. Kroeber and C. D. Chretien attempt a quantitative classification of I-E. Languages. This method has the advantage of being objective,

while in the domain of pure linguistics subjective judgment often plays an important role. The results indicate the existence of a *satem* group but not a *centum* group. The range of coefficients within this group is interesting because it seems to coincide with geography on the one hand and with the general linguistic opinion on the other. This method also shows that the closest affinities of Greek are to Sanskrit (.28,) Armenian (·25) and Iranian (.22); the only other positive coefficient is the very low one (-09) with Italic. It is surprising that Greek has more in common with the *satem* languages than with the *centum* -except for the one characteristic which serves to distinguish these two groups. The statistical method then confirms beyond doubt the difficulties of the *centum-satem* classification, namely that the division into *centum* and *satem* languages was a purely arbitrary and not an organic division, but that so far as the *satem* languages were concerned, it happened accidentally to be right.

The application of these methods in the Indian field is now absolutely necessary, especially in view of the study of the relationship of I-A. with other linguistic groups and particularly in the case of non-Aryan substrata. Unless a chronological and statistical method is applied to every phase of I-A. linguistics no good results of a permanent value can be achieved.

Before I close the subject of I-E. linguistics I must repeat here the facts so well known to all of the great loss to Linguistics by the passing to the Beyond of two of the greatest European Linguists, Meillet in France and Hirt in Germany. The contributions of Meillet are too well-known to need mention here, and the French School of Linguistics is due chiefly to his genius and inspiring personality. Hirt almost stood alone in his early researches in the relationship of I-E. with other linguistic groups, and though some of his results are rather personal and not generally

accepted by other scholars, his death is a distinct loss to the science. With the removal of these two giants of an earlier generation linguistics is so much the poorer.

3. *Indo-Aryan Linguistics.*

It is usual to divide the study of I-A. into the three groups Old, Middle and New Indo-Aryan, and in this short survey I propose to stick to this division. Recently the OI-A. group has shown considerable activity in that linguistic field. First and foremost must be mentioned the great master of Sanskrit Linguistics, Jacob Wackernagel who, with the aid of his pupil and friend Debrunner, is putting the finishing touches to his yet incomplete masterpiece *Altindische Grammatik*. In a recent letter to me (dated November 3) Prof. Debrunner mentions the fact that despite his great age Wackernagel is still fresh in spirit though his advancing years do not allow him to work on his great grammar. I am sure I am voicing your own inmost thoughts when I pray that he may yet be spared by Fate to see the completion of the Altindische Grammatik by his faithful friend and colleague. Two more volumes are yet to appear dealing respectively with nominal stem formation and with the Verb and Adverb. When this work is completed it will remain as a beacon not only in the field of Indo-Aryan but also in the entire field of Linguistics as applied to any single member of the I-E. family The insight, patience, thoroughness and all-round competence with which Wackernagel has given us this unique work in old Indo-Aryan will excite wonder, respect and veneration for generations to come. The recent advances in the study of I-E. linguistics may cause some little alterations in phonology or morphology in some cases, but in its ensemble it must remain the greatest work of its type.

That Wackernagel's life-work is generally beyond the majority of Indian students and researchers may readily be admitted on account of its being written in German.

Covering as it does the various linguistic aspects of OI-A. it is almost indispensable in every branch of I-A. studies and it is thus a matter of good fortune that there has been one recent attempt in Bengal to bridge the gulf so to say between the Indian research scholar and Wackernagel's *Grammatik*. It is with pleasure that I mention Dr. Bata Krishna Ghosh's *Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit* which appeared early this year. Its ostensible aim is to prepare Indian students for a study of Wackernagel's unfinished masterpiece and it covers among other subjects a chapter on word-formation and another on the verbal systems. The subject has been dealt with a deep understanding of the fundamental principles of Linguistics and though the book is elementary it is sufficiently advanced and interesting even for students undertaking linguistic research. By avoiding the documentation which is characteristic of the bigger work Dr. Ghosh has given within 164 crown octavo pages all that is ordinarily required from the class of scholars for whom it is meant.

In the domain of historical linguistics the French scholar Louis Renou holds a unique place. Nurtured in the school of Meillet and Sylvain Levi he has combined within himself in a unique manner the scholarship of both. Although he does not take his stand with the Comparative Linguisticians of the I-E. branch his method of approach within Sk. itself is worthy of our deepest regard. Following on his studies of the Perfect in the Vedic literature he has given us his *Grammaire Sanscrite* which attempts for classical Sk. what Wackernagel tries to do for the whole field of OI-A.; his manifold contributions during these ten years to various learned journals include lists of words not recorded so far in Vedic literature, and statistical studies in various linguistic problems connected with Sk. Among his very recent studies may be mentioned *Etudes de grammaire sanscrite* 1re serie (1936) dealing with researches on the use of the participle,

the place of accessory words in the Rg-veda and the innovations of the grammar of Candragomin ; lately he is specialising in the writing of monographs dealing with individual items connected with historical Sk. grammar : so far two have appeared under the title *Monographies Sanscrites*, dealing respectively with the decadence and disappearance of the Subjunctive and the suffix *-tu* and the constitution of infinitives. He still continues to enrich Sk. grammar with these special studies, taking into account, for each problem studied, all the linguistic material available in the entire field of OI-A.

Just as Sk. grammar is enriched by these statistical studies Sk. Lexicography especially from the point of view of comparative linguistics is being enriched by the labours of Walther Wuest of Muenchen. He combines within himself the documentation of a Wackernagel with the statistical approach of a Renou, and as a result we have the beginnings of a comparative etymological dictionary of OI-A. which will at once be authoritative and informative, yielding at the same time the most complete bibliography on any particular word with reference to different kinds of works. Though Her Winter assures us of a prompt and regular appearance of this monumental work we have so far only the first fascicule covering just 208 pages ; in a recent communication he informs me that it is not yet definitely known when the second fascicule would be ready. When this important work is completed it will be the biggest etymological dictionary of any I-E. language. It will deal with the etymology of OI-A. from the I-E. point of view, but where OI-A. indicates a different substratum Prof. Wuest expects to give us full references to the latest research on this question.

It is sustaining to the interest of Linguisticians all the world over that Dr. Jose Canedo is still engaged on his researches on OI-A. and MI-A. syntax in the canon-ridden

city of Barcelona. His recent publication "Zur Wort-und Satz-stellung in der alt] und mittelindischen Prosa" is a brilliant study of an important aspect of syntax, namely word-order. This study is intended as a preliminary survey of the Comparative Syntax of OI-A. and MI-A. from which some far reaching results may be expected. This is one of the subjects which need a thorough investigation by modern methods of research.

While the modern study of Linguistics as applied to OI-A. and MI-A. is proceeding in this manner newer interest seems to be directed towards the ancient grammarians of India. I have already referred to Renou's study of the innovations of Candragomin. Paul Thieme (of Allahabad and Breslau) has given us in his study of *Pāṇini and the Veda* a critical modern approach to our ancient grammatical heritage. He has further given us in the Nachrichten of the Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften of Goettingen, (for 1935) a discussion on Patanjali's Bhāsya on Vartika 5 on Sutra 1. 1. 9. A study and a critical study at that, of this ancient masterpiece, the greatest among the prose works of ancient India in style, vocabulary and inimitable *bon-homie* bringing the living language to us in the conversational style, is very essential if we have to understand the linguistic outlook of these forerunners of the modern science. Another work in this field is by Barend Faddegon: "Studies on Panini's Grammar" (1936), also worthy of being studied by us. It shows to us that some of Panini's conceptions are even more scientific than the ones enunciated by modern Linguists; whatever that may be it shows that in the development of Indian Linguistics we shall have to pay the greatest regard to this ancient heritage of India for a correct understanding of the problems.

From the point of view of historical linguistics it is noteworthy that the raw material is being arranged for us in the form of some new lexicons. The work undertaken

by Vishvabandhu Sastri of Lahore in the form of a *Vaidika-padānukramakośa* dealing with an etymological index verborum with reference to the Saṁhitās, Brāhmanas Āranyakas and Upaniṣads, etc., each volume dealing with one of these branches, is a monumental source-book of attested forms in the whole group of Vedic texts. What Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance* does for Vedic Philology show the extent of the usefulness of this work. Though the actual etymological part of the work has met with some adverse criticism especially when the Editor in an independent fascicule attempted a Vedic Dictionary with the full comparative etymological notes, no criticism can be levelled against this new attempt, for this is a welcome addition to our source-books of Linguistics.

This brings me to a consideration of the needs of OI-A. lexicography. With the advance in chronological studies in the entire field of Sanskrit and the Prakrits it is easier today than in the days of Boehtlingk and Roth to fix in the majority of cases the relative and even exact chronology of works. For any serious linguistic work we must have the material on a chronological basis, for restitutions are at best second approximations unless they are historically attestable. When the new direction in I-E. studies runs along chronological lines, it would be all the more necessary to follow OI-A. studies in the chronological line so as to affect a difinite advance in our linguistic science. The absence of these dated usages either in respect of phonology, or morphology or with regard to development of meaning, is a serious handicap for further advance. To quote one example of this defect: Marāthi *bhoplā* has been connected by Dalgado as a loan from Port. *abobra*. Now Sk. usage shows the work *bahu-phala-* which with the *-ka* extension would normally give us the Mar. form. The difficulty here is then to decide whether the word is inherited in Mar. through the Sk. form or adopted as a loan from Portuguese: although the chances

are more in favour of Port. origin, in the absence of chronology connected with Sk. words it is not possible to overlook the possibility of an Indo-Aryan origin. This fact alone clearly shows the need for a new Dictionary of OI-A arranged scientifically on the chronological principles with reference to Phonology, Morphology and Semantics, covering the Vedic as well as the Classical period up to the modern times. This dictionary will then be the base of a more authoritive and a scientific comparative etymological dictionary than any so far attempted.

Before passing on to the next stage of our enquiry I must mention here the remarkable work which is being done by Franklin Edgerton in America. It is with reference to *Vedic Variants*, a side-product of the great *Vedic Concordance* of Bloomfield. The variations in the readings of the different Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas of an individual line are studied with regard to Phonology, Morphology, Syntax and even Semantics. So far 3 volumes have appeared on Phonology, Nouns and Verbs. Besides the advance made in OI-A. linguistics (and incidentally supplementing or correcting Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik*) it opens up new branches of linguistic psychology which should be followed up for the solving of the many intricate problems connected with both OI-A. as well as MI-A.

The problem of non-Aryan substrata in OI-A, including Sanskrit is intimately connected with the development of MI-A. The many forms shown by Lexicon writers of the same word, the hesitation in spelling of a given word (ultimately reflecting differences in pronunciation?) all need careful investigation. Dr. Paul Thieme of Breslau has recently contributed an interesting paper on *Some Persian words in Sanskrit*; and it is remakable that even traces of this influence are found in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, one of the earliest of Sanskrit plays, witness for example the Ḍhakkī word *pḍaṇḷa* (i. e. *lupta daṇḍa* of the chāyā) or *gōh-a*

Lastly, in regard to this business of collection and record, I may refer to the matter of folk-literature and drama and that of art. The work of collecting Hindi-Rājasthāni ballad literature, initiated systematically by Haraprasad Sāstri and continued by Dr. Tessitori, might be amplified indefinitely, it seems, if applied to the work of the presses in many parts of India, which simply pullulate with 'local songs'. These effusions, even the new ones, should, in my opinion, be taken and preserved, as a matter of course, in some reference libraries of the particular area. But for the more genuine folk-songs, which have acquired a life on the lips of the people and which preserve old language and associations, a more selective and specialist procedure is necessary; and here again is a task for enlightened team-work by committees and societies. As concerns song in connection with gesture, dance and music, we all, I am sure, rejoice to know that Dr. Arnold Bake, with his intimate knowledge of Indian musical theory and practice, perfected during years of arduous journeying in all parts of India, is now again among us, equipped with new instruments and resources and with a mission from an Oxford College. Concerning Architecture and Sculpture, which fall within the domain of the Archaeological Survey, and concerning painting, of which the same may in part be said, I will venture upon only one observation. In painting we have come to recognize schools or local differences of style not only in the Hindu-Mughal painting, but also in the earlier indigenous Indian art, to say nothing of developments in Greater India. But what perhaps still needs to be emphasized is that this art of painting, as a normal feature of Hindu civilization, must have been practised over the whole area of Hinduism, and in any historic site traces of it may come to light. Hence it was thrilling to read in the Travancore Archaeological Superintendent's report for 1935-1936 the discovery of quasi-fresco paintings in the old palace of Padmanābhapuram. May more such discoveries reward his investigations and those of his colleagues in other States.

Whether we expect these forms or not or whether we accept Thieme's thesis in part or whole this study shows the wealth of problems which still remains to be solved. Linguistics as applied to I-A. languages is still in its early stages and the younger generation of scholars may take heart at the amount of fruit to be gathered through a joyful scientific voyage of discovery.

In the field of MI-A. I must first mention Edgerton's recent work on what he calls Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. He is at present engaged on a lexicon and grammar of this Hybrid Sanskrit, which shows in its forms and words many tendencies which have becomes fixed up in MI-A. Among his papers published on these studies within the last two years may be mentioned "The Aorist in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit", "Gerunds in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit" and "The Prakrit underlying Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit", "Nouns of the *a*-declension in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit" and "The Meter of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka". All these are really draft chapters of his major work which is yet to appear. The results show some remarkable features of this mixed Sanskrit which it shares with the generality of MI-A. languages. On similar lines should be studied the Jaina Hybrid Sanskrit in all its wealth of forms and vocabulary.

The subject of the non-classical Sanskrit brings us to that major work of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute—namely the critical edition of the Mahābhārata. Apart from its enriching the various branches of Indic knowledge I am concerned here chiefly with its linguistic material. The variant readings offer us even a richer field of study than the corresponding *Vedic Variants*. I feel confident that when the Editor and his collaborators bring this work to a completion with a complete Pāda-Index of the entire material collated by them (of the constituted text as well as the additional material given in the footnotes and appendices) researchers will have ample and I may add

interesting material for a linguistic study not only of Epic Sānskrit but of MI.A. One of the results of such a study will be to recover usages which have either become current in MI-A. or remained without attaining their full growth in MI-A. I may mention here my own little note on Epic potential used as a general Past tense (due to the generosity of Dr. Sukthankar who placed his entire material at my disposal and drew my attention to these forms) confirming a similar usage in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. Another important result will be in the direction of a statistical study of the variants from the point of linguistic psychology infinitely rich with potentialities. In this detailed study it will be possible for us to recover many lost usages belonging to different localities at a given period, thus helping historical linguistics with chronological and geographical material. It may even be possible to present a more or less defined linguistic geography illustrated by maps, and thus open up in India a new vista in linguistic geography on scientific lines. One of the chief difficulties in MI-A. grammar is the defining of the geographic as well as chronological limits to a given form. There has been so much of interborrowing among the different MI-A. dialects which do not cover a synchronic period that it has so far not yielded to present investigations and it has not been possible definitely to assign geographical or chronological limits to the individual MI-A. dialects with a few exceptions.

The study therefore on this detailed and statistical basis with reference to dated Mss. belonging to definite geographical units of the Mbh. material as well as with reference to Buddhist and Jaina Sanskrit will throw a flood of light on the history of MI-A.

In the pure MI.A. field much work has been recently published. In the Pāli branch of MI-A. the eighth fascicule of the wonderful Critical Pāli-English Dictionary of Trenckner has appeared under the able editorship of Andersen and Helmer Smith. Like the previous 7 parts of the

first volume this also exhibits careful scholarship associated with sober judgment and the finest critical acumen. This work which first commenced its career in 1926 is progressing very slowly to the great regret of genuine scholars, and at the present rate of publishing it will take several generations to complete. This work will do for Pāli linguistics what the Petersburg Lexicon has done for OI-A. in the shape of Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik*. A linguistic grammar of Pāli is still a desideratum, for though Geiger's *Pāli Literatur und Sprache* serves the purpose of a good grammar it cannot claim to be a linguistic description of Pāli. Towards the publication of this work this Critical Pāli Dictionary will be the *primus motor*.

Recently Dr. Malalasekera has brought out his first volume of a Dictionary of Pāli Names, arranged alphabetically with full references to the Canonical and non-canonical works up to the end of the 18th century. Here then for the first time we have a comprehensive dictionary of *nomina propria* the importance of which for linguistic studies can never be overrated. It was first demonstrated by Sylvain Lévi and later elaborated by E. J. Thomas by a study of some *nomina propria* and technical terms that there was pre-canonical Prakrit at the basis of Pāli. Proper names show in their phonology and word-formation traces of linguistic strata which are ordinarily not seen in other words. And since the principal substratum in any given language consists primarily in these proper names a linguistic study of these is absolutely indispensable and we have to be grateful for efforts of this nature which give us if not a linguistic study at least the raw material arranged according to chronology.

This is a proper occasion to draw the attention of my learned colleagues to the necessity of a historical study of place names. Like the *nomina propria* discussed above these place-names (forming part of the above) generally

preserve their forms to a greater extent in the same area, but never-the-less show characteristic variations. And what is of fundamental importance for Linguistics is that they allow themselves to be studied from the chronological point of view. Whereas the majority of MI-A. texts can only be studied with reference to broad limits of chronology these place names can be properly studied from dated inscriptions and other sources including vernacular literature where the dates of authors are certainly narrowed down within shorter limits. In Europe and America where the material is abundant Place-Names Societies have been organised for a historical and linguistic study ; it should not therefore be difficult for historians and linguisticians to combine in India for organising this department of historical linguistics for a proper linguistic history of India to be written in a scientific spirit.

I shall make use of this occasion to refer to another problem although it belongs more to the New Indo-Aryan group namely a study of surnames with reference to historical documents. Since the days of the Muslim invasion of India we have historical documents belonging to different centuries and places in India in which we may find a very rich field for the study of surnames in their historical evolution. This will also help us define definite stages in the chronological evolution of NI-A. languages. Mr. P. K. Gode, M. A., the Curator of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, has been making a comprehensive study of the surnames recorded in the documents of Marāthā and other history from all sources, including inscriptions. His earliest reference goes back to the 12th century A. D. with the surname *Kulakarṇi*. It is possible to trace the gradual evolution of these surnames through the centuries and this study may in its turn throw a flood of light on general linguistic evolutions. Whether these expectations are realized or not the study is bound to exercise a great attraction on scholars from the historical point.

Among works on MI-A. which have recently appeared special mention must be made of T. Burrow's "The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan". Here the author has worked with a wealth of detail on the material recovered from Chinese Turkestan by Sir Aurel Stein and edited by the late Prof. Rapson. The language represented here belongs to the 3rd century A. D. and has been definitely identified as an Indian Prakrit having great affinities with the modern Dardic group. The index verborum which is given here is very useful to a linguist. It is interesting to note that the foreign elements in this language are due to two sources (i) Iranian and (ii) the native language of Kroraina. Of this latter we have over 1000 proper names and about 100 words, the phonetic structure and suffix formation of which demonstrate a strong affinity of this native language with Tocharian. This large proportion of proper names again emphasises the need of a study of this branch in the case of linguistic substrata.

A linguistic grammar of MI-A. has so far never been attempted. Pischel wrote his monumental grammar 37 years ago when the scientific study of MI-A. was still in its infancy, and in spite of his occasional incursions in the pure linguistic field it must remain only as the most complete descriptive grammar of a few Prakrits. Among other things which one misses here are Pāli, Aśokan Inscriptions and the majority of Pk. Inscriptions, as well as the Pk. Dhammapada, etc. Some of these had not been published then. What is needed today to place MI-A. grammar on a sound foundation is a very comprehensive linguistic grammar of all dialects which strictly belong to the MI-A. field, namely the three types of non-classical Sanskrit (Jaina, Buddhist and Epic Sanskrit), the Prakrits of the Inscriptions from Aśoka downwards, the religious Prakrits (Pāli, Ardhamāgadhī, Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī and Jaina Śaurasenī), the Prakrits found outside India as in the Pk. Dhammapada or the Kharosthī

Documents, the Prakrits found in classical Sanskrit plays and in Pk. lyric poetry (Māhārāṣṭrī), and finally in Apabhraṁśa and in the grammatical and rhetorical literature. In order that this may be possible we need first of all three things: (i) critical editions of all MI-A. texts (ii) an Index verborum with reference to at least one quotable instance from such critically edited texts and (iii) a critically worked out comparative etymological dictionary of MI-A. taking into account all these different groups of MI-A. dialects and languages.

For the purposes of critical editions of Pk. texts India badly needs today and organised body of active scholars who will apply the canon of textual criticism (both lower and higher, but particularly the lower) to all texts edited by them with reference to the entire Mss. material which is available to them from different Mss. Libraries. Each text edited in this manner should at any rate be accompanied by a very full index of words from these texts if an index verborum is out of question as impracticable. This will give us a rudimentary lexicon with reference to each work, making it easy for the linguist who interests himself only in the comparative etymological dictionary. Besides we shall have here critically sifted material for the third work which I pointed out as necessary for MI-A. studies, that of scientific lexicography.

So far, from the practical point of view, there are only two dictionaries in the field of MI-A. in its limited sense: that of Hargovind Das T. Sheth dealing with a large number of Prakrits, and of Muni Ratnachandraji Maharaja dealing only with Ardhamāgadhī. Though we are greatly obliged to the pioneer labour of these two scholars who have placed the entirely helpless Prakrit studies on a sounder foundation, any scholar must honestly admit to himself that from the scientific point of view they lack the many qualities which make a really sound work indispensable. In both

these dictionaries etymology is a weak point, and semantic development has not been on historical lines. In the case of a large number of words the meanings are merely given from the corresponding words from Sanskrit lexicons. There is also the difficulty for the Linguist to sift his materials from the large number of unreliable entries.

We need today a scientific lexicon of all MI-A. languages where each entry will be indicated according to its etymology, where the semantic development will be properly shown with reference to chronological usage, and finally where an attempt will be made to trace the comparative etymological equations primarily within I-A., and where necessary, with reference to other families of languages. Besides these we also need similar works within the smaller spheres for each given group, e. g., the Prakrits found in Sanskrit Plays. In fact the bigger work can only be completed after these preliminary lexicons are fully worked out.

Indeed under these present circumstances it is a pleasure to welcome critical works in the field of MI-A. Ludwig Alsdorf of Hamburg-Berlin has given us within the last two years one major work: The *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*, a section from the Mahāpurāṇa of the famous Puṣpadanta, in which, beside the critical text, he has given us a very learned study of the history, ideology and higher criticism pertaining to folk-literature in India, and a grammar of the Apabhraṁśa along with a final appendix giving an alphabetical list of important words. A smaller book on *Apabhraṁśa Studien* has very recently appeared dealing with questions of Ap. grammar and etymology and also metre.

In this same field in India have very recently appeared two major works, Dr. P. L. Vaidya's *Mahāpurāṇa of Puṣpadanta*, vol. I and Prof. A. N. Upadhye's *Paramappa-payāsa* of Joïndu. The first one is the *magnum opus* of

the most prolific Ap. poet Puṣpadanta, and Dr. Vaidya has given us a very critical text with reference to all available Mss. material. The text alone covers over 600 pages in the first volume and it is expected that the complete text will cover nearly 2000 royal octavo pages. It is a matter of great regret that the work which Dr. Vaidya began over ten years ago is only seeing the light of day now, whereas the volume of Dr. Alsdorf with its complete introduction and text could be printed in Germany within a much shorter period. The reason is not far to seek; India has shown very little encouragement to Pk. studies as a whole, and even the Jaina community has shown little interest beyond establishing a few meagerly financed series. The series which have continued giving us texts regularly for a number of years belong to the orthodox type which have kept the canon of text criticism at a respectful distance. Such works are therefore of very limited use for our purpose. The fate of such brilliant critical studies like Dr. Vaidya's representing the best part of a scholar's life, must bring to the notice of my learned colleagues the necessity of organising on sound scholarly lines their own independent series for publishing these works.

The second work referred to above is one of special interest. Prof. Upadhye has taken great pains to give us in his critical introduction everything that is known of the author. This work is one of the earliest to be written in Ap. (belonging to the 6th cent. A. D.) and there is an added interest in the fact that it is a mystical work expounding the innermost feelings of a Poet steeped in Jaina mysticism. By his critical approach Prof. Upadhye has set a unique model for other scholars to follow, and he has worthily upheld the tradition set up by his teacher and friend Dr. Vaidya. For linguisticians there is an interesting discussion of the language and its grammar in comparison with that defined by the grammarian Hemacandra.

Among other scholars who are working on MI-A. from the strictly linguistic point of view I may mention Prof. A. M. Ghatage of Rajarm College, Kolhapur. He has already contributed a number of papers to various learned journals on Śaurasenī and Māhārāṣṭrī and short notes on MI-A. syntax. His major work is indeed intended to be a comprehensive study of MI-A. syntax, and should be of great interest to scholars on publication. We have thus two scholars working on Syntax, Canedo in Spain and Ghatage in India.

One branch of MI-A studies is intimately connected with MI-A words found in Sanskrit vocabulary, and adopted by that language for its own purposes from very early times. It is in fact a study of the substrata of I-A., and I may mention here particularly the technical words used in texts devoted to scientific subjects like Medicine, Astrology, etc. This important study has been undertaken by Prof. Kshitis Chandra Chatterji of the Calcutta University with reference to the entire technical literature in Sanskrit. The name of this illustrious grammarian of Calcutta must be known to all, as he was intimately connected with the *Samskṛta sāhityaparişat-patrikā* and was besides the Editor and Founder of the *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, *Mañjūşā Surabhāratī*. The importance of such independent studies for a critical survey of I-A. linguistics can never be over-estimated. These are the various paths which lead us to the common goal, namely a more scientific and personal knowledge of I-A as a whole in all its stages.

It is now time that we turn our attention to New Indo-Aryan Linguistics which is exercising the interest of a great number of scholars both in and outside India. Linguistics as applied to modern languages gives us in addition to the divisions into Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, Semantics and Vocabulary a sixth and more important one, namely Phonetics. The importance of scientifically record-

ing human speech for purposes of investigation of phonology, etc. has been fully recognised. In fact the first Indian scholars who were drawn to Linguistic studies according to the modern approach have made a special study of Phonetics as a preliminary to their later scientific study of the individual languages chosen by them. It is thus that we Prof. S. K. Chatterji's Bengali Phonetics or Dr. Jain's Ludhiani Phonetics. Germany and England are making fundamental contributions to this branch of Linguistics, with *Le Maitre Phonetique* and the newly started combine in Germany: Archiv für die gesmate Phonetik which will appear in two sections, the first one dealing with *Archiv fuer vergleichende Phonetik* or the whole domain of linguistic phonetics and statistical work done on lingustics, under the auspices of Die Gesellschaft für Ponetic of Berlin. It is necessary for the various University centres to organise themselves into a central body for the carrying out of scientific research in this field for which instruments should be placed at the disposal of the field workers. With the requisite number of well-trained scientific observers it should be possible to study the entire mass of speech sounds in the whole of India within a reasonable period. Linguistic study today is not the property of any single nation or any particular class of people; it is becoming more and more international with the number of scholars hailing from different countries and engaged upon individual groups of languages. It is therefore in the interest of science and advancement of learning that Phonetics (and Instrumental Phonetics) should be fostered in the University centres in India. No fundamental work has appeared in this branch within the last two years to my knowledge if we except Dr. Siddheshwar Varma's *Phonetics of Lahndi* which was prepared some years ago and was waiting for publication in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. A reference to this was already made by Dr. Chatterji in his address to the section of Indo-Aryan Languages at the last Oriental Conference.

Co-operative publication, by which expression we may understand publication in series, especially in series of uniform size, is a matter of great practical importance. There is an educative influence in the mere possibility of going to a shelf or a department in a library and finding collected there the standard literature of a particular subject. A comprehensive conception is created, and the several works support each other: the outsider also receives the impression that here is something substantial and approachable. How much was done in old times for the Greek and Latin Classic, by the Delphin series of texts, some of which are for their particular works still valid. For Sanskrit, which has many great old established scores, issued by Governments, societies and other agencies, from the enormous *Bibliotheca Indica* onwards, and which in its mass has sufficiently impressed the world, this is no longer requisite: nevertheless we are grateful to the Madras University for carrying on a series of well-bound volumes, valuable especially for *Veda* and *Vedāṅga* texts and for philosophy: from the Punjab University also comes a series of volumes containing editions of dramas, Kāvyas, etc., and Lahore has further contributed in uniform style some notable new Vedic works. Calcutta has also an useful Sanskrit series, and Kashmir has given us a good number of largely Śaiva texts. As regards Pali we have several complete editions of the *Tripiṭaka* and its commentaries; and the Buddhist canonical literature of Tibet, China, etc., has not only its uniform editions, but also original, as well as modern, catalogues of them. For Jainism we have a number of series, not all of them accessible. It is this sort of publication that we require for the purpose of lending impressiveness and accessibility to the old literatures in all the great Indian Vernaculars. We must not ignore what has been done for Bengali by the Sāhitya-parishat, for Gujarati by the two literary societies, or the Marāthi *Kāvya-saṃgraha* and *Mahārāshtra-grantha-mālā*, or the Tamil *Sen Tamil-prachuram*, the *Telugu Andhra-bhāshābhi-*

I have referred to the problems connected with place-names and surnames before. That subject properly belongs to the New Indo-Aryan section of linguistics, for the primary object is to trace out the genesis of the NI-A forms through authentic historical usage through the centuries.

Since 1935 we have several important publications to the credit of NI-A section. Among the dictionaries which have been appearing in volumes mention must be made of Purṇacandra Odriya-Bhāṣā Koś which has just completed its sixth volume, and the Marāṭhī Śabda-koś or Lexicon whose 7th volume has recently appeared. Both of these mark a definite stage in our progress in NI-A. studies. Although we could have wished for a more scientific arrangement of material and a better utilisation of the existing literature on a chronological basis, the dictionaries will be indispensable in their own fields for the registration of linguistic facts connected with them. Besides the colloquial dialects have been investigated for this purpose. The Simhalese English Dictionary is making a good progress, and so far only two parts have appeared in print; but of the lexicons appearing recently this is the most scientific and perhaps the best in the entire NI-A. field. It is controlled by definite linguistic and historical principles and the comparative etymological notes at the end of each article bespeak of a sane critical attitude on the part of the learned editorial board, taking cognisance of the latest research done both in India and in Europe.

Among the principal workers in the field of NI-A. the names of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, Dr. Banarsidas Jain, Dr. Baburam Saksena, Dr. Dhirendra Varma, etc, in India, and Prof. R. L. Turner, Prof. Jules Bloch, Prof. Jean Pryzluski, etc. are well known. I shall only recount here work done in NI-A published since 1935 and not mentioned by Dr. Chatterji in his address at the

Previous Conference. Dr. T. N. Dave published his thesis (presented to the London University in 1931) for the Ph.D. degree of the London University in the R. A. S. Furlong Fund Series, dealing with the language of a Gujarati Manuscript of the 14th century. The work shows the need of dated manuscripts in NI-A languages from the linguistic point of view. Although no new results are shown by Dr. Dave, the work including an etymological index verborum shows a distinct advance in the scientific study of the Old stage of NI-A. languages.

Recently there has been an attempt in several places to write linguistic introductions to individual literary NI-A. languages in that particular vernacular by people who are least qualified to write on the subject. Monstrous etymologies are suggested at every step, and the future of Linguistics as applied to NI-A. is in grave danger of being travestied. This is certainly a retrograde movement which needs stemming in by qualified Linguists entering the line. So far the fundamental work in Linguistics has been done in French and German besides English, and the first scientific work on MarāthI in French by Prof. Jules Bloch, and this explains why a recent work on Mar. Linguistics in Mar. does not take cognisance of this masterpiece of NI-A. Linguistics. It is certainly a good fortune that Prof. V. G. Paranjpye of Fergusson College, Poona, is engaged in presenting a Mar. version of this great work. This will certainly bring to scholars not versed in English or other European languages the results of scientific labours in the field, and open up a new vista for these scholars who must necessarily become the future field workers in the domain of dialectology which is the crying need if further progress in NI-A Linguistics is to be achieved.

The study of dialectology has been practically neglected so far. For the future of NI-A. as well as general Linguistics it should be our endeavour to record scientifically all

those dialects which are fast disappearing. Most of these disappearing dialects have an interesting history of their own and in their vocabulary and inflexion often preserve some old remnants which are missing in their more cultured neighbours. Here then is a field as rich as rich can be, offering wonderful fruit for the labours of scholars ; and there is the further possibility of verifying or modifying the linguistic history of the entire branch of I-A. It may be of interest to scholars that Kaka Kalelkar has organised a Sourāṣtra-Bhāṣā Research Society for the purpose of collecting and preserving the language and culture of a class of goldsmiths, etc. settled down in South India and forming as it were a linguistic island. The name Saurāṣtra is preserved by these guilds themselves and their language is certainly I-A. in its genius.

There are some little studied I-A language in South India which have preserved their I-A. characteristics. Tanjore Marāṭhī, southern Konkaṇī, and this Saurāṣtra language need to be properly studied, for inspite of many Dravidian and other incursions in their vocabulary they have preserved some interesting survivals of OI-A. words.

On the other hand scholars have studied OI-A. loan words in Dravidian languages in the field of phonetics and phonology, and among the latest workers I may mention Goda Varma and L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar. This study will throw interesting side light on interborrowing of Aryan and Dravidian.

I may now sum up the immediate desiderata in the field of Linguistics. Although we have a large number of scholars engaged in this study this science has not sufficient adherents chiefly because the Indian Universities have not recognised the utility of introducing even the elements of the science in their curriculum. Witness for instance the study of Sanskrit Plays in the Universities and elsewhere in India; both the teachers and the students studiously avoid the Pk.

passages and refer to the "shadow" in Sanskrit instead ; in fact this tendency has even affected the editions of these plays in relegating the original Prakrit passages to the foot notes and giving in the text instead the Sanskrit Chāyā. This is precisely opposed to the European attitude in Indian studies wherein the Prakrit passages play an equally important role. It is therefore necessary that Indian Universities should organise their courses a new and include a study of Prakrits in the Sanskrit course. A knowledge of OI-A. and MI-A. best qualifies a student to approach in the right spirit the whole subject of I-A. Linguistics. Classical education must be reorganised to include elements of I-A. Linguistics, and students of any modern I-A. speech must compulsorily study the comparative grammar of I-A. from the earliest to the latest stage. It is for this purpose that those scholars who are assembled here representing the different Indian Universities should attempt this reorganisation in their individual fields. With this reorganisation India may once again take a leading place in this branch of one of the youngest sciences and with the popularisation of Linguistics the problem of the mother tongue as well as of the national language of India will automatically be solved.

TECHNICAL TERMS OF THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ.

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Among various methodological devices to secure exactness and economy, technical terms play a considerable part in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. In their absence, it would have been well-nigh impossible to achieve that 'brevity' which makes Aṣṭādhyāyī a unique work of its type, and also that accuracy and definiteness which is indispensible for this work planned on a scientific basis.

Grammatical studies in India began with the linguistic investigations of the Vedic hymns. In the Brāhmaṇa texts, we find such "discriminations of parts of speech which give us terms such as *Vibhakti* (case termination), *Vacana* (number), *Kurvant* (present tense)".[1] Yāska shows more advanced form of tecminology, when he gives a fourfold classification of words;[2] *Nāman* (noun), *Ākhyāta* (verb), *Upasarga* (preposition) and *Nipāta* (particle). Besides these we have many other technical terms in the Nirukta and the Prātiśākhya texts.[3]

The chronology of the Nirukta and the Prātiśākhya texts in relation to the Aṣṭādhyāyī is not yet finally settled and doubt is, not without justification, expressed (See Indian Hist. Quarterly. June, 1937. p. 329-49), whether the above works in the present form are pre-Pāṇinian. But it would not be far from truth to suppose that at least in their

1. Keith :—*A History of Sanskrit literature.* P. 422.
2. See Nirukta (I-1)
3. The Ṛk. Prāt: has संयोग (I-37), प्रगृह्य (I-68), संहिता (II-1) etc. The Nirukta has कृत् (I-14), तद्धित (II-2), उपधा (IV-12, गुण (X-17) etc.
 The Vāja. Prāti has वृद्धि (V-29), आमन्त्रित (II-17) etc.
 The Atharva. Prāti. has प्रातिपदिक (III-78), कर्मप्रवचनीय (IV-3) etc. Similarly, the ऋक्तन्त्रव्याकरण and तैत्ति. प्राति have got many terms.
4. Goldstücker asserts that the Prāti. are posterior to Pāṇini. M. Muller holds the contrary view as far as the Ṛk. Prāti. is concerned.

'kernel' form, some of them represent the pre-Pāṇinian stages in the grammatical studies of India. It does not therefore stand to reason to presume that the scheme of introducing technical terms began originally with Pāṇini. Nevertheless, a thorough examination of the terminology, employed in the above-mentioned works, reveals that Pāṇini was, certainly, one of the early writers to introduce and employ a good number of grammatical technical terms.

In the Aṣṭādhyāyī, technical terms are known as (Saṁjñā)[6] — a designation, special mark or conventional name.[7] The sūtra (I-i-68) clearly lays down that 'In this system of grammer, a word stands for its form as distinguished from the object denoted by it" *e. g.* the sūtra (IV-ii-33) will require us to affix *ḍhak* suffix to the word (form) 'Agni' and not to 'fire' (the object denoted by it). But when we come across a technical term (Saṁjñā), the Saṁjñā-word will stand for the object (words) denoted by it, and not for the form of Saṁjñā-word as such. Thus the Sutra (4-2-114) means that the secondary suffix *cha* should be added to the words Śālā, Mālā etc. (denoted by the Saṁjñā ("Vṛddha")) and not to the form of the word 'Vṛddha' as such.

Weber and Waekernagel place Prāti. in the pre-Pāninian epoch, while Westergaard and Pischel uphold the opinion of Goldstucker. See Hannes Skold. (Ind Ant. 1926 P. 181.).

(See: Hannes Skold: 'Papers on Pāṇini P. 34.)

"The theory of Yāska's priority to Pāṇini is accepted on a very superficial evidence, or rather without reasoning".

5. "All existing Prāti. in their present form, later than Panini..... but all belong to a school that existed before Panini invented his system."

(P. lvi. Introduction to the "Ṛk-tantra-vyākaraṇa" (Ed.A. C. Burnell).

6. For their difference from Paribhāṣās, see Goldstücker: Pāṇini, his date etc." P. 151, 171 (in reprinted edition).

7. The word *saṁjñā* has been used about 78 times in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. But of these, only in (I-iv-1, VIII-ii-2) the term is used in the sense of a 'technical term.' In the rest, it means "a name of a thing or of a class." In (I-i-68), it is used in the sense of 'a technical term of grammar'—the sense intended to be expressed in this paper.

We can classify the Pāṇinian 'Saṁjñās' under three heads :—[8] (i) *Akṛtrima*, (ii) *kṛtrima* and (iii) *Audāharaṇika* (illustrative). The Akṛtrima Saṁjñās are self-explanatory, *e. g.*, Sampradāna (I-iv-32) Kartṛ (I-4-54), Avyaya (I-i-37), Abhyasta (6-I-5), Prātipadika (I-2-45) etc. These terms should not require any definition, for their meaning and designations are clear from the derivation of the terms.[9] Still they are defined in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, for the reason, at least in some cases, either to widen, restrict or specify clearly the scope of their application (*e. f.*, the term *Pratyaya* in the Prāti, simply means "what follows" in respect of words and letters in a sentence, but in Pāṇini it means a suffix, (*cf.* vi-1-79). On the other hand, there are also such self-explanatory technical terms which are not defined, but their denotations are simply enumerated. *e. g.*, *Karmapravacanīya*, *Avyayībhāva*, *Taddhita*, etc.[10] The only explanation for this different kind of treatment of the Saṁjñās seems to be that these terms were already so well known and established in tradition that Pāṇini could not overlook their traditional force and incorporated them in his system. In fact, many of them are known to us[11] to have been in traditional use by their occurrence in the Nirukta, and the Prātiśākhya works. Now the question arises, why Pāṇini took trouble to define these terms, if they were self-explanatory or were current in his time. One possible and reasonable

8. M. D. Shastri refers to their two-fold classification. (See IV Oriental Conference Proceedings P. 472). But it would be more explanatory and comprehensive to divide further the kṛtrima saṁjñās into (i) Audāharaṇika (illustrative) and (ii) Kṛtrima (purely artificial). In the Ṛk-tantr-Vyākaraṇa, we have some technical terms formed by mutilating real words, e. g. वु for ल्युट्, ति for क्तिन्

(See P. iii; edited by Burnell.

9. सम्प्रदीयतेऽस्मा इति सम्प्रदानम् ; करोति यः स कर्त्ता ; अभ्यस्यते यत्तदभ्यस्तम् ; पदं पदं प्रति भवं प्रातिपदिकम् ।

10. (I-iv-83/98, II-i-5/21, IV-i-76/V-iv-160.

11. See before, footnote No. 3.

reply [12] may be that Pāṇini wanted to use these current terms in some modified sense. Hence the need of their definition. Another point to be borne in mind is that it was Pāṇini and not so much the author of the Nirukta and the Prātiśākhyas, who tried to bring about the utmost possible economy of words. Consequently, we expect to see in the Aṣṭādhyāyi the absence of unnecessary definitions of such terms as were known in Pāṇini's time and used in the same sense as intended by him. Thus we may reasonably suppose that so far as Akṛtrima terms are concerned, Pāṇini should either leave them undefined or give definitions only when his intended sense differed from the prevalent sense.

The second type of the technical terms are *Kṛtrima* Saṁjñās. They are purely arbitrary and artificial, *e. g.*, *Ṭi* ; *Ghu* ; *Ghṛ* ; *Bhṛ* etc. Considering their brief and meaningless forms and use to designate sounds entirely unconnected with them —, it seems probable that these were arbitrarily invented by Pāṇini in his enthusiasm for brevity. Dr. M. D. Shastri, in his paper referred to above, tries to show that the idea of coining wholly artificial Saṁjñās was not unknown to Pāṇini's predecessors. He gives such examples as *Tan* (for तंसाङ्दसौ: in the Mahābhāṣya (II-iv-54); Lṛ (for ऌदोप् in MBH. (V-2-31) and *Ghu* (for उत्तरपद in MBH. (VII-iii-3). But these examples given here do not prove the point beyond doubt, for these terms [13] cannot be shown to have been used by 'Pāṇini's predecessors'. They are in fact used there in the body of Vārtikas which are decidedly post-Pāṇinian.

12 Modern critics led by whitney would explain away these difficulties by regarding the Aṣṭādhyāyi as a loosely compiled work, and not a unitary well-planned work. See I. S. Pahate; The structure of the Aṣṭādhyāyi". For a more rational opinion on Pāṇinis genius, see Faddegon: 'Studies on Pāṇini's grammar' (P. 67/8) and Paul Thieme: (I. H. Quarterly, June 1937, P. 343-5).

13. The terms quoted by him from the Vāja Prāti.(सिन् मुट् and घि are not decisive, in absence of any definite opinion on the chronological relations between the Aṣṭādhyāyi and the Vāja: Prāti. (See before, footnote No 4). See Paul Thieme: "on the identity of the

Audāhāraṇika or illustrative terms form the third type of our classification of Saṁjñās. Here one form of the class is taken by the way of illustration and is made to made to stand for the whole class, *e. g. Nadī* (I-iv-3)[14] ; *Ghi* (I-iv-7) *Bahuvrīhi* (II-ii-23) ; Kṛt (III.i-93); Kṛtya (III-i-95). Such terminology may have been not unknown to Pāṇini, for we find the term *Kurvant* used for the present participle forms in the Brāhmaṇa texts.[15]

Pāṇini lays down a sūtra (I-4-1) wherein we are told that some [16] technical terms exclude each other. For example, *Anu, Prati, Pari* etc. cannot be designated as *upasarga* (I.iv-59) and Karmapravacanīya (I-iv-90) at the same time[17]. But where such an exclusion of technical terms is not desirable and the same form is to be designated by more than one technical term, "Pāṇini takes recourse to a special procedure by adding the word *cha*. Thus the forms given above are designated both as *upasarga* and gati. This is made possible by constructing and arranging Sūtras in such a way as उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे (I-iv-59) and गतिश्च (I-iv 60).

Vārtikakāra' (Ind. Cult. IV-2). The Ek-tantra-Vyākaraṇa, also has such *kṛtrima* terms as अज् for पादादि (71, 77), ण for पादान्तीय (148). But see Burnell (P. IV of the introduction) "There are several indications in the Ek-tantra that it has been revised by Pāṇini's rules."

14. It should however be noted that the terms नदी and वि are only partly illustrative. They illustrate only ī-ending and i-ending stems, while according to the sūtras (I-iv-3, I-iv-7) they designate ū-ending and u-ending stems also.

15. See before.

16. Those occurring between (I-iv-1) and (II-ii-38). See the Mahābhāṣya (I-iv-1) for a detailed mention and inter-relation of these Saṁjñās.

17. Consequently, in the sentence ' वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति सिञ्चति, the sūtra (VIII-iii-65) cannot be applied.

Pāṇini's desire to incorporate in his work many technical terms, which perhaps could not be overlooked due to their traditional force and prevalent use, has led in some cases to much complication. We may take, for example, the term *upasarjana*. This term as defined in (I-ii-43) is employed for those constituent words which always form the first part of a compound (Sutra II-ii-30). But, according to another sūtra (I-ii-44) the same term is used for those constituent words which may form the last part of the compound (*e. g.* in निष्कौशाम्बिः the word कौशाम्बी is an *upasarjana*). Pāṇini himself was aware of this anomaly and therefore expressly states in (I-ii-44) that the second type of *upasarjana* does not concern itself with the question of precedence in a compound. The use of this term appears still more complicated when we see that, in (VI-2-36, 104), Pāṇini terms the primary noun of a Taddhita-formation as *Upasarjana*[18]

Another technical term involving anomaly and complication is *pada*. According to the Sūtra (I-v-14) it is used for a complete word-declensional (सुबन्त) or conjugational (तिङन्त). Indeclinables (अव्यय) being regarded as having dropped their case endings (II-iv-82) may also be reasonably termed as *Pada*. Carrying this analogy of indeclinables further, we may term the constituents of a compound also as Pada (II-iv-71)[19]. But the scope of the Saṁjñā is widened and complicated, when we see that it is applied to the *mere stems* of some[20] declensional endings as

18. See Faddegon: Studies on Pāṇini's grammar. P. 29.
The interpretation of these two sūtraas presents some difficulty. According to the commentators, we have to interpret the word आचार्योप सर्जनैः as if it were in genetive plural (in VI-ii-36) and Locativ[e] singular (in VI-ii-104).

19. "A compound in its totality is never called पद् cf. (VIII-iv-1, 3) Faddegon P- 35. According to (I-ii-46) it is a *prātipadika*.

20. Those covered by (I-iv-17).

vardhani-prachuramulu, Kanarese works in the Mysore Series, the Malayālam works in that of Travancore, and so forth. But we may press for one separate series in each of the languages: may they be, if possible, in bound volumes and, as a last most practical requirement, lettered on the back.

I have now, with the idea that in the vast educated population of India you can within a measurable period find or create a varied army of co-operating societies and committees, trailed before you a long panorama of projects for eliciting and assembling materials, a work which in the main can be done once for all. To many or most of you, who are come fixed with new ideas, interpretations, and discoveries, this must seem dull entertainment. I share your conviction that it is the new interpretations and new discoveries that for us are most significant, and I am looking forward to many new inspirations to be obtained from this meeting. But the Conference itself stands above all as one of those philosophically important entities, which we may designate 'hypothetical persons': it borrows the intellectual activity of its members, but furnishes it with an external focus, as free as possible from the limited perspective and the *ahamkāra* of individuals or groups. In this age of infinitely extended horizons, spatial and temporal, of enlarged and greatly complexed apprehensions of events, we need every device of impersonal logical algebra, and every effort of mental reconstruction to save us from 'moving about in worlds not realized.' Perhaps not *sursum corda*, which some nations, justifiably in view of our greater command of natural resources, are preaching—and which may perhaps be felt, as an undertone, in the new mentality of India—is the maxim most in need, but *sursum intellectus*, if it can only be free of *ahamkāra* of every kind. India itself, which is now contemplating its future as a great Asiatic state, in touch moreover, with the whole periphery of the

well as to the *finished forms* with the declensional endings affixed *e. g.* the word हरिभिः as well as the mere stem हरि (in हरिभिः) is called पद [21]. Similarly a stem before certain secondary suffixes (तद्धितप्रत्यय) and n-ending stems before certain नामधातुप्रत्यय are designated as *Pada*[22]. This ambiguous use of the terms for two entirely different things is no doubt illogical and raises complications,[23] but Pāṇini allows this with a view to economy. Because the term has got double use, —for both stem, and complete form—the Sūtra, containing this term, can be applied in both the cases (*e. g.* we drop न् in Nom. Sing. राजा and also in Inst. dual राजभ्यां by the same Sūtra (8-2-7); we change त् to द् in Nom. Sing. जगद् (optional form for जगत्) and also in Inst. dual जगद्भ्याम्. But it is obvious that except on the ground of economy लाघव (which of course, implies here ज्ञानगौरव) this procedure of employing a technical term for double designations is confusing and unscientific.

We may refer here to another difficulty in the use of some Saṁjñās. The terms, करण, सम्बुद्धि and अधिकरण are sometimes[24] employed in nontechnical sense. The term नदी is defined as a feminine stem, ending in long ī and ū

21. Is the treatment of कविभिः as कविऽभिः in the Padapāṭha due to this? But the fact that the Padapāṭha does not separate such endings from feminine stems in long vowels, nor from masculine a-ending stems, presents difficulties.

22. The stem राजन् in the form राजस्यम् is a पद. Hence, न् is dropped (VIII.ii-7). similarly, न् is dropped in the form 'राज्ञीयति

23. Why do we not apply (VIII-iv-1) in the form रघुनाथाभ्यां regarding the stem रघुनाथ as a पद (I-iv-17)? It was to meet such difficulties that the later commentators had to define समानपदत्व (in VIII-iv-1) as निमित्तानधिकरणनिमित्तिसत्पदाघटितत्व (that is the समानपद should not contain in itself another पद which has न् (निमित्तिन्) but not र or र् (निमित्त) See the comment. शब्दरत्न on this सूत्र (VIII-iv-1)

24. The करण defined in (I-iv-42) is used in the sense of क्रिया (III.i-17). The सम्बुद्धि defined in (II-iii-49) is used in the

by the Sūtra (I-iv-3) ; and is used in this technical sense in (7-3-107). But in (II-i-20) ; it is used in its non-technical sense and stands for its own form and the names of rivers ; and in (v-iv-110), it is used in its non-technical sense, but unlike (II-i-20), does not stand for names of rivers[25]. In (6-i-68) the technical term अपृक्त is used in a gender different from that of its own (see I-ii-41)[26]

With these introductory remarks about the technical terms used by Pāṇini, we propose to give a list of his technical terms, with relevant references to their occurrences, differences in meanings, if any, their consistent or otherwise employment in the Aṣṭādhyāyi, and their comparison with the terms of the Nirukta and the Prātiṣākhya texts.

sense of calling from a distance (I-ii-33). The अधिकरण defined in (I-iv-45) is used in the sense of "a substance' (II-iv-13).

25 See the comment तत्त्वबोधिनी on those sūtras.

26. See Palsule : 'The structure of the Aṣṭadhyāyī' P. 59 61.

APPENDIX.

Technical terms of the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

Abbreviations :—

पा॰ = पाणिनि

ऋ॰ प्रा॰ = ऋक्प्रातिशाख्य (Ed. by M. D. Sastri Allahabad 1931).

तै. प्रा॰ = तैत्तिरीयप्रातिशाख्य (Ed. by Veṅkaṭarāma Sharmā, Vidyābhushaṇa, University of Madras 1930).

वा. प्रा॰ = वाजसनेयिप्रातिशाख्य (Ed. by Venkaṭarāma Sharma, Vidyābhushaṇa, University of Madras 1934).

अथ. प्रा॰ = अथर्वप्रातिशाख्य (Ed. Vishwabandhu Sastri. Punjab University 1923)

नि॰ = निरुक्त (Ed. Lakshmaṇa Swarup, Panjab University 1927).

The numbers indicate :—

in पा॰, अध्याय, पाद and सूत्र,
in ऋ. प्रा., पटल and सूत्र,
in तै. प्रा., अध्याय and सूत्र,
in वा. प्रा., अध्याय and सूत्र,
and in अथ. प्रा., प्रपाठक, पाद and सूत्र.

अङ्ग —

पा॰ defines it in I-iv-13 (यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्ययेऽङ्गम्). But it is not used in its technical sense in the sūtras (III-iii-81; VI-iii-70). The commentators interpret the word in the sense of 'अङ्गिन्' in (II-iii-20). नि. (8-10) uses the word in the sense of 'limb' (वरतममङ्गमूरू). तै. प्रा. (21-1) has the word in the sense of 'a part of, not independent' (व्यञ्जनं स्वराङ्गम्). Its meaning is not clear in तै. प्रा॰ (24-5).

"स्वरितोदात्तनीचत्वं श्वासो नादोऽङ्गमेव च।
एतत्सर्वं तु विज्ञेयं छन्दोभाषामधीयता" ॥

Thus we see that पा॰ defined the word to give it a technical meaning, but also used the word in the non-technical sense in accordance with its usage of the time.

अधिकरण —

It is defined in पा॰ (I-iv-45), but used in its non-technical sense (a द्रव्य) in the Sūtras (V-iii-43; II-iv-15). पतञ्जलि (I-i-23) refers to both the uses, technical and non-technical. अथ. प्रा. (2-2-4) uses the word अधिकरण (in the compound समानाधिकरण) in the sense of a grammatical relation.

अनुदात्त (उदात्त) —

These words are defined by पा॰ in (I-ii-29/30). वा॰ प्रा॰ (1-108/9) and तै. प्रा. (1-38/9) define the term in identical words. अथ. प्रा॰ (1-1-19; 1-1-4) uses them without defining. वि॰ (4-15) mentions उदात्त as तीव्रार्थतर and अनुदात्त as अल्पीयोऽर्थतर. ऋ. प्रा. (3-1) takes उदात्त as implying आयाम (वायुनिमित्तमूर्ध्वगमनं गात्राणाम्— उव्वटभाष्य) and अनुदात्त as अधोगमन. चतुरध्यायी (1-14 15) uses these words in the neuter gender; in ot' works, it is used in the masculine gender.

अनुनासिक—

पा. defines it in (I-i-8) and it is used in the technical sense in (I-iii-2). But the mode of pronouncing the indicatory letters (इत्) as nasals being not observed, the commentators say 'प्रतिज्ञानुनासिक्याः पाणिनीयाः'. The सूत्र (VIII-3-4) appears to indicate that an अनुस्वार followed an अनुनासिक (?), but the commentators interpret अनुनासिकात् as अनुनासिकं विहाय. ऋ॰ प्रा॰ (1-14) uses this term for the last consonant of a वर्ग, and uses the term रक्त (I-36; 4/80) for a nasalized vowel; तै. प्रा (5-27) for the last consonant of the वर्ग and (5/31) for a nasalized vowel also. वा. प्रा. (1-75) defines it as मुखनासिकाकरणोऽनुनासिकः (while पा. has वचनः for करणः).

अपादान —

पा. defines it in (I-iv-24-31). It is an अन्वर्थसंज्ञा (self explanatory term). The separation may be physical or mental

according to पतञ्जलि). Hence the example चोराद्दिनेति can be brought under its use. In all the cases, where पा० uses this term, its technical sense is kept in view.

अपृक्त —

वा. प्रा. (1-151), and (तै. प्रा. 1/54) define this term एकहलः पदम्, but पा. (I-ii-41) defines it in terms of अल्, which fits in with his scheme of शिवसूत्रs. Further पा. uses this term for a suffix only (प्रत्यय), but प्रति. texts use it more comprehensively (a monosyllabic word). In चतुरध्यायिका (1-79) and पा० (1-2-41), the term is used in the masculine gender, but strangely enough the सूत्र (6 1-68) uses the term in the neuter gender. वा. प्रा. (1-151) also uses the word in the neuter gender.

अभ्यस्त and अभ्यास —

पा. defines अभ्यस्त in (6-1-5) and अभ्यास in (6-1-4). In all the cases, the words are used in technical sense अथर्व. (3-3-14) uses the term अभ्यास as in पा०, but does not define it. Cf: चतुरध्यायिका (II-91, 93). वि० (2-2) uses अभ्यास as reduplication ,and अभ्यस्त as 'reduplicated' — while पा. uses अभ्यास for 'first' of the repeated forms and अभ्यस्त for 'both' of the repeated forms.

अवसान—

पा० defines it in (1-4-110). ऋ० प्रा० 1-15) and तै० प्रा० (14-15) use the term in the same sense, but do not define it. वि० (8-9) uses the word 'अवस्यन्ति' in the sense 'they end'.

अव्यय —

पा० (1-1-37-41) gives a definition of the term. It is an अन्वर्थसंज्ञा. Its etymological significance is shown in the lines —

"सदृशं त्रिषु लिङ्गेषु सर्वासु च विभक्तिषु ।
वचनेषु च सर्वेषु यन्न व्येति तदव्ययम् "॥

In all the cases of its occurrence, the term is used in its technical sense अथ० प्रा० (3-1-2; (3-2-7) does neither define

nor enumerate it, but uses the term in the Pāṇinian sense. The term is not seen in तै. प्रा॰ and नि॰. नि॰ (1-1) refers to निपातs, which are included in the list of अव्ययs by पा॰. (1-1-37).

आत्मनेपद (परस्मैपद) —

पा॰ defines it in (1-4-100; 1-4-99) अथर्व॰ [illegible] (3-4-7) gives another variant आत्मनेभाषा and परस्मैभाषा. These terms are अन्वर्थसंज्ञाs.

आम्रेडित —

पा॰ defines it in (8-1-2) as the 'last' of the repeated forms (cf: अभ्यास). वा॰ प्रा॰ (1/146) uses the word for 'both' of the repeated forms. अथ॰ प्रा॰ (3-1-5) knows आम्रेडितसमास. In all the cases of its occurrence, पा॰ uses it in its technical sense.

इत् —

Being an अन्वर्थ term (इति यः सः, which disappears), it is an indicating letter and is peculiar to पा॰ system of grammar. It should be distinguished form 'इत्' (a short इकार, as in 4-1-65) and 'इत्' (a शब्दपरक word as in 5-3-4).

उदात्त — (See अनुदात्त).

उपधा —

पा॰ defines it in (1-1-65). नि॰ (2-1) and अथर्व॰ (2-1-15) use the term in the Pāṇinian sense, but do not define it चतुरध्यायिका (1/92) and वा॰ प्रा (1-35) define उपधा in the terms of वर्णs, but पा॰, following his scheme of शिवसूत्रs, defines it in the terms of अल्.

उपपद —

पा॰ defines it in (3-1-92) and always uses it in its technical sense. The term does not occur in other works.

उपसर्ग —

This term is defined by पा॰ in (1-4-59) and is known to नि॰ (1-3; 5-5), but नि॰ does not mention निस् and दुस्, अथ॰ प्रा॰ (1-10-12) uses the term, but does not define it. तै॰

प्र० (1-15) enumerates only 11 of the उपसर्ग. पा० definition is specific, as it restricts the scope of उपसर्ग to 'क्रियायोग'.

उपसर्जन —

See the introduction for its definitions.

करण —

पा०defines it in (1-4-42), but uses it in a non-technical sense ('an action') in the सूत्र (पा० 3/1/27). See महाभाष्य on (1-1-23). नि० (10-8) uses the word in its ordinary sense ('doing'). दै० प्रा० (2-34) refers to it as 'येन स्पर्शयति तत्करणम्, यथा छिद्रम्'. cf: महाभाष्य 'तेभ्यस्तत्तत्स्थानकरणनादानुप्रदानलेभ्यो वैदिकाः शब्दा उपदिश्यन्ते, तदवत्वे न तथा (I-i-1-1).

कर्तृ —

पा० defines it in (I-4-54) नि० (5/21; 3-11) uses the word in the sense of 'doer, agent' (its ordinary sense)

कर्म —

It is defined in (पा० 1-4-49), but is used in the sense of 'क्रिया' in (1-3-14, 3-3-43). See महाभाष्य' on the सूत्र. In the derivation of कर्मप्रवचनीय (कर्म = क्रियां प्रोक्तवन्तो ये ते कर्मप्रवचनीयाः) in I-iv-83 and in नि० (2-28, 7-8 etc.) the sense of क्रिया (function) is clearly seen.

कृत् —

An औदाहरणिक term (कृ + क्विप् = कृत्) is used in अथ० प्रा० (1-1-10) and नि० (1/14; 2/3).

कृत्य —

An औदाहरणिक term (कृ + क्यप् = कृत्य).

गति —

Defined in (पा० 1-4-60). But it is used in its non-technical sense in the sūtras (1-4-52; 3-1-23). नि० (1-7, 20) uses the word in its non-technical sense 'going'. अथ० प्रा० (1-1-11) uses, however, the term in its technical sense.

गुण —

Defined in पा० (1-1-2) is used in its non-technical sense in the सूत्र (2-2-1). नि० (3/13) uses it in non-technical sense.

गुरु —

Defined in (पा० 1-4-11). But the word is used as शब्द-परक in (6-3-11).

गोत्र —

Defined in (पा० 4-1-162). But it is used as शब्दपरक in (6-3-42; 82).

घ -

Defined in (पा० 1-1-22). It is used in its technical sense in (6-3-17). In (8-2-22), it is used as शब्दपरक. In (3-2-70), it is used as कृत्प्रत्ययशब्दस्वरूपपरक, while in (4-2-29) it is तद्धित-प्रत्ययशब्दस्वरूपपरक.

घि —

Defined in (पा० 1-4-7), is an औदाहरणिक term- so far as इकारान्त stems are concerned, but when its sphere is extended to उकारान्त stems also, it is purely an artificial term. In all the places of its occurrence, the term is used in its technical sense.

घु —

Defined in (पा० 1-1-20) as a technical term, it is consistently used in its technical sense.

टि —

Defined in पा० (1-1-64) as a technical term, it is always used in its technical sense.

तद्धित —

Though not defined, it is used (on account of the अधिकार-सूत्र, 4-1-76) for a nominal suffix. नि० (2-2, 3) and अथ० प्रा० (1-2-12) use the term in the technical sense.

तद्राज —

Defined in पा० (4-1-174), it is used for certain nominal suffixes. The सूत्र (2-4-62) illustrates the term.

द्वन्द्व —

Defined in (पा० 2-2-29) as a technical term; it is used in अथ० प्रा० (3-4-2) also in its technical sense. नि० (7-4) however, uses the word in the sense 'a pair'.

द्विगु —

Defined in पा० (2-1-23) as a technical term. The word is obviously an औदाहरणिक term. But the form 'द्विगु', being an example of the बहुव्रीहि compound cannot be, strictly speaking, an illustration of द्विगुसमासे.

धातु —

Defined in पा० (1-3-1) is used in its technical sense in नि० (1-20; 2-1; 2-2) and अथ० प्रा० (1-1-11).

नदी —

Defined in पा० (1-4-3, this term is औदाहरणिक for ईकारान्त feminine stems and कृत्रिम for ऊकारान्त. The सूत्र (1-4-6) extends its scope to feminine stems ending in short इ and उ. In the सूत्र (4-4-111; 8-3-89; 5-4-110), the term is used as शब्दपरक and in (2-1-20) it is used for the words meaning 'river' or 'a river'.

निपात —

Defined in पा० (1-4-56) which is an अधिकारसूत्र, the term is mentioned in अथ० प्रा० (1-3-4/5), and नि० (1-1; 1-8; 4-17; 1-4).

निष्ठा —

Defined in पा० (1-1-26) It is neither an औदाहरणिक nor an अन्वर्थसंज्ञा. It is difficult to account for its length, if it is a purely कृत्रिमसंज्ञा.

पद —

See the introduction for the two types of पदसंज्ञा. In पा० (3-3-16), the word is a root. It is शब्दपरक in (3-2-23). अथ० प्रा० (1-1-18) uses it in the sense of a 'word'. तै० (18-8) uses पदे in the sense of पदपाठे, but in (16-17) uses the term in the sense of 'a word' also.

प्रगृह्य -

Defined in पा० (1-1-11) ff. तै० प्रा० has प्रग्रह, which also means uncombinable final vowels. The same in वा० प्रा० (1—92/98). Being concerned with the relation of पदपाठ to संहितापाठ, the प्रातिशाख्य texts think of the word इति coming

after it. नि० (2—26) does not appear to know its technical, sense.

प्रातिपदिक —

Defined in पा० (1-2-45/6) is not used by the प्राति० texts which use earlier terms denoting general grammatical functions, *e. g.* नाम (noun), पद (word), आमन्त्रित (Vocative).

बहुव्रीहि —

Defined in (पा० 2-2-23) is an औदाहरणिकसंज्ञा.

भ —

As a कृत्रिमसंज्ञा, it is defined in पा० (1-4-18). But in (5. 2-138/9) the word is a suffix of संदिग्ध type.

युवन् —

Defined in पा० (4-1-163), the term is used in its technical sense in the सूत्रs, (1-2-65; 4-1-90). But in (2-1-61; 6-4-133; 4-1-77), the word is used as शब्दपरक also.

लोप —

(लुप्, लुक्, श्लु.)

An अन्वर्थसंज्ञा. It is defined in पा० (1-1-60). अथर्व० प्रा० (1-1-20; 2-1-4; 3-4-7), नि० (6-22; 3-18), तैत्ति प्रा० (1-57) and वा० प्रा० (1-141) all know and use the term. It is only in वा० that a fine distinction is made for grammatical purpose between लोप and लुक्, श्लु, लुप् etc.

विभक्ति —

Defined in पा० (1-4-104) the term is used in नि० (2—1) also. The अथ० प्रा० (2-1-2) also knows it.

वृद्ध —

Defined in पा० (1-1-13), the word is used as शब्दपरक in (7-4-157). According to काशिका on (4-1-166), the term is synonymous with गोत्र (another technical term).

वृद्धि —

Defined in पा० (1-1-1), the word is used as शब्दपरक in (5-1-47). It is an अकृत्रिम term, meaning 'increment' (of the मात्रा).

ocean which alone separates Cape Comorin from the Antarctic, has to continue the process of furnishing itself with all possible implements of intellectual efficiency: should it attain to new lights of a comprehensive character, the missionary and commercial enterprise of individual Indians, famous in ancient times and not inconspicuous now will ensure their propagation elsewhere also.

What the Conference as a whole has to conceive is, saving any departments pre-empted by other bodies of students, the historical evolution of Indian civilization as a whole. The period over which our researches may extend reaches very far back into the past. As anthropology and art it may go back to a neolithic stage; as religion, archaeology and linguistics to the chalcolithic; even as history, chronology and literature it demands some milleniums B. C. —ultimately, indeed, we may recognize that the beginnings of literature and dramatic dance are as remote as those of religion itself. Of course, the earlier stretches of this huge period are to us opaque; but it now seems that mankind, wherever it has been, has left traces which modern archaeology with its growing fineness of observation can detect. Moreover, humanity has come through the great darkness, as the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* tells us, by the device having sons; and in the modern descendants and their social organizations an enlightened psychology and sociology may more and more clearly discriminate the features derived from successive ages.

In India the prehistoric is perhaps still a manageable study. The early historic, already literary culture of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa begins to have a penumbra extending widely over Northern India: it has evoked a considerable literature, and it is plausibly regarded as the source of much that is characteristic of Hinduism. With the Aryans and the Vedic literature we are suddenly, as it were, confronted by the outstanding features of Indian humanistic studies, namely their mass, their complexity and their difficulty.

षट् —

Defined in (पा० 1-1-24). The word is used in the popular sense 'six' in (6-1-6; 6/2/135). तै० प्रा० uses it in the popular sense in (1—9) and as शब्दपरक in (7—2). नि० does not know its technical sense.

सङ्ख्या —

Defined in पा० (1-1-23) the term is used in the sense of 'a numeral' in पा० (5-2-41; 5/2/47).

सञ्ज्ञासारण —

Defined in (पा० 1-1-45) is an अकृत्रिमसंज्ञा and known already in the time of पा०. Therefore, a long term was admitted by पा० in his system.

सम्बुद्धि —

Defined in (पा० 2-3-49), as a Vocative singular, the term is used in its popular sense in पा० (1-2-33). cf: काशिका on (1-2-33) 'वैकवचनं सम्बुद्धिः । दूरात्सम्बोधयति येन वाक्येन तत्सम्बोधनं सम्बुद्धिः' ।

संयोग —

Defined in पा० (1-1-7) in terms of हल्, but ऋ० प्रा० (1-37), वा० प्रा० (1-48) define it in terms of व्यञ्जनम्. In पा० (5-1-38) it is used in a non-technical sense (संयोगः—सम्बन्धः प्राणिनां शुभाशुभसूचकः).

सर्वनामस्थान —

Defined in (1-1-42/3). Its length indicates that it was already in vogue in पा०'s times. As the forms in Nom. and Obj. plural (neuter) and in the first 5 case-endings are strong forms (full forms, सर्वनामन् s), the term is अकृत्रिम.

सवर्ण —

Defined in (पा० 1-1-9). वा० प्रा० (1-43) adds करणसादृश्य also for 'सवर्णत्व'. तै० प्रा० (14—22) uses the word in the sense of सरूप as distinguished from सवर्ग (cf: सवर्णसवर्गौपपरंकः).

संहिता —

Defined in पा० (1-4-109). ऋ० प्रा० (2—1/2) uses it in the sense of संहितापाठ. अथ० प्रा० (1-1-2) does the same. पा० प्र० (1—155) takes 'joining of the last with the initial' as संहित. पा० definition lays emphasis on continuous (unbroken) use of letters.

सार्वधातुक —

Defined in पा० (2-4-2) Of all प्रातिशाख्य texts, only अथ० प्रा० (2-4-2) uses it, but without defining it. The काशिका on (7-3-95) quotes another variant of the सूत्र, where the word is used in the feminine gender.

स्वरित —

पा० defines it as समाहार of उदात्त and अनुदात्त, with the first half as उदात्त and the remaining अनुदात्त. ऋ० प्रा० (3—3/6) refers to other opinions as to the proportions of उदात्त and अनुदात्त. The term is treated in तै० प्रा० (1—40), वा० प्रा० (1—110) and चतुरध्यायिका (1—16).

हेतु —

Defined in पा० (1-4-55), the term is used in the non-technical sense also, *e.*, *g.*, in (2-3-23, 5-3-26).

PHONOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON SANSKRIT ē, ō, āi & āu AND MIDDLE INDIAN e & o.

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1. The object of this paper is to investigate into the phonetic principles underlying the evolution of Sanskrit ē, ō, āi & āu, and also to prove, on the strength of evidences from the Dravidian Languages, the existence of short e & o in the actual pronunciation of the Middle Indian.

Sanskrit ē, ō, āi & āu.

2. The fact that the ancient Indian grammarians have given the name of Guṇa [1] to ē and ō, of Vṛddhi [2] to āi and āu, of Sandhyakṣaras [3] to ē, ō, āi and āu in general and of Samāhārākṣaras [4] to āi and āu in particular, is itself calculated to suggest that each of the above sounds is the phonetic evolution of different combinations.

Sanskrit ē, ō, āi & āu < Arayan Tautosyllabic ay, av, āy & āv.

3. It has been established by philogists that the Sanskrit sounds under discussion go back, in certain instances, to Indo-European diphthongs as shown below :—

ē < Tautosyllabic a̯i, e̯i, and o̯i.

ō < Tautosyllabic a̯u, e̯u, and o̯u.

āi < Tautosyllabic āi̯, ēi̯, and ōi̯.

āu < Tautosyllabic āu̯, ēu̯, and ōu̯.

4. The Indo-European diphthongs which gave rise to Sanskrit ē, ō, āi and āu are, besides, seen to have remained as ay, av, āy and āv in Aryan [5] after the change of

1. Pāṇini, I.,i, 2 : 'adēṅguṇaḥ'.
2. Ib., I., i, 1 : 'Vṛddhirādaic'.
3. Vājasanēyi Prātiśākhya, I. 45 : 'Sandhyakṣaram paraṁ'.
4. Patañjali, on Pāṇini, I., i, 46 : 'imāvaikasa samāhāravarṇau'.
5. Cf. Brugmann, 'Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages', translated from the German by Joseph Wright, Vol. i, pp. 49, 66.

Indo-European e and o to a, and ē and ō to ā. The Aryan ay and av have produced Sanskrit ē and ō [1] while āy and āv have remained as such although these latter exhibit a further change to āi and āu. [2]

5. The only possibility of Aryan ay and av having changed to ē and ō in Sanskrit is by the palatal y and the labial v influencing the preceding vowels, making them thereby ey and ov and the subsequent elision of the semi-vowels with the compensatory lengthening of e and o, by reason of both the vowels and the semi-vowels being of the same place of articulation.

6. That ey and ov will produce ē and ō through the elision of the semi-vowels and the compensatory lengthening of the vowels, can be illustrated by the following examples from Malayāḷam.

iyaluka > eyaluka > ēluka 'to be proper, to contain

ceyti > cēti 'news.'

viyarppŭ > veyarppŭ > vērppŭ 'sweat.'

cuvaṭŭ > covaṭŭ > cōṭŭ > 'foot mark.'

cuvappŭ > covappŭ > cōppŭ 'the red colour.'

tuvaṙan > tovaṙan > tōṙan 'fried vegetable dish.'

Note :—For the assimilation of a to preceding ē and ō Cf. Sanskrit harēva and viṣṇōva from harē + ava and viṣṇō + ava respectively.

7. It remains to be explained why Aryan āy and āv have not suffered a change to ē and ō although there is the

1. Aryan av followed by y as in nav-ya does not become ō in Sanskrit, since a tendency to close the preceding syllables with v, wherever the group vy occurred was not universal. See Siddheswara Varma, 'Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians', p. 78.

2 See Uhlenbeck, 'A Manual of Sanskrit Phonetics,' p. 42.

palatal y and the labial v following the vowel ā. The reason for the preservation of ā in Sanskrit of the Aryan diphthongs āy and āv is to be sought for in its length, in as much as long vowels are less liable to phonetic change than short vowels. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the opening of i and u of the initial syllables in colloquial Malayāḷam [1] when there is an open vowel in the succeeding syllable, while ī and ū under the same conditions do not exhibit the change :—

iṭa, eṭa 'place, interval of time or space' ; iṙaval, eṙaval, 'anything borrowed' ; ila, ela 'leaf' ; kiḷaṙam, keḷaṙam 'height' ; ciṙava, ceṙava 'scraper for cocoanuts.' utavi, otavi 'help' ; urakkam, orakkam 'sleep' ; ula, ola 'furnace in forge' ; kuṭa, koṭa 'umbrella' ; tuṭa, toṭa 'the thigh'.

Contrast with the above, īra 'reed' ; cīṙa 'a kind of eatable leaf' ; pīḷa 'rheum of the eyes' ; ūma 'dumb' ; kūvaḷam 'the Bilva tree' ; tūvaṭa 'a timber measure 1/6 of a tūmaṙam or 24 square inches' which do not show the ē and ō change in pronunciation.

8. Similarly *a* coming after the initial voiced stops of the Indo-Aryan loan words in Malayāḷam is pronounced *e* though written *a* [2] while the above change is not observable when *ā* follows.

9. It can therefore be inferred that it is the short or long nature of the vowel that has been responsible for the palatalization or labialization on the one hand, or the preservation of the vowel on the other.

1. Cf. BSOS., Vol. viii, part 4, p. 966.

2. K. Gōdavarma, 'The change of a to e in the Indo-Aryan Loan words of Malayāḷam. BSOS, Vol. vii, Parts 2 and 3, p. 559-562.

SANSKRIT ē, ō, āi &āu in Sandhi.

10. In this section, I propose to deal with Sanskrit ē, ō, āi and āu that have resulted independently in Sanskrit from -ă̄+ĭ̄-,-ă̄+-ŭ̄-,-ā+ē-or āi-and-ă̄+ō-or āu-respectively, and to draw attention to the phonetic principles that have been brought to play in their subsequent developments.

11. When *a* is followed by the palatal i or the labial u it cannot be the palatal or the labial character of the following vowel alone that is at the bottom of the change of *a* to e or o. Should the palatal or labial nature of the following vowel be alone the influencing factor, there is no reason why-ā+ĭ̄-and-ā+ŭ̄-also should change to ē and ō respectively, as such a change is against the phonetic phenomenon pointed out previously. [1]

12. It may be remarked that when two vowels come together, it is the openness or the closeness of the vowels concerned that is likely to contribute more than any other factors towards their further changes.

13. In combinations like-ă̄+ĭ̄-and-ă̄+ŭ̄-, therefore, the succeeding close vowels ĭ̄ and ŭ̄ must have naturally assimilated the preceding open vowel, irrespective of its length or shortness, and made it ē or ō as the case may be. The possibility of the vowels ĭ̄ and ŭ̄ forming second members of diphthongs becoming y and v has been demonstrated by philologists. [2] Thus ă̄+ĭ̄ and ă̄+ŭ̄ will become ĕy and ŏv respectively, the preceding ă̄ being influenced by the following close vowels, and subject to the principle of sound change already explained in para 6, ĕy and ŏv may exhibit a further change to ē and ō.

1. Cf. above, para 9 for Aryan long ā followed by y and v i. e. āy and āv remaining as āi and āu and short *a* followed by y and v *i. e.* ay and av changing to ē and ō in Sanskrit.

2. Cf. Brugmann, 'Comparative Grammar, of the Indo-Germanic Languages Vol. I, p. 101 where * bheroite is traced back to earlier *bhero-i-te. §(109.)

14. The reason for the Aryan ā followed by y or v, remaining without change while Sanskrit-ā followed by i or u has changed to e or o will be evident in the light of the above discussions.

15. We will next consider how āi and āu have resulted from —ā+e— or āi , and —ā+o—or āu — in Sanskrit, When we remember that Sanskrit e, o, āi and āu go back to ay, av, āy and āv of the Aryan, it will be seen that when —ā & e— or āi—, and —ā & o— or āu— combine, the real elements that constitute the combinations are as noted below : —

-ā + e- = -ā + ay-
-ā + āi- = -ā + āy-
-ā + o - = -ā + av-
-ā + āu- = -ā + āv-

In the above cases, ā combining with ā of the first member of the succeeding diphthongs will contract into ā (2 mātrās only) [1] and being joined to the following y or v will produce āy and āv. Just as the Aryan diphthongs āy and āv have passed into āi and āu in closed syllables, the above āy and āv resulting in Sandhi have also moved to āi and āu when followed by consonants.

16. An important observation that has to be made in this connection is that e, o, āi and āu in Sandhi have to be regarded as phonetic changes that have taken place subsequent to the shift of the Aryan diphthongs to e, o, āi and āu; for, external Sandhi is always found to be optional, taking place only when there is extreme juxtaposition, while the changes relating to the Aryan diphthongs are invariable and regular. Attention may also be drawn to the fact that in the Ṛgvēda we come across instances of hiatus [2], but not a single instance of Aryan Tautosyllabic ay, av, āy and āv without showing the change e, o, āi and āu. Further

1. Pāṇini, VI, i, 101 : 'akaḥ savarṇē dīrghaḥ' and Vājasanēy Prātiśākhya, I. 57: 'dvistavan dīrghaḥ.'

2. Arnold, 'Vedic Metre', p. 70.

Sanskrit ē, ō, āi and āu which could be traced back to the Indo-European are considered as single inseparable sounds quite unlike the sounds that evolve in Sandhi in the pronunciation of which there is in the consciousness of the speaker the duality of their component parts.

17. It is impossible for two single vowels in combination to become ē, ō, āi and āu unless these sounds have previously developed in the language in some way or other and have been popularly established. The Indo-European diphthongs may be said therefore to have paved the way for the origin of Sanskrit ē, ō, āi and āu in Sandhi.

18. The observations of the later Indian grammarians that the place of articulation for ē and āi is Kaṇṭhatālu [1] and that for ō and āu is Kaṇṭhōṣṭha [2] will, on close examination, be found to lack in scientific precision. It is now admitted on all hands that Sanskrit ē and ō are unitary sounds [3] and ē is palatal and ō labial. On the other hand āi and āu, as evidenced from their pronunciation, are compound vowels, āi being Kaṇṭhatālu and āu Kaṇṭhōṣṭha, combining as they do ā and y or ā and v. Although the fact has been noted correctly by Kātyāyana in the two sūtras 'icayēśāstālau' [4] (i, c, ch, j, jh, ñ, y, ē and ś have palate as their place) and 'aikāraukārayōḥ kaṇṭhyā pūrvā mātrā tālvōṣṭhayōruttarā' [5] (for āi and āu the first mātrā is guttural and the second that of palatal and labial respectively), the commentator Uvvaṭa is found to labour under a misconception when he says 'anēnaiva kramēṇa ēkāraukārau vyākhyātau' (in like manner ē and ō are to be construed).

1. See Siddhāntakaumudī, under Pāṇini, I., i, 9: 'ēdaitōḥ kaṇṭhatālu.'
2. Ib., 'ōdautōḥ kaṇṭhōṣṭham.'
3. Whitney, 'Sanskrit Grammar', p. 12.
4. Vājasanēyi Prātiśākhya, I 66.
5. Ib., I. 75.

Also the name Samāhārākṣaras given to āi and āu in particular of the Sandhyakṣaras ē, ō, āi and āu by ancient grammarians, goes to indicate that the pronunciation of the combining elements was more marked in them than in ē and ō which had already become unitary sounds at the time.

āi and āu in Secondary derivatives.

19. In addition to the āi and āu having an Indo-European origin and āi and āu which have developed independently in combinations of vowels and diphthongs, we come across, in Sanskrit, many instances of āi and āu occurring in the initial syllables of secondary derivatives with the meaning 'related to', 'connected with' or 'sprung from'. It may be remarked that this āi and āu do not admit of being explained as the phonetic developments of the simple vowels ĭ and ŭ attributed to by the Sanskrit grammarians in the original roots.

20. Scholars like Streitberg, Bechtel and Uhlenbeck have shown that the commencement of the vṛddhation of the vowel in secondary derivatives dates back to the Indo-European period [1]. Brugmann says:—"Although the particular forms that furnished the type for this category of nouns (like āmitrá-s 'hostile' from amítra-s 'foe', mānas-á-s 'related to the mind' from mánas-'mind', sāvitrá-s 'sprung from the sun' from savitár-'sun', Sāindhav-á-s 'sprung from the Indus' from sindhu-s 'Indus') in Aryan, and the origin of the Vṛddhi-strengthening, which occurs also in other derivative nouns, are still undiscovered, yet it is at least probable that the class took its rise in such o-stems (Aryan a-) as had undergone a modification of meaning similar to that which we find in the epithetised compounds, and that o- was then added to other stems in imitation of

1. See Streitberg, Idg. forschungen 3, 372, sqq.; Bechtel 175; Uhlenbeck, P. B. Beitr. 22, 189 sq., 545 sqq.

these." [1] What Brugmann has done is only to draw attention to the similarity in the development of meaning between the secondary derivatives and the epithetised compounds. Streitberg observes that the lengthening of the initial syllable originally stood in close connection with a collective significance as in vāc 'speech' and vacas 'word'; nābh 'clouds' and nabh 'cloud' and that the same device must have been resorted to, later on, to indicate all kinds of relation. [2] Bechtel has noted that the lengthened forms with the diphthongs āi and āu in secondary derivatives enter relatively seldom so as to allow us to go back to the Indo-Germanic period. [3] He also conjectures that the āi and āu formations owe their wide characteristic extension to the influence of the *a* vṛddhi [4] although he has not explained the way in which the analogical extension has originated. In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to identify the particular types after which the vṛddhi formations with āi and āu in initial syllables in Sanskrit have been modelled.

21. It is worthy of note that different gradations of the Aryan ay and av of the root syllables have become attached themselves to different inflected verbal bases, the particular phases of ablaut becoming closely associated with the particular idea conveyed by the whole word and appropriated to this or that function in connection with it. Although it may not be possible in all cases to trace the variations to the Indo-European, the fact that a systematised series of vowel alternation could be noticed in Sanskrit will be clear from the table appended below:—

1. Brugmann, 'A Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages', Vol. ii., § 60 (p. 112).

2. See, Idg. forschungen, 3, 378 sqq. 'Die Sekundäre nominal bildung'.

3. Bechtel, 'Einige Bemerkungen über die Vṛddhi in der sekundären nominal bildung.'

4. Ibid.

Most of us have learned in our youth how many persons and families are named as seers or authors of Vedic hymns, how many *śakhas* there were of the several *saṁhitas*; how many *Brāhmaṇas*, *Āraṇyakas*, *Upaniṣhads*, *Vedāṅgās*, *Śūtras*, schools of grammar, *Dharma*, *Artha* and so on are known to have existed; their recensions, again, their local or other distributions, transmission, and the like; and we have realized that we shall never grasp the phenomenon as a whole, because every detail is involved in some obscurity and any day may bring to light new materials, for example, new texts, which may modify the perspective.

You know that at all later stages the same immensity and multiplicity recur, whether we think of schools of philosophy, sects of Buddhism, Vaiṣṇavism, and so on, *Purāṇas* *Āgamas*, schools of sacred law, schools of poetics, schools of medicine. Who could produce a list of *kāvyas* or dramas that in respect of completeness would stand scrutiny even for five years? Who could even conceive bounds to the literature of romance? The number of sciences and arts expounded in texts has not seldom to be increased, and each new one is soon discovered to be represented by several works: In architecture, for instance, Professor Prasanna Kumār Achārya's heroic and monumental labour upon the *Mānasāra* has had sequelae in the publication of some new texts from Travancore.

The complexity is not another name for the immensity It is partly due to the survival of the old in the midst of the new, and partly to intercommunication. While the intelligentia have ever been enterprising in travel—and not only within India, but that is another story—for purposes of study, propaganda and discussion, and even secluded spots have been alive with inter-sectarian debate, masses of the people have been making long journeys on occasions of pilgrimage and trade. Thus in some cases intercommunication of ideas and literature has been extremely rapaid, in others tardy, according as chance dictated. Contemporarp

Indo-European roots with meanings.	Examples of Gradations in Sanskrit.			
	Strong.	Lengthened.	Weak (accented.)	Weak (unaccented.)
ei- 'to go'	éti, ayāni	ìyāya	íyāt	itaḥ
qeiq- 'to waste away'	kṣétā, kṣáyati	akṣāiṣīt, cikṣāya.	kṣíyāt	cikṣiyatuḥ
klei- 'to incline or lean'	śrayati	śiśrāya	śríyāt	aśiśriyat
kleu- 'to hear'	śrṓṣyati	aśrāuṣīt, śuśrāva	śrūyāt	śuśruva
ghel- 'to invoke'	juhṓti	juhāva	hūyāt	juhuva
del- 'to burn, vex, afflict, destroy, spoil'	dṓṣyati	adāuṣīt dadāha	dūyāt	dadṓti

22. The same gradations of the root vowel in inflected verbal bases may manifest themselves with regard to the primary derivatives also, in so far as these latter are formed by adding suffixes directly to the roots or the elements which have come to wear in the language the aspect of such. The following examples will show that in primary derivatives also most of the grades are represented :—

Indo-European roots with meanings.	Examples of Gradations in Primary Derivatives in Sanskrit			
	Strong.	Lengthened.	weak (accented)	weak (unaccented)
ei- 'to go'	ayanam	āyuḥ	iyivāṅ	ita-
qeiq- 'to waste away'	kṣayaḥ	akṣāmaḥ	kṣīṇa-	kṣita-
klei- 'to incline or lean'	śrāṇiḥ	śrāyaḥ	śrīḥ	śrita-
kleu- 'to hear'	śrōtram	śrāvaḥ	śrūvamāṇa-	śruta-
ghel- 'to invoke'	hōmaḥ	hāvin-	juhūḥ	huta-
bheu- 'to be'	bhavanam	bhāvaḥ	bhūḥ	bhuvanam

1. Indo-European roots quoted in the above table are taken from 'Aryan Roots with their English Derivatives,' by J. Baly, M. A.

2. Originally perhaps kṣāymaḥ. Although Pāṇini derives the word from kṣāi- and not from kṣi- (cf. Pāṇini. VIII, 2, 53 : 'kṣāyō maḥ') the word may, from a semantic point of view, be regarded as cognate with kṣina- For the second element of long diphthongs often disappearing medially before consonants (especially m) refer Wright, 'Comparative Grammar of the Greek Language,' p. 31.

Of the above alternations by far the most frequent in primary derivatives, is the strengthened form of the root.[1] The same strengthening can be observed to have been extended in the formation of the causatives also.[2]

23. As regards the highest form of the stregthened grade of the vowel in the initial syllables in the secondary derivatives, it may once again be pointed out that they cannot be the phonetic developments of simple vowels. The explanation of their occurrence has to be sought for in certain types after which they may have been modelled. The only places where such strengthened forms are regularly employed are the verbs and the primary derivatives. As the secondary derivatives, by themselves, are not directly related to the root either in meaning or in orgin, we have to fall back upon the primary derivatives as supplying a vowel in the strong grade *i. e.* ē and ō from which further lengthening is possible, in so far as secondary derivatives are sometimes got by suffixes being added to the stems of primary derivatives. The secondary derivatives which are in their origin connected with the primary derivatives, have in their majority of instances an adjectival value indicating connection or relation of varied character or that of an abstract denoting the quality expressed attributively by the adjective when used in neuter.[3] The following examples will make clear the relation between the primary and secondary derivatives in point of formation and meaning:—

1. Macdonell, 'A Vedic Grammar for Students,' p. 254.
2. Cf. R. L. Turner, Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference p. 489.
3. Whitney, 'A Sanskrit Grammar,' p. 456.

Indo-European roots with meaning.	Primary derivatives.	Secondary derivatives.
a dh- 'to burn'	ōdhas- 'fuel'	aidha- 'flame'
dēu[1] 'give light'	dēva- 'God'	dāiva- 'belonging to or coming from the Gods.'
uēid- 'to know'	vēda- 'knowledge'	vāida- 'relating to knowledge'
ue- 'to burn, shine'	ōṣṭhas 'the lip'	auṣṭha- 'lip-shaped'
klēu- 'to hear'	krōtra- 'ear'	kāutra- 'relating to the ear'
jeuĝ- 'yoke'	yōga- 'the act of yoking'	yāuga- 'a follower of the Yoga system of philosophy.'

24. The primary forms as dēva-, yōga- etc. being in the Aryan dayva-, yavga- etc. would give rise to dāyva-, yāvga- etc. provided the secondary derivatives were differentiated from the primary derivatives by the lengthening of the *a* of the first syllable and will naturally show the form of dāiva- and yāuga- etc. in Sanskrit. The vṛddhation in the form of āi and āu in Sanskrit may thus be said to have first originated in a lengthening of the *a* of the Aryan ay and av of the accented syllable of the root preserved as accented in the primary derivatives, the lengthening being employed to mark the derivatives off from the substantives.

25. Whatever may be the principle governing the elongation of the initial *a* of the substantives to form words of relation or connection inferred to have been prevalent in the Indo-European, it must be undoubtedly the same principle that underlies the lengthening of *a* of the ay and av in the initial syllables of the Aryan primary derivatives. In primary derivatives containing a long vowel in the initial

1. Both the forms dieu- and deiu- have to be assumed in the Indo-European. Cf. Sk. dyō- and dēva-, Ref. Baly, 'Eur-Aryan Roots,' Vol. I, p. 535 for words of other Indo-European Languages in support of the above assumption.

2. See Uṇādi, II. 4 : 'aśikuṇigartibhyasthan'

syllables a lengthening may not be of any use to differentiate the secondary derivatives from them. Hence we find instances of the meaning being particularised by the addition of suffixes. Ex. gāyakīya-, nāyakīya-, pāvakīya- etc. Subsequently both the lengthening and suffixes to define the sense of relation or connection may have come to be used in the secondary derivatives.

26. On the model of types obtained in the above mentioned manner as dāyva-, yāvga-, vāyda- etc, it is possible that even when there was no perceptible connection with the Aryan ay and av in initial syllables of substantives, āi and āu came to be used in forming secondary derivatives. Ex. ēḍa- 'a kind of sheep,' āiḍa- 'coming from the sheep; kērala- 'the country known as Kērala,' Kāirala- Cf. Kāira lēya- 'a king of the Kēralas;' pōgaṇḍa- 'young;' pāugaṇḍa' 'relating to a boy;' sōdara- 'born from the same womb,- sāudarya- 'brotherly or sisterly;'

27. In order to explain the relation between ī and ū assumed by the Sanskrit grammarians to have been the vocalism of the original roots, and the āi and āu which stand in ablaut relation to them in the secondary derivatives, a theory had to be advanced that ī and ū developed into āi and āu. ī and ū attributed by the Indian Grammarians to the original roots are, in reality, obviously only vowels in the reduced grade of an originally accented ē and ō. (Aryan ay and au.) When, in secondary derivatives traceable to roots containing ī and ū (according to the Indian conception) āi and āu were extensively employed, the same device may have manifested itself, through analogy, in forming secondary derivatives from primary derivatives containing vowel in the the weak grade as well as from nouns without any perceptible connection with verbal roots and having in these initial syllable ī and ū.

28. The following will then represent the gradual process of the extention of āi and āu through analogy in the secondary derivatives of the various types of substantives :—

(*a*) *a* of initial syllables of Indo-European substantives lengthened to ā in forming secondary derivatives.

(*b*) *a* of Aryan ay and av (Sk. ē and ō) in the initial syllables of primary derivatives lengthened to ā, ay and av thereby becoming āy and āv (Sk. āi and āu) in secondary derivatives The Sanskrit grammarians, because they assumed the starting grades with ĭ and ŭ, had naturally to equate ĭ and ŭ with āi and āu and consequently say that āi and āu were the strengthened grades of ĭ and ŭ. Ex.

Sanskrit root.	Indo-European root	Primary derivative.	Secondary derivative.
div- 'to shine'	deiu-	dēva-	dāiva-
vid- 'to know'	weid-	vēda-	vāida-
yuj 'to yoke'	jeug-	yōga-	yāuga-
śru- 'to hear'	kleu-	śrōtra-	śrāutra-

(*c*) ē and ō of the initial syllables of Sanskrit substantives which are not sprung from Āryan ay and av have shown āi and āu in secondary derivatives through the analogy of Sanskrit ē and ō forms (Āryan ay and av) traceable to the Indo-Eropean. Ex.

Substantives.	Secondary derivatives.
ēḍa-'a kind of sheep'	āiḍa-'Coming from the sheep'
Kērala-'the country known as Kērala'	kāirala-Cf. Kāiralēya-'a king of the Kēralas'
Pōgaṇḍa-'young'	Pāugaṇḍa-'relating to a boy'
Sōdara- 'born from the same womb'	Sāudarya- 'brotherly or sisterly'.

(*d*) Sanskrit ĭ and ŭ which were considered as the vowels in the initial syllables of roots by Indian grammarians, in instances where the simple vowels were actually the

reduced grades of Sk. ē and ō (Aryan ay and av) came to influence ī and ū of primary derivatives which do not show ablaut relation with ē and ō.

(i) Primary derivatives with ī and ū showing ablaut relation with ē and ō formed their secondary derivatives with āi and āu. Ex. diva-'heaven' 'dāiva- 'celestial'; lipi- 'writing', lāipya- 'relating to writing'; bhūta- 'any living being', bhāuta- 'relating to living beings', śruta- 'sacred knowledge', śrāuta- 'relating to sacred tradition'.

(ii) Primary derivatives with ī and ū which do not show ablaut relation with ē and ō formed their secondary derivatives with āi and āu. Ex. Indra-, āindra- 'belonging to Indra'; śiva-, āiśa- 'relating to or coming from Śiva'; ukṣan- 'an ox', āukṣa- 'coming from or belonging to a bull'; ūrjas- 'vigour, strength or power', āurjasya- 'a particular style of composition'.

(e) ī and ū of initial syllables of all primary derivatives becoming āi and āu in secondary derivatives, influenced in the next stage all substantives with ī and ū in the initial syllables devoid of any connection with verbal roots, Ex. itihāsa-, āitihāsa-; kīṭa- 'insect', kāiṭa- 'coming from an insect'; nīhāra- 'mist', nāihāra- 'produced by mist'; uttara- 'north', āuttara- 'living in the northern country'; udumbara-, āudumbara- 'coming from the tree Udumbara'; Kumāra- 'boy, youth', Kāumāra- 'juvenile'

(f) Substantives having initial consonant groups like nyāya-, vyagra-, dvāra-, and svarṇa- took āi and āu in their secondary derivatives, the words being perhaps pronounced as niyāya-,[1] viyagra-, dvāra- and suvarṇa- as a result of

1. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, §. 1264. C. (p. 456)

which they fell together with the types of substantives mentioned in (e). Ex. nāiyāyika-, vāiyagra-, dāuvāra- and sāuvarṇa.

SHORTENING OF āi AND āu IN PRIMITIVE INDIAN.

29. Primitive Indian āi and āu ∠ Aryan Tauto-syllabic āy and āv, and the āi and āu resulting from Sandhi in Sanskrit have been weakened into ai and au. This is evidenced by the change of Sanskrit āi and āu to ē and ō in the Middle Indian.[1] Such a change could have happened in the Middle Indian only if there was short *a* before i and u. This may be compared with groups aya and ava becoming e and o while āya and āva remain practically unchanged.[2] It is probable that this weakening of āi and āu took place in the period closely following the change of Aryan ay and av to ē and ō in Primitive Indian. As long as there were ay and āy and av and āv a distinction between them was necessary, but with the reduction of ay and av to ē and ō there would not be any confusion even if āy and āv were shortened. The weakened āy and āv *i. e.* ai and au which took the place of Aryan ay and av do not further become ē and ō. Instances of falling diphthongs in English being pronounced by many people as level ones[3] also bear a close analogy to the above mentioned weakening of Primitive Indian āi and āu. Mention may also be made of long diphthongs being levelled under the original shorts or being monopthongized in all Indo-germanic languages[4] although in Sanskrit there are still traces of the long when the diphthong is followed by a vowel. It is worthy of note that the weakening does not take place in open syllables since the second element of the diphthong forms a different

1. Prākṛtaprakāśa, I. 36; 'aita st.
2. Cf. R. L. Turner, JR A S. 1921, p. 338.
3. G. Noel Armfield. 'General Phonetics, p. 36.
4. Wyld. 'The Historical Study of the Mother Tongue, p. 189.

syllable by being joined to the following vowel[1] and thereby the diphthongal character of āy and āv is completely lost.

Middle Indian e and o.

30. The existence of short e and short o in the Middle Indian has been inferred by Indo-Aryan philologists on the evidence of the rule laid down in Prākṛt Grammars that a long vowel followed by a long consonant going back to Primitive Indian consonant-groups is usually found to become short[2] and also on the appearance of ē and ō in New Indian languages before single consonants resulting from the simplification of long consonants of the Middle Indian. Although in the case of *a, i, and u* in front of long consonants the short nature of the vowels is clear from orthography, the absence of separate scripts for long and short ए and ओ does not supply us with any accurate information as to whether the vowels in question were actually pronounced as short. Nor are the long forms of the New Indian any conclusive evidence on the point under consideration, in so far as the long ē and ō in them can represent Middle Indian long ē and ō as well. Bhandarkar has tried to prove the existence of short e and o in the actual pronunciation of Marāṭhī and Gujarātī[3] although he has not actually stated that such short forms are inherited from the Middle Indian. But no value can be attached to it since we do not find any reference to short e and short o even as a peculiarity in the pronunication of Gujarātī in the Gujarātī phonology by R. L. Turner.[4]

1. Cf. Siddheswara Varma, 'Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations on Indian Grammarians, p. 61.
2. Cf. Woolner, Introduction to Prākrit, p. 26 (§ 67) and also Rhishikesh Bhattacharjee 'A Prakrit Grammar, p. 25; 'hrasvaḥ saṃyōgē.
3. Bhandarkar, 'Wilson Philological Lectures, p. 137, 138.
4. See JRAS., 1921 p. 329-365.

31. It is a matter of interest and importance to note that the only conclusive proof of the existence of short ऍ (e) and short ऑ (o) in the Middle Indian is furnished by the Middle Indian loans in the Dravidian Languages. The Dravidian Languages, possessing as they do in their sound system both short as well as long forms of the vowels referred to, have distinguished between the short and long ऍ and ऑ of the Middle Indian. Sanskrit and New Indian ऍ and ऑ are regularly pronounced and represented as ē and ō in all positions, whereas Middle Indian ऍ and ऑ in front of long consonants[1] and Middle Indian ऍ and ऑ appearing in the place of the first i or u of a word when immediately followed by a conjunct consonant[2] are represented in the borrowing as e and o while in other positions they have been given the same treatment as Sanskrit or New Indian ऍ and ऑ.

SANSKRIT ē AND ō REPRESENTED AS ē AND ō IN THE DRAVIDIAN.

Sk. kōpa-; Ka. kōpa; Mal. kōpam; Tam. kōpam; Tel. kōpamu

Sk, tōḍɪ 'a musical tune'; Ka. tōḍi; Mal. tōṭi; Tam. tōṭi; Tel. tōḍi

Sk. mōkṣa-; Ka. mōkṣa; Mal. mōkṣam; Tam. mōṭcam; Tel. mōkṣamu

Sk. yōga-; Ka. yōga; Mal yōgam; Tam. yōgam; Tel. yōgamu

Sk. sōdara-; Ka. sōdara; Mal. sōdaṙan; Tam. cōtaran; Tel. sōdaraṁḍu

1. For long consonants arising from reasons other than the assimilation of consonant groups refer Pischel, Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen, § 90 § 194.

2. Cf. Woolner, Introduction to Prākrit, § 70 and Pandit Rhishikesh Bhattacharjee, A Prākrit Grammar', p 25.

Sk. kētu-; Ka. kētu ; Mal. Kētu Tam. kētu ; Tel. kētuvu.

Sk. tējas-; Ka. tēja ; Mal. tējassŭ ; Tam. tēcu ; Tel. tējassu

Sk. dēvatā ; Ka. dēvate ; Mal. dēvata ; Tam tēvatai ; Tel. dēvata.

Sk. lēhya-; Ka. lēhya ; Mal. lēhyam ; Tam lēkiyam ; Tel. lēhyamu

Sk. sēnā ; Ka, sēne ; Mal. sēṅa ; Tam. cēnai ; Tel. sēna

MIDDLE INDIAN ē AND ō REPRESENTED AS ē AND ō IN THE DRAVIDIAN.

Pk. khēma-; Ka. kēma ; Mal. kēmam 'excellence, well being'

Pk. khēva-; Mal. kēvŭ 'crossing a ferry, freight' ; Tam. kēvu 'charge for transporting goods by sea'; Tul. kēvu 'boat hire'.

Pk. khēvaṇa-; Ka. kēvaṇa 'attaching to, fixing' Tam. kēvaṇam 'bed or socket for gem'.

Pk. vēasa-; Mal. vēya 'reed, rattan'.

Pk. sēṇi-'row' ; Ka. sēṇi ; Mal. ēṇi 'ladder' cf. Sgh. hini and Nep. sĕṛi 'ladder' ; Tam. ēṇi 'ladder'; Tul. yēṇi 'ladder'.

Pk. ōlagga-; Ka. ōlaga 'service, homage' ; Mal. ōlakkam 'retinue, splendour' ; Tam. ōlakkam 'assembly of State, audience' ; Tel. ōlagamu 'an assembly, the court held by a sovereign or prince' Tul. ōlaga 'a royal assembly'.

Pk. jōnaka-; Cf. jona—Ka. jōnega 'an Ionian, a Turk, an Arab' ; Mal. cōṉakan 'an Arab colonist'; Tam. cōnakan 'foreigner, especially Greek' ; Tul. jōnage 'a wicked person'.

Pk. dōṇī ; Ka. dōṇi ; Mal. tōṇi ; Tam. tōṇi ; Tul. dōṇi.

authors separated by great spaces may quote each other, and local recensions of texts may betray the influence of traditions from remote parts: libraries have produced similar effects. The indefinite lingaistic boundaries and the great amount of bi-lingualism, as also the frequency of conquests and settlements, have added to the complexity. Many of these causes were operant also in medieval Europe, but with far less mass and in a much smaller population.

The literature of India has also great intrinsic difficulty due to its scholarly or technical character or to stylistic ideals. This is, no doubt, partly an inevitable outcome of old civilization, which prefers suggestion to plain statement. But it is partly the effect of precise schemes of thought and intensely meditated expression. On a first reading few can grasp the full import, of a verse of Magha or a sentence of Kumārila, Śankara or the *Tattva Cintāmani*; and though such observations apply primarily to Sanskrit, we know that some other literatures, such as Tamil poetry, may be even more elaborate, and something of the same *śāstraic* and allusive quality penetrates even the more modern vernacular poetry.

These observations seem to point to two main characteristics of Indian culture. The Aryan expansion first in Hindustan and subsequently throughout the Dekhan, by way of Brahman settlements and adventurous conquests by scions of *Kshatriya* dynasties, led to the formation of widely scattered centres, each of which, partly through spontaneous modification of what its founders brought and partly through the influence of the local conditions developed a speciality of its own. In the end every state, city or shrine manifested some individuality in rite, usage or mentality. Nevertheless they were all linked by a common origin and tradition, and thus the Aryan world was, as it were, a firmament studded with innumerable luminaries of the same order, but each insisting upon shining to some extent with an individually tinted light. With the growth of communications cross

Pk. lōgiga-'worldly, usual'; Mal. lōkiyam 'politeness hospitality'; Tel. lōkikamu 'worldly wisdom';

NEW INDIAN ē ō AND REPRESENTED AS ē AND ō IN THE DRAVIDIAN

H. kacērī; Ka. Kacēri, kaccēri; Mal. kaccēri; Tam kaccēri; Tel. kacēri; Tul. kacēri.

M. dēvhārā 'ostentatious worship or piety'; Ka. dēvāra 'a temple'; Mal. 'tēvāram 'religious worship, daily religious ceremonies'; Tam. 'tēvāram 'worship'.

H. sēṭh; Mal. sēṭṭŭ; Tam. cēṭṭu.

H. sēr; Ka. sēru; Mal. sēru; Tam. cēru; Tel sēru.

M. sēvay; Mal. sēva 'vermicelli'; Tam. cēvai; Tel. sēve 'a kind of sweet meat'.

M. kacōrā; 'curcuma zedoaria or zerumbet' Ka. kacōra; Mal. kaccōram; Tam. kaccōram; Tel kacōramu.

H. M. kōrā; Ka. kōrā; Mal. kōrā; Tam. kōrā; Tel. kōrā; Tul. kōra.

H. gōlī; Ka. gōli; Mal. gōli; Tam. kōli; Tel. gōli; Tul. gōli.

H. gōsāī; Ka. gōsāyi; Mal. gōsāyi Tam. kōcāyi; Tel. gōsāya; Tul. gōsāyi.

MIDDLE INDIAN ए AND ओ REPRESENTED AS e AND o IN THE DRAVIDIAN.

Pk. ekka- < Sk. ēka-; Ka. ekka Cf. ekkasare 'going or running alone'.

Pk. khetta- < kṣētra-; Ta. kettu 'field'.

Pk. deṇṇa- < Sk. dainya-; Mal. deṇṇam 'illness'.

Pk. devva- < Sk. dēvya-; Ka. devva 'an evil spirit, a demon'.

Pk. lekkha- < Sk. lēkhya-; Ka. lekka 'reckoning, calculation, a number,; Mal. lekkam 'number, volume especially of journals Cf. Nep. lekkho 'number, account'; Tam. ilekkam; Tel, lekka; Tul. lekkha.

Pk. leppa.- < Sk. lēpya-; Mal. leppam 'a wax-like material used to stick glasses on to a frame'; Ka leppa 'plastering'.

Pk. vegga- < Sk. vēga-; Mal. vekkam 'quickly'.

Pk. vetta- < Sk. vētra-; Ka. betta 'cane, ratan'; Tell bettamu; Tul. betta.

Pa. Pk. seṭṭhi- < Sk. śrēṣṭhin-; Ka. seṭṭi 'a respectful compellation for a banker, merchant or tradesman and for certain men of the arts of industry; Mal. ceṭṭi 'one of the foreign merchant classes; Tam. ceṭṭi 'merchant'; Tel, seṭṭi 'a merchant'; Tul. seṭṭi 'a title of Jains, the headman of village'.

Pa. oṭṭhaka-Cf. oṭṭha- < Sk. auṣṭra-; Ka. oṭṭe; Mal. oṭṭakam; Tam. oṭṭakam.

Pk. koṭṭha- < Sk, kuṣṭha-'costus speciosus'; Mal, koṭṭam. Tam. Koṭṭam

Pk. koṭṭha- < Sk kōṣṭha-; Ka. koṭṭe 'stone of fruit'; Mal, koṭṭa 'kernal of fruit' Tam. koṭṭai.

Pk koṭṭhāra- < Sk. kōṣṭhāgāra-; Ka. koṭṭāri 'the officer in charge of a granary'; Mal. koṭṭāram 'palace'; Tam. Koṭṭāram 'granary'; Tel. koṭāramu 'a place to keep grain'; Tul. koṭṭāra 'a palace, mansion'.

Pk, koppara-Cf. M, kōprā 'a small iron cooking pot < Sk. karpara-'a cup pot, bowl'; Ka. koppara 'a metal boiler'; Mal. koppara 'a boiler, chiefly of copper'; Tam, koppara 'a boiler, chiefly of copper'; Tel koppera 'a metal cauldran, boiler';

Pk. koppara- < Sk. kūrpara-; Ka. koppara 'the shoulder blade'; Tam. kopparam; Tel. koparamu.

Pk. goṭṭha- *goṭṭhaka- < Sk. gōṣṭha-; Mal. koṭṭil 'cow house'; Tam. koṭṭakam, koṭṭakai, koṭṭam 'shed, cow-stall'; Tel. koṭṭamu.

Pk. goṭṭhī < Sk. gōṣṭhī; Tam. koṭṭi 'gathering, assembly'.

M. I. toppa-[1]; Mal. toppi 'cap'; Tam. toppi 'head-dress'; Tel. toppi; Tul. toppi.

M. I. rokka-[2]; Ka. rokka 'ready money, cash'; Mal. rokkam; Tam. rokkam; Tel. rokkamu; Tul. rokka.

Pk. vojjha- < Sk. *vōhya-; Ka. ojje 'weight, load';
Pk. sojjha- < Sk. śōdhya-; Ka. sojjige 'wheaten flour in fine granules'; Tel. sojje 'rice boiled after being roasted'.

30. Thus the distinction between short e and short o in the pronunciation of Middle Indian borrowings in the Dravidian languages will be seen to throw considerable light on the exact values of e and o inferred to have been pronounced short under conditions mentioned in paragraph 2 of this section.

SUMMARY.

To sum up, the following are the observations made in the article :-

1. The phonetic reason underlying the evolution of Sanskrit ē and ō < Aryan tauto-syllabic ay and av < Indo-European tauto-syllabic a̯i, e̯i, and o̯i and au̯, eu̯, and ou̯, respectively, is the influence exerted by the palatal y and the labial v coming after short *a* as a result of which Aryan ay and

1. R. L. Turner constructs * ṭoppa under Nep. ṭop in his Nepali Dictionary. The Dravidian forms presuppose M. I. * toppa- also.

2. Cf. * rokka- under Nep. rokar in Nepali Dictionary by R. L. Turner.

av become ey and ov, and then exhibit a further change to ē and ō through the elision of y and v, and the compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel by reason of the vowel and the semi-vowel in ey and ov being of the same place of articulation. As against this Sanskrit āi and āu < Aryan tauto-syllabic āy and āv < Indo-European tauto-syllabic ā̯i, ē̯i and ō̯i and āu̯, ēu̯ and ōu̯ respectively do not show the ē and ō change, because of the length of the vowel which resists the palatalisation or labialisation.

II. Sanskrit ē and ō manifesting in Sandhi when -ă̄ and ĭ-and-ā̆ and ŭ-are juxtaposed are the results of the influence of the closed nature of the following vowels ĭ and ŭ coupled with the influence of their palatal or labial character, the first to manifest being the former, as is evidenced by the preceding long vowels also being susceptible to the ē or ō change.

Sanskrit āi and āu in Sandhi when -ă̄ and ē- or āi-, and -ă̄ and ō- or āu- are juxtaposed are the results of the sounds ē, āi, ō and āu being considered as really ay, āy, av and āv respectively, and the subsequent contraction of -ă̄ and ă- of the first element of the combinations into ā with the addition of the semi-vowels. The resulting sounds being similar to the āi and āu < Aryan tauto-syllabic āy and āv do not show the ē and ō change.

III. āi and āu appearing as vṛddhi increments in the initial syllables of Sanskrit secondary derivatives may be due to the lengthening of *a* of the Aryan diphthongs ay and av the accented form of the root preserved in certain primary derivatives, the lengthening being perhaps based on the same principle governing the elongation of initial *a* of the substantives to form words of relation or connection traceable to the IndoEuropean. The type of primary derivatives bearing the accented form of the root may have influenced in the next stage primary derivatives showing ĭ and ŭ in the initial syllables having ablaut relation with ē and ō, and subsequently ĭ and ŭ forms devoid of any ablaut relation with

ē and ō. (Aryan ay and av.) Finally ē and ō and ī and ū of most of the substantives, no matter whether they were connected or not with the verbal roots, formed their secondary derivatives in imitation of the primary derivatives. The point of view of the Indian grammarians that ī and ū developed into āi and āu in secondary derivatives has the above anology at its back.

IV Sanskrit āi and āu weakened into ai and au, original falling diphthongs becoming level ones, in pronunciation.

V. Conclusive evidence as to the actual pronunciation of short e and o as such in the Middle Indian, hitherto inferred, is furnished by the Middle Indian borrowings in the Dravidian Languages which latter possess in their sound system both short as well as long e and o.

SECTION XIII.

MALAYALAM AND OTHER DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

RAO SAHIB, MAHAKAVI,
ULLUR S. PARAMESVARA AIYAR, M. A., B. L.

Introductory.

The main languages of South India are four, *viz.*, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese (Kannaḍa). Tamil of course possesses the earliest literature among these; but Telugu is spoken by the largest number of people. As per the Census returns of 1931, Telugu is the mother-tongue of 753, Tamil of 582, Kanarese of 320, and Malayāḷam of 261 persons out of 1,000 in India. Tamil is spoken also in the northern half of Ceylon. The northern frontier of the Dravidian languages, as described in the Linguistic Survey of India, may be taken "to begin at a point on the Arabian Sea about a hundred miles below Goa and to follow the Western Ghats to Kolhapur. It then runs north-east in an irregular line through the Nizam's Dominions, cuts off the southern border of Berar and continues eastward to the Bay of Bengal."[1] It may be roughly stated that the north-eastern portion of this area is the land of Telugu, north-west Kanarese, south-east Tamil and south-west Malayāḷam. The generic name under which these languages are known is Dravidian, which, originally coined by Dr. Caldwell, the pioneer of linguistic research in South India, has numerous claims to perpetuation. There is no doubt that the word Drāviḍa is the sanskritised form of Tamiḷ, the intermediary forms Dramiḷa, Dramiḍa and Draviḍa being commonly found in classical Sanskrit literature, and the early Pāli from

1. Linguistic Survey of India by Grierson and Sten Konow, Vol. IV, pp. 277–278.

Damiḷḷa in Mahāwamśo.[2] Besides the main languages, there are several Dravidian dialects, such as Gondi, Tulu, Kurukh, Kui and Brahui. Some of these are spoken in isolated tracts of North India by hill-tribes, while Brahui is the mother-tongue of a section of the population in Baluchistan in and about Kalat. The total number of people who speak Dravidian languages in India is about seventy-two millions

Dravidian and Munda Languages.

The first question that faces a student of Dravidian languages is what the exact nature of their relationship is with the Indo-European family of languages on the one hand, and with the Munda group of the Austric family on the other. So far as the Munda languages are concerned, the vast bulk of expert opinion inclines to the view that they were once spoken in the greater part of North India, and that they were later pushed into the hills by Dravidian-speaking people. There is no possibility of ascertaining whether those languages were ever spoken in any part of South India. If it is conceded that South India was at one time peopled by the Negritoid race, whose present representatives are tribes like the Kāḍars of Cochin and the Ūrāḷis of Travancore, and that they were later displaced by the Proto-Australoid race, with which the main hill-tribes of South India are connected it has also to be presumed that the latter, at any rate, if not the former also, might have spoken a language of the Munda type. Dr. J. H. Hutton, in his Report on the Census of India, 1931, significantly points out: "The linguistic survey unfortunately did not include Southern India in its scope and, there is, therefore, a crying need for an intensive study of the dialects spoken by

2. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages, third edition, pp. 8—10. There are other words which take 'r' after the initial consonant when the Dravidian form is sanskritised, *e. g.*, Kramuka from Kamuku' (areca-nut palm) A person named Kanha (Krishna) describes himself as Damila (a native of the Tamil country) in an early Pali Inscription of Andhradesa. Vide D. R. Bhandarkar's Ancient History of India, p. 38. Vide also Narasimhacharya's History of Kannada Language, pp. 3—4.

such tribes as the Kāḍar, Kuṟumans, Paḷḷiyans, Paṇiyans and Taṇḍa-Puḷayans, with the object of discovering whether or no any Munda may be found. If Munda languages extended to southern India, they must have left some traces in the speech of the pre-Dravidian inhabitants. If they did not, we need to know what was the pre-Dravidian language there." [3] This is, indeed, a duty which South India owes both to itself and to the world at large, and it seems desirable that the Government of Madras should take up the work at an early date, with the collaboration of the Governments of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin. It is doubtful whether any satisfactory result in the direction indicated by Dr. Hutton will be secured at this distance of time, because the speeches of all the hill-tribes have been dravidianised beyond recognition. There are as many as thirteen hill-tribes in Travancore : and all of them at the present day speak jargons in which Malayāḷam is found mingled with Tamil in varying proportions. Still, a systematic survey of the dialects of South Indian hill-tribes is bound to yield other linguistic results of far-reaching value.

Dravidian and Indo-European Languages.

As regards the connection between the Dravidian and the Indo-European family of languages, all the languages spoken not only in India, but even outside, are, according to orthodox Indian tradition, derived from Sanskrit. [4] At the same time, the indigenous grammarians could not be oblivious to the fact that while, in respect of vocabulary, some words could be traced to a Sanskrit origin, either directly or through one of the Prakrts, others could not be.

3. Report on the Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, p. 368.

4. Nagavarma, the Kannada grammarian (12th century), speaks of three and a half mother languages – Sanskrit, Prakrt, Apabhramsa and Paisacika, and of fifty-six daughter languages which arose from them including Tamil Telugu and Kannada. Ketana, the Telugu grammarian (13th century), says that Sanskrit is the mother of all languages. The anonymous Malayali grammarian who wrote Lilatilakam (14th century) also holds the view that Malayalam is derived from Sanskrit.

Although, therefore, they conceded that the latter class might, for all practical purposes, be treated as *Desya* (indigenous), they steadfastly clung to the view that those words must also have had their origin in Sanskrit, since Sanskrit, in their opinion, was the oldest language of the world.[5] They could not have been unaware of the marked differences in the names of objects in common use, pronouns, numerals, primitive verbs, affixes, outlines of sentence structure, sounds, etc., between the two sets of languages; but they were as much patriots as venerators of their own language, and one of their objects must have been linguistic synthesis, as that of Smrti-writers like Manu was racial synthesis, which prompted them to derive every caste and tribe found in India from Aryans as a result of either an *anuloma* or a *pratiloma* form of marriage. Their position when they say that the origin of many words could not be traced to a Sanskritic source, and that therefore they might be treated as *Desyas*, is understandable. Strong objection, for instance, is raised by the author of Līlātilakam to *Desya* words like வயறு (vayaru) and பாம்பு (pāmpu), meaning belly and snake respectively, being derived from the Sanskrit vair

5. Kumarilabhatta, in his Tantravartika (7th century), indicated that the South Indian languages were Mlecchabhasnas. (Vide Dr. Burnell's paper in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. I, p. 309.) Saradatanaya, the author of Bhava-prakasana (12th century), also held the same view. He writes:

"द्रमिडाः कन्नडान्ध्राश्च हूणहिम्मीरसिंहलाः ।
... ॥
एता भाषाश्च सर्वत्र म्लेच्छभाषेत्युदाहृताः ॥

Mlecchita, according to Sanskrit grammarians, primarily meant incorrect pronunciation. At the same time they were of the opinion that Mlecchabhashas were also of Sanskrit origin. Vide the Dhatupatha of Panini म्लेछ (१—१०) अव्यक्तशब्दे. Lilatilakam says:

इह तावत्संस्कृतननादि; अन्यदादिमत्; तस्य संस्कृतात् प्रभवः स्यात्; तत्र प्रकृतिरूपेण स्थितं संस्कृतं क्वचिदूहनिषयो भवति; क्वचिदत्यन्ततिरोभावादूहो न शक्यते; तत्र रूढत्वमुच्यते; अन्यत्र संस्कृतभवत्वम् ॥" Lilatilakam—1105 edition, p.12.

Andhrabhashachintamani speaks of four classes of words in Telugu as tatsama, tatsama, desya and gramya, thereby admitting the existence of a number of indigenous words.

(enemy) and pāpa [6] (sin). Their mistake lay in trying to derive as many Dravidian words as possible from Sanskrit, forgetting that some of them, at any rate, could well have been borrowed by Sanskrit from Dravidian, and that the Prākrit languages were bridges capable of lending words not only from one bank to the other but also *vice versa*. [7]

6. Long before the attention of scholars was drawn by Dr. Burnell to the passage in the Tantravartika of Kumārilabhatta suggesting that these and similar words should not be treated as Sanskrit, Lilatilakam refers to them without acknowledging the source. Lilatilakam p. 14 :

"ननु सर्वासामपि भाषाणां प्रकृतिरुह्या । यथा "वयर्" इत्यस्य वैरी इति प्रकृतिः । उदरं हि शत्रुः । उदरगतक्षुद्बाधात्खलु परद्रव्यमोषणं क्रियते । तेन वधबन्धादिप्राप्तिः । ततश्चाभूदुदरम् । "पाम्पि" त्यस्य पापः प्रकृतिः । सर्पो दंशेन प्राणिनो हन्ति स कथं न पापः ? । "चोर" इत्यस्य चोरः प्रकृतिः । चोर्यत इति चोरः कर्मसाधनः प्रत्ययः इत्यादि । अत्रोच्यते । यद्येवं जिह्वापि 'वयरि'त्युच्येत । सापि परुषभाषणाज्जनविद्वेषादनेन वैरी स्यात् । तथा हस्तादिकमपि परद्रव्यापहारादिना आत्मनः शत्रुर्भवेत् । कथमुदरं बन्धुर्न भवति ? । शरीरस्थित्यर्थान्नपानाद्याधारतया शरीररक्षकत्वात् । अथ तादृशं बन्धुत्वं न विवक्षितम् । किन्तु शत्रुत्वमेव । जिह्वादीनामपि न तद्विधं शत्रुत्वमास्थितम् । न च तत्र 'वयरि'ति व्यवहारः, व्यवहारानुसारेणेदं प्रकृतिनिरूपणं इति । भोः, कथं तत्र जिह्वादौ 'वयरि'ति व्यवहाराभावः ? शत्रुत्वविपक्षाभावादिति चेत् नाङ् इति व्यवहारस्य किं निमित्तं, बन्धुत्वं, तादृस्थ्यं वा अन्यदेव वा ? । अथान्यदेवात्र निमित्तम् । नृकस्येदं हि नार्कम् । स्वार्थे कः । तस्यापभ्रंशो नाकिति । तर्हि उदरमपि नाकिति भाष्येत, पुरुषसम्बन्धित्वादिशेषात् । तत्र तन्नृकसम्बन्धित्वं न विवक्षितं इति चेत् किं निमित्तमिति पृच्छामः । स्वेच्छेति चेत् सदापि बन्धुत्वमनपेक्ष्य शत्रुत्वविवक्षायामपि स्वेच्छैव हेतुरिति सैवात्र प्रमविष्यति । सा पुनर्निमित्तसत्तासत्तानिरपेक्षाव्यवहारं वर्तयतीति तथा व्यवहारो रूढ्येति सेत्स्यति । ಎಂದು, ಒಂದು, ಎಂಬ ಇತ्यादीनां केवं प्रकृतिः कथ्येत ? । ननु यद्येवं 'तेवर वर्कोदवोऽपि कथं रूढा न स्युः । उच्यते । तत्र तदर्थे देवरवर्गीतिशब्दाः प्रकृतयो रूढाः । अत्र तु 'वयर्' (ವಯರ್) पाम्पु (ಪಾಮ್ಪು) चोर् (ಚೋರ್) इत्यादीनां समानार्थतया वैरिपापचोरादयशब्दा न प्रसिद्धाः । अतस्तेवरादयशब्दाः संस्कृतभाषाभवाः । वयरादयस्तु रूढाः कथ्यन्ते ॥"

The labours of scholars like Kittel and Caldwell deserve special mention in this connection. Lilatilakam curiously derives kamuka from kramuka (areca-nut) kāṭa from kāṭika (forest) and kutira from kudura (horse), words of which even Sanskrit lexicons do not take note.

connections and influences came to pass, and the whole fabric was in a state of internal vibration, while shocks from out side and the general march of time kept it in motion as a whole. Thus we may contemplate the civilization of India as a huge moving mass of thought and usage, intensely concentrated upon a great number of differentiated nuclei but enmeshed with nerve-threads linking them in manifold and partly capricious complexity with one another. It is needless to remark that not by any means always are the nuclei of a local character.

Secondly we must, I think, admit after all that Indian man, partly by reason of the antiquity and partly in consonance with the complexity of his social conditions, as well as through deliberate cultivation of reflection, has been more of a thinker than are other men. Even for the head of a department of state in the old days we have such terms as *dharma*, *cintaka* etc. We are not stating this by way of encomium, since much depends upon the subjects of our thinking and from our present point of view spontaneity, common-sense, and reflection are just alternative modes of response to a situation and each of them may have its drawbacks and may be either rewarded by providence or foiled. But it makes a difference to our interpretation of historical processes, whether we conceive the living agents in them as actuated by motives consciously entertained or by more instinctive impulses.

We must not be surprised should we find, and it is to be hoped that, if we find, we shall realise, that this vast and ancient and complex culture of India, cannot be duly expounded without an amplification of the principles of our science itself : just as a really critical edition of an old Indian text cannot be achieved merely by following the Canons of Porson, without regard to the innumerable cross-currents or influence, the effects of commentary and quotation, the dogmatism of stylistic theories, the wilful intermixtures of conventional and fabricated etymological senses and the intrusions of motivated alterations.

Some modern authors on this problem

Some modern authors, such as the late Mr. R. Svāminātha Aiyar of Madras and Dr. Chilakkuri Nārāyaṇa Rao of the Andhra University, have been at great pains to support the orthodox theory. Svāminātha Aiyar in his valuable paper on the "Aryan Affinities of Dravidian Pronouns," read before the third session of this Conference held in Madras, expressed his opinion that the Dravidians must have separated from the main body of the Indo-Aryans in the north-west in pre-historic times, that the Dravidian civilization of the south is merely the civilization of this Aryan and Aryanised immigrants, and that what are called Dravidian characteristics in Indo-Aryan phonology and inflectional system are really Indo-Aryan characteristics in Dravidian. Dr. Nārāyaṇa Rao, in his monumental work on the History of the Telugu Language, holds the view that Telugu is one of the descendants of a main Aryan dialect[8]. No Tamil Pandit of note, as far as I am aware, has supported this position, and I do not know whether any modern Kannada scholars have done so. Mr. L. A. Ravi Varma of Travancore, in his work on the relationship between Aryan and Dravidian languages, has selected about seven hundred Malayāḷam words and tried to

7. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar points out that a Kanarese word 'Machi' meaning a grass-hopper, has found its way into the Chandogyopanishat (vide his lectures on the Ancient History of India, p. 26). "No reasonable doubt" he says "can be entertained as to the Dravidian speech once being spoken in North India." *Ibid.* p. 28. T. R. Seshs Aiyangar, in his Dravidian India, maintains that much that is not found in Latin and Greek but peculiar to Sanskrit alone is due to the contact of the Aryans with the Dravidians. p. 7. Prof. Rhys-Davids holds the view that Vedic Sanskrit is largely mixed up with primitive Dravidian. Buddhist India, p. 156. Dr. Sten Konow, the author of the portion of Dravidian Languages in the "Linguistic Survey of India," is of the same opinion.

8. The authors of A History of Telugu Literature (Heritage of India Series) say that an analysis of Telugu as it has been for centuries confirms the traditional view, p. 16.

trace them to Sanskrit sources[9]. The efforts put forth by these and other scholars, however laudable they may be, have not so far been successful in controverting the commonly accepted opinion that the Dravidian family is independent of the Indo-Aryan. Not unoften does one come across, in some of their writings, an attempt to assume or prove too much. I readily admit that the Prakrtic influence in Telugu is considerably greater than in other South Indian languages, but I must also assert, at the same time, that Telugu for that reason does not cease to be Dravidian. The facts remain that there are numerous fundamental differences between the languages spoken in South India and those of genuine Indo-European origin in North India, and that there are a few languages such as Kurukh, Malto, Kui and Brahui in North India, which have considerably greater affinity to the former than to the latter; and these facts call for satisfactory explanation before any theory relating to the grouping of the Dravidian with the Indo-European languages is offered for general assent. The following special features of Dravidian languages pointed out by Dr. Caldwell should not be forgotten in this connection. All forms denoting inanimate substances and irrational beings are generally of the neuter gender. Nouns are inflected, not by means of case terminations, but by means of suffixed postpositions and separable particles. Neuter nouns are rarely pluralised. Adjectives are incapable of declension. Relative participles are used as adjectives wherever possible. There is no passive voice. Continuative participles are used in preference to conjunctions. The governing word is placed after the word governed, with the result that the nominative always occupies the first place and the finite verb the last in a sentence. How these and other peculiarities of the Dravidian languages can be reconciled with the theory of their

9. Āryadrāvidabhāshākalute Parasparasambandham (ആര്യദ്രാവിഡഭാഷകളുടെ പരസ്പരസംബന്ധം) published by the Malayalam Improvement Committee, Cochin (1932).

Aryan origin is obviously an insoluble problem.[10] At this juncture the publication by Sir Denys Bray of Parts II and III of his work on the Brahui language in one volume has been most opportune. Sir Denys has therein conclusively shown that Brahui belongs to the Dravidian family, that its grammatical system is identical with that of the latter, the second person singular and plural being such well-known words as *Nī* (நீ) and *Num* (நும்) and the reflexive pronoun *Tān* (தான்), that its vocabulary is Dravidian to the core as regards fundamental and elementary concepts of life although aggressive neighbouring languages have made their influence felt in other directions, and that among the Dravidian languages it stands nearest to Kanarese and Tulu.[11]

Dravidian and the Indus Valley Civilization.

The discovery of the submerged Indus Valley Civilization at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa by the Archæological Department of India has been of some help towards the solution of this problem. Sir John Marshall, who ascribes this civilization to the fourth millenium before Christ, is of the emphatic view that it is pre-Aryan. The late Professor Langdon has observed that in his belief the early syllabic alphabet of Northern India, known as the Brahmi script, is most probably a survival of the early pictographic system of the Indus Valley, but that from that circumstance it need not be inferred that the language of the seals is Indo-Aryan.[12] Rev. Fr. Heras, after a careful study of 1800 inscriptions of the Indus Valley, says: "The language used in these inscriptions most certainly belongs to the family of Dravidian languages spoken in India at present and may finally be acknowledged as the parent of all these languages. This evidently opens an extraordinarily vast field, totally new

10. Vide the observations made in Narasimhacharya's History of Kannada language, pp. 20–21.

11. Brahui Language, Parts II and III, pp. 15–17.

12 Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization, Vol. II, p. 427.

indeed for philological studies in Dravidian languages."[13] This is possibly a correct view: but one cannot be dogmatic on such problems.

Dravidian Migration.

There are two theories as regards the origin of the Dravidian languages in India. One is that it was introduced by a Mediterranean race from the Persian Gulf, which mingled with the earlier inhabitants and absorbed later immigrants such as the Armenoid branch of the Alpine race, that it is the civilization which was developed in India by this race that has been brought to light in the Indus Valley, that this civilization and that of the Indo-Aryans who entered in the second millennium before Christ mingled in the Gangetic Valley (Madhyadeśa) and that the movement of the Dravidian languages in India was thus from north to south.[14] The other is that this movement was from south to north and thence to west. Fr. Heras says: "It is easy to realise that the wave of migration of the Mediterranean race which was supposed to have been from West to East, must now be settled as having finally taken place from East to West. The migration of the Mediterranean race commenced from India and extended through Southern Mesopotamia and North Africa, spreading through Crete, Cyprus, Greece, Italy and Spain and crossing the Pyranees reached Central Europe and the British Isles"[15]. If this view is accepted, it may perhaps be asked why it should not be presumed that the Proto-Dravidian language did not itself originate in South India and Ceylon, especially in view of the fact that

13 Journal of Indian History, Vol. XIV, p. 11.

14 Hutton's Report on the Census of India, Vol. I, p. 460.

15 Journal of Indian History, Vol. XIV, p. 11. For a contrary view Vide Dr. Lakshman Sarup's Paper on "The Rgveda and Mohenjo-Daro" in the Indian Culture, Vol. IV., pp. 151-152 and 169. His point is that Sir John Marshall's opinion is not supported by anthropology and that the Rgveda is older than the Indus Valley civilization, as the latter reveals a knowledge of the art of writing.

no Munda element is discoverable in the present Dravidian languages. Such traces of the Munda group as are left behind in the Chota Nagpur plateau, etc., may be ascribed to the wave of Indonesian migration that passed through India on its way to Madagascar. The subject can be investigated in detail only after the Indus Valley script fully reveals its secrets. On the whole, in the extremely limited state of our present knowledge, it is perhaps safe to accept the opinion of Sten Know that with regard to the Dravidian languages the attempt to connect other linguistic families outside India is now generally recognised as a failure and that we must still consider them as an isolated family [16]

Proto-Dravidian

One item of work which awaits the patient labour of scholars is the reconstruction of the parent, or proto-Dravidian tongue, after a comparative study of the South Indian languages. Much spade-work in this direction has been done by savants like Brown for Telugu, Caldwell for Tamil, Gundert for Malayāḷam and Kittel for Kannada, and what is now needed is to utilise the results of all the available research on the subject and discover the primitive Dravidian vocabulary. The Oriental Research Institute attached to the Madras University possesses every facility for taking up this task, as research is carried on in all the four main languages in that institution and as all that is required is organised, intensive, co-operative effort. It is hoped that something along this line will be accomplished by the University, helped, if necessary, by the Andhra and Annamalai Universities, as well as by the Universities of Mysoré and Travancore. One important line of enquiry has already been suggested by Mr. K. Rāmakrishnayya, Senior Lecturer in Telugu there, when he says that if we remember the principle of root-agglutination which has been at work in Dravidian languages, and trace the various forms of inflection to their original

16 Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IV, p. 282.

sources in independent roots of words, one can reach the common primitive Dravidian form which was made up of mere roots.[17]

Sanskrit and South Indian Languages.

It is doubtful whether classical Sanskrit, after it was standardised by Pāṇini, was ever spoken except by the learned among the Indo-Aryans [18]. Concerning the origin of Prākṛt, Dr. A. C. Woolner observes: "If in Sanskrit we include the vedic language and all dialects of the old Indo-Aryan period then it is time to say that all the Prakṛts are derived from Sanskrit. If, on the other hand, Sanskrit is used more strictly of the Pāṇini-Patanjali language or classical Sanskrit, then it is untrue to say that any Prākrt is derived from Sanskrit, except that Sauraseni, the Midland Prākṛt, is derived from the old Indo-Aryan dialect of Madhyadeśa on which classical Sanskrit was mainly based."[19] Evidence is not wanting to prove that even after the Dravidian ceased to be a spoken language in Āryāvarta, it continued to flourish in Mahārāshṭra and Gurjara (Gujarat), but those countries were also invaded by Prākṛt in course of time. The case, however, proved different as regards the rest of South India, where the influence of Sanskrit was just enough to enrich, but not sufficient to extirpate the spoken languages. The Aryans never moved with any political mission to the Dekhan; theirs was mainly a cultural penetration, a *dharmavijaya* [20]. They freely mingled with the Dravidians, studied their languages and helped their development

17 Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume, p. 320. Vide also his Studies in Dravidian Philology, p. 130.

18. Keith's Classical Sanskrit Literature, Heritage of India Series, p. 12.

19. Introduction to Prakrt, pp. 3—4. Vide also Beames's Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, pp. 4—6.

20. "Rishies," says Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, "took a most prominent, but unobtrusive, part in the Aryan colonisation and the diffusion of Aryan culture." Ancient History of India, pp. 18—19. Agastya was the first Tamil grammarian, and Kanva the first Telugu grammarian, although the latter is little more than a name in the literary history of that language. By the time of Katyāyana (4th century B. C.) there is no doubt that the Aryans had established themselves over the whole of South India.

in a variety of ways. The Buddhists and the Jains who settled down in South India rendered yeoman service to the cause of Tamil and Kannada.

Kannada and Telugu

The original Dravidian, in course of time, divided itself into two branches—the northern and the southern—some centuries prior to the Christian era, perhaps even before the migration of the Aryans to the south in appreciable numbers. Their separation was mainly due to geographical reasons the dividing line beginning from the base of the Western Ghats, a little to the north of Mangalore on the West Coast and passing through Coimbatore to a little north of Madras on the East Coast.[21] That this was a recognised fact in the first century B. C. will be evident from the mention of Venkaṭam (Tiruppati) Hill, as the northern limit of the country where Tamil was spoken, in the preface to Tolkāppiyam, the earliest extant Tamil grammar, written by Panampāraṇar, who and the author of that grammar were the disciples of Agastya according to tradition. The north-eastern dialect Kannaḍa developed into Telugu, which the Tamilians named Vaṭuku (the northern language). The Telugu country, not to speak of its proximity to Āryāvarta, came in the 2nd century A. C. under the influence of a Buddhistic, Prakrt-speaking line of kings, and hence became more subject to Sanskritic influence than Kannaḍa, so much so that it differed more from Kannaḍa than even Kannaḍa from Tamil, preserving at the same time several old Dravidian forms which made it look even like an earlier off-shoot of Dravidian than Kannaḍa. Kumārilabhatta's mention of the generic name Āndhradrāviḍabhāshā, apparently omitting Kannaḍa and tacking it on to Tamil may be due to those circumstances There was, however, no literature in either of these languages until Nṛpatunga (814-877 A. C.) wrote his Kavirājamārga in Kannaḍa, and Nannayya, under

21. Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. 1., p. 253.

the patronage of Rāja Rāja Narendra (1022-1063 A. C.), wrote his Mahābhārata (the first two parvas and a portion of the third) in Telugu. There are, of course, inscriptions belonging to the 5th century and even earlier in Kannaḍa. Telugu also has lithic records of the 8th century. Telugu scholars before the 11th century proceeded to the Canarese country and wrote in Kannaḍa [22]. The authors of 'A History of Telugu Literature' are of the view that there must have been a form of indigenous literature known as *Dēśi*, independent of Sanskrit, prior to the days of Nannayya, that it must have had affinity with Tamil and been rural in type, and that it was suppressed by the new form of Mārgi literature, which came into existence through the efforts of Sanskrit scholars who wrote in Telugu [23]. In the latter half of the 13th century Ketana wrote Āndhrabhāshābhūshaṇa, the first admittedly genuine work on Telugu Grammar.[24] The earliest extant trace of Kannaḍa is found in a Greek papyrus of the 2nd century A. D. discovered in Egypt.[25] Neither Kannaḍa nor Telugu had any lexicon of its own in the early days.[26] Since the production of creative literature always precedes the composition of works on grammar, prosody and poetics, Kannaḍa must have developed some form of literature prior to Kavirājamārga. There was comparatively little opposition to the sanskritisation of Telugu when Nannayya wrote his

22. For further evidence on this subject, vide History of Kannada Language, p. 46. Even Srinatha (15th century) said that he was composing his work in Kannada, while, as a matter of fact he was composing it in Telugu.

23. A History of Telugu Literature, pp. 38–39.

24. According to orthodox tradition, Nannayya's Andhrabhashachintamani is the first grammatical work; but some scholars hold that that work was not composed by Nannayya.

25. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1904, p. 399, *et seq.*

26. This fact is specifically referred to in Lilatilakam:

"न खलु कर्णाटभाषा तत्राभिधानादिग्रन्थे निर्णीयते; आन्ध्रादिभाषा विनिश्चयेन," p. 15.

Bhārata. Nāgavarma, the Jain Kannada author of Dharmāmṛta (1112), compared the mixture of Sanskrit and Kannada to that of ghee and oil, but the penetration of Sanskrit was persistent all the same and Kannada had to yield to its superior strength. As we go farther back—to the early period of Kannada literature—we find the grammatical forms more and more approaching Tamil.[27]

Tamil.

Fortunately for Tamil, that language was not only spoken in an area far away from Āryavārta; but it also developed a literature of its own even in the first century before the Christian era, if not earlier, which, though not quite independent of Sanskrit, was in no way slavishly subject to it. Tolkāppiyam presupposes a host of earlier writers some of whom were grammarians.[28] No doubt the influence of Sanskrit is clearly visible in Tolkāppiyam itself, and Panampāraṇar was right when he said that the latter was greatly indebted to the Aindra school of grammarians.[29] As Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri has pointed out: Tolkāppiyar adapted not only the Sanskrit grammatical erms and the arrangement, but also many of

27. History of the Kannada Language, p. 131.

28. Tolkappiyam, I. 6, etc. The author uses the words 'enpa' and 'mollpa' and it is clear that the persons referred to in such expressions are older grammarians.

29. 'Aindiramainta Tolkappiyan', Dr. Keithora and Dr. Belvalkar (vide his Systems of Sanskrit Grammar, p. 13) are of the view that the Aindra School is post-Paninlya in date and pre-Paninlya in substance. That is a sound view, but it is difficult to accept the opinion that the Katantra of Sarvavarman, who wrote that work in the 1st century A. C. in the court of Satavahana, for the benefit of that king, was the earliest work on the Aindra system of grammar. There must have been earlier works of that school in the days of Tolkāppiyar who studied them. Indra-gomin is believed by the Nepalese Buddhists to have written a grammar and the Tibetan tradition is that Sarvavarman used that grammar. Vide Keith's History Sanskrit literature p. 431. The school was obviously founded upon the Prātiśākhyas and the Nirukta.

the Sanskrit grammatical theories."[30] He "clearly realised that Tamil was not related to Sanskrit either morphologically or genealogically and deftly exploited the ideas contained in the earlier grammatical literature in Sanskrit, particularly in those works which dealt with Vedic etymology, without doing the least violence to genius of the Tamil language."[31] Just as the Aryans in the north developed classical Sanskrit, the Dravidians in the south developed Centamil as a literary language. Three literary academies known as Sanghams are believed to have been established in the country of the Pāṇḍyas. Whatever may be said of the historicity of the first and second Sanghams, there is no denying the fact that there were several Tamil writers before the third Sangham and that that Sangham (Kaḍaiccaṅkam) itself flourished in Madura at the commencement of the Christian Era, the members of which composed some of the earliest extant Tamil works—Paṭṭuppāṭṭu, Ettuttokai and Patiṉeṇkilkaṇakku.

Koṭumtamiḻ.

Tamil was the language of the Mūvaraśars or the three kings of the Tamilnād—the Cēra, the Pāṇḍya and the Cola, and as already stated the area in which it prevailed extended from Tiruppati in the north to Cape Comorin in the south, and from the Bay of Bengal in the east to the Arabian Sea in the west [32]. The Ceras ruled over the area bordering the Arabian Sea, with their capital at Tiruvaṇcikkuḷam, near Cranganore, the Muziris of Periplus. While Centamil was fully developed in Madura and to some extent in the territory ruled by the Pāṇḍyas, Koṭumtamil (a crude form of Tamil), the original spoken Tamil from which the literary language was evolved by poets and grammarians, prevailed in the other portions of Tamilnād. The territory of

30. History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil. p. 4.

31. *Ibid*, p. 231.

32. Cilappatikāram mentions the same limits, p. 194 (Swaminatha Aiyar's edition.)

Let me conclude by returning for a moment to the point from which I started, namely the State of Travancore, where we are met. Stretched along the Indian Ocean, it rises by successive strips of intense cultivation up to the heights of the Cardamom range, covered with impenetrable forest, which is only gradually being invaded by the tea plantations. In the forest dwell wild tribes imperfectly known, but of Dravidian speech differing from that of the main population which latter in respect of widespread education, both of men and women, surpasses perhaps every other State in India. The dominant culture from the earliest ascertainable times has been Brahmanic; and the Malayàlam written language is perhaps more compact with Sanskrit vocabulary than any other of the vernaculars. The social system, however, has been predominantly non-Aryan. After the earliest Hinduism or Vedic Aryanism, there came a period when Buddhism was strong in the land, as is evidenced by the designation *Sàsta*, originally applied to Buddha, but now to the deity. Christianity has a numerous following, attached to at least five different communities of widely different antiquity. There is a considerable Musalman population which has played a significant part in the history of Kerala. There is an old indigenous style of temple architecture, while the modern temples are of the form usual in South India. In the extreme south are forts of Dutch construction. Early cave temples have in recent years been discovered, and also wall paintings. Abundant rarities in several departments of Sanskrit literature have rewarded the search for old Manuscripts, and the ancient Hindu arts of dance, gesture and drama have been preserved in more variety than is the case with any other part of India. So complex are the cultural conditions in the State, noted for the number of its speakers of English, which the modern administration has endeavoured to equip with every device of twentieth century progress and efficiency.

the Colas came under the influence of Centamil soon after, but that of the Ceras tarried behind. Some Tamil scholars[33] are of the opinion that, of the twelve Nāḍus (countries) referred to by Sēnāvaraiyar, the commentator of Tolkāppiyam, as countries where Koṭuntamil was spoken, four, namely, Pūlināḍu, Kuḍanāḍu, Kuṭṭanāḍu, and Olināḍu (Vēṇāḍu) formed the Cera kingdom. Although at this distance of time it is almost impossible to say what *nāḍus* were comprised in that kingdom, there is no doubt that Koṭuntamil was spoken therein.

Ceras and Centamil.

The early Cera rulers, although they lived far away from Madura, were as eager to develop Centamiḻ as the Pāṇḍyas themselves. The Colas entered the field only later. Not only did the Ceras honour with substantial rewards several poets of the Sangham age like Kumaṭṭūr Kaṇṇanār, Pālai Gautamanār, Kappiyāṭṭu Kappiyanar, Paraṇar, Kākkaippāṭiniyār Naccelḷaiyār, Kapilar, Arasilkiḻar and Perumkuntūrkiḻar, who composed respectively the second to the eighth decades of Patiṭṭuppattu, but were great poets and composers themselves. Iḷankō-Aḍikaḷ, the younger brother of Ceran Cenkuṭṭuvan (2nd century A. C.), was the author of Cilappatikāram, the greatest among the epic poems written in Tamiḻ in ancient times. Palai-Pāṭiya-Perumkaḍumkō was another Cera prince who, as his very name proclaims, has left an imperishable record as a Tamiḻ poet. Even in the period from the 8th to the 11th century of the Christian era, there flourished great poets among them, *e. g.*, Ayyanaritanār, author of Puṟapporuḷveṇpāmālai, the Saiva saint Ceramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār, the Vaishnava saint Kulaśēkhara Āzhvār, and Vēṇaṭṭaḍikaḷ, the author of Tiruviśaippā. So late as the 13th century, Vanci Mārtāṇḍa Varmā, a ruler of Travancore, composed two Tamiḻ songs in praise of Piḷḷaipperumāḷ, son of Caḍaiyappan, the patron

33 Srinivasakam Pillai's Tamil Varalaru, pp. 2—3.

of Kampar, and they are found inscribed at Mūvalūr in the Tanjore District.[34] Ainkuṟunūṟu, a Sangham collection, was redacted at the instance of an old Cera ruler Yānaikkaṭṭei-Māntaram - Ceral - Irumporai.[35] More instances may be cited.[36] The poets, however, who were rewarded by the Ceras appear to have been mostly natives of the Pāṇḍya country, and it is doubtful whether there were any of their own subjects among them. The Nampūtiris were some of the earliest immigrants to South India, as evidenced by their preservation of many a Vedic custom not now observed in other parts of India. They wear only one sacred thread even after marriage, allow post-puberty marriage, and perform Śrāddha on the Nakshatra, and not on the Tithi, day [37]. There are no records to show that they enriched Tamiḷ literature by their contributions. They were good Vaidikas and Mīmāmsakas. It is somewhat curious that, among the Brahmins who came to South India, very few wrote works even in Sanskrit until the 6th century of the Christian Era. Kātyāyana,[38] the grammarian Baudhāyana, the Smṛti writer, and possibly Āpastamba also were South Indians, but we do not know to which part of South India they exactly belonged. If there had been a Court in Kēraḷa like that of Śātavāhana at Praṭishṭhāna which encouraged poets like Guṇāḍhya and grammarians like Śaravarman, the Nampūtiris might have written in that language, but there was no such Court. Prabhākāra is the first star that becomes noticeable on the Kerala horizon and Sankara the second, and these great Malayāḷis lived in the

34 Sentamil, Vol. IV, pp. 251—252 and the Madras Archaeologist's Report for 1924—25, pp. 94—95.

35 Ceras of the Sangham Period, by K. G. Sesha Aiyar, p. 62

36 For more names, vide T. Lakshmanan Pillai's paper "Are Malayalis Tamilians?" in the Kerala Society Papers, Vol. II, pp. 10—11.

37 J. R. A. S. for 1910, 625—39, Vide P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar's History of the Tamils, pp. 55—56.

38 "Priyataddhitā Dakshiṇātyāh", says Patañjali in referring to Katyayana. Mahabhashya Bombay Edition), Vol. I, p. 23.

7th and 8th centuries of the Christian Era respectively. On the whole, it may be presumed that the Nampūtiris led too exclusive a life in the early days to become proficient in Centamiḻ.

Origin of Malayalam.

Although there was constant cultural touch between the Ceras and the Pāṇḍyas, the separation of the two kingdoms by the Western Ghats making inter-communication difficult, and the growth of different social and political institutions in course of time [39] facilitated the formation of a separate dialect in Kerala, known as Malaināṭṭu Tamiḻ which was a somewhat developed form of Koṭumtamiḻ. It retained several words and grammatical usages which must have been current in the parent Tamiḻ, but given up by Centamiḻ. Such words as kāvu (a shady spot), paṭukālai (calamity), tunnalkāran (tailor), piṭikai (shop), aṅkāṭi (bazaar) poti (bag), ekkal (alluvial deposit), and aṭaikkā (arecanut) are found used in Cilappatikāram and Maṇimekhalai, which must have been partly written and was in any case certainly first published at Tiruvaṉcikkuḷam. When Aḍiyārkkunallār comments on the word puṭaittal (புடைத்தல் covering with cloth) occurring in Cilappatikāram, he says that it means pōrtal (போர்த்தல்) and that it is a Malaināṭṭu vaḻakku (Kerala idiom).[40] Similarly, in respect of pani (fever)[41] and cirumiyarkaḷ (young girls), early commentators say that they are the usages of Malaināḍu. There are also other citations by Naccinārkkainiyar in his commentary on Puṟanāṉūṟu. But there is no necessity to multiply instances. Words like aḻiyan (brother-in-law), illam (house), kaḍavu (bathing-ghat), kuppāyam (coat), chital (white ant), pāyal (moss), pūcai (cat), vaṯhipāṭu (offering to a deity) and

39 Logan's Malabar Manual, p. 90.

40 Cilappatikaram, p. 126.

41 "Pani enpator noymunṭu (பனிஎன்பதுநோய்முன்டு); Atu Malainattu vazhakku (அது மலைநாட்டுவழக்கு)."

vāḻmai (birth-pollution), which are in popular use in Malayāḷam even to-day, but which have to be understood from dictionaries in Tamiḷ, are found in Sangham works. The Tamiḷ poet Paraṇar uses 'mati' in the sense of 'enough', a word still retained in Malayāḷam but uncurrent in Tamiḷ. From the earliest days Malayāḷam had no verbal inflections to distinguish gender and number, although that rule was not strictly followed in literary works.[42] It is also generally accepted that Tamiḷ words which now end in *oi* must have once ended in *a* as they do in Malayāḷam, and that in these cases, therefore, Malayāḷam (as also Telugu) preserves the earlier form.[43] Mr. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai says that in the Sangham literature 'untu' was used as the form of the present tense, and that this form survives as 'Unnu' in Malayāḷam, but has become changed into 'iṇṭatu' in Tamiḷ.[44] Although 'iṇṭu' is the form found in early Malayāḷam works, it is likely that 'untu' might also have been used in the spoken language, as the form 'uttu' is found in Kannaḍa, and 'u:tu' in Telugu.[45] The gerundial infinitive form (Varuvāṉ, etc.) is freely used in Malayāḷam but has disappeared from popular speech in Tamiḷ.[46]

42 Lilatilakkam, p. 20, says "क्रियायां कालत्रये प्रायोगदितम्" from which it will be seen that only an option was allowed to writers by grammarians in this matter.

43 Caldwell's Comparative Grammar, p. 158. Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri does not agree. Vide his History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil p. 42.

44 K. N. Sivaraja Pillai's 'Puranaanuttin Palamai' pp. 33—36. Mr. Venkatavamanujalu Naidu differs. Vide his Parnenar, pp. 197 and 204.

45 Forms 'ite' and 'nte' are both found used as possessive case inflection in Lilatilakam.

46 Sten Konow, in the Linguistic Survey of India, observes: "Old Malayalam has been much influenced by Tamil" Vol. IV, p. 284 Mr. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar in his Tamil Studies says: "All these (Sangham works written in Kerala) teem with Malabarisms or usages peculiar to Malayalam, but which are considered as slang or provincialisms in pure Tamil." p. 342. Tamil writers like Bhupala Pillai are of the same opinion. Vide his Tamil Varalaru, p. 44. Vide also Puranaanuttin Palamai, pp. 7—8.

Evidence from Malayalam Inscriptions.—

The Malayāḷis composed folk-songs in Malaināṭṭu Tamil to convey prayers to gods, praise to heroes, etc.; but very few of them have come down to us. Līlātilakam classifies them under the head pāṭṭu (song) in which, according to the rules of poetics, the metre employed should be Dravidian, the Tamil alphabet alone should be employed, and rules relating to rhyme (etukai and mōnai) should be strictly observed [47]. Rāmacaritam, the earliest extant work of this type, but obviously the latest in point of time, which cannot be ascribed to a date earlier than the 13th century, follows every one of these rules most scrupulously. The Nampūtiri Brahmans could not remain contented with the limited scope afforded by this form of composition to the expression of their literary talents. They accordingly wrote poems in Sanskrit metres and introduced a large number of Sanskrit words in them. These works were written for the delectation of the upper classes and were known as 'Tamil' in deference to old tradition. Līlātilakam mentions that some old works like Abhimanyuvadham were written in this manner, but they have also been lost irrecoverably. Then came the introduction of the Maṇipravāḷam style. The word Maṇipravāḷam, I take it, is derived from 'Manimiṭaipavaḷam' given to the middle part of Akanāṉūṟu, one of the Tamil Sangham collections. It means a type of composition in which the style would not be an echo to the sense. Vīracoḷiyam of Buddhamitra, a Tamil grammar of the 11th century, also refers to Maṇipravāḷam, and says that etukai (dvitīyākṣharaprāsa) is not compulsory in compositions of that type. Some Malayāḷam Maṇipravaḷam works which may be easily ascribed to the 10th century such as Vaiśikatantram and the Āṭṭaprakārams (stage manuals) of some dramas have come down to us. These works from which

47 Lilatilakam says that in pattu, one may come across more words common to Malayalam and Tamil than in other types of composition. "पाण्डयभाषासारूप्यं बाहुल्येन 'पाटिल्' केरलभाषायां भवति"

verses have been extracted in Līlātilakam show that Malayāḷam as a full-fledged language must have come into being several centuries earlier. The peculiarity of Maṇipravāḷam in Malayāḷam is that Sanskrit words with Sanskrit inflections should be necessarily introduced into them and that even Malayāḷam words with Sanskrit inflections may be used, but that the majority of the words should be Malayāḷam and that there should be a preponderation of the *rasa* element in the subject matter. This definition of Maṇipravāḷam is peculiar to Malayāḷam. The meaning conveyed by the expression in Akanāṉūṟu was absolutely forgotten when this type of composition arose in Malayāḷam. There are inscriptions of the 12th century in which ñña (ഞ്ഞ) takes the place of nka (ങ്ക) profusely. In the Attur copper plates of South Travancore dated 1251 A. D.,[48] the language is Malayāḷam as it is current to-day, although the literary works of that period like Uṇṇuṉīlisandēśam clung to many an archaism under the influence of Centamiḻ. From all this it may be reasonably presumed that Malayāḷam grew into a separate language, at least by the 6th century A. D., if not earlier, not from Centamiḻ in which the Sangham works were written but from Koṭumtamiḻ, which, as the popular tongue, was utilised by the Vaishnava Āḻvārs and Śaiva Nāyanārs for singing their devotional songs composed for the benefit of the masses. That growth was greatly facilitated and accelerated by the substantial influx of Sanskrit in the 'Tamiḻ' and more particularly in the Maṇipravāḷa type of poetry which necessitated the introduction of all the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet. As Mr. L. V. Rāmasvāmi Aiyar has correctly stated: "There exists a more or less sharp cleavage between the language of the Sangham works and that of the Tamiḻ writers (Vaishnavite Āḻvārs and Saivite saints) from about the 5th century onwards. Sangham Tamiḻ may be conveniently described as old Tamiḻ and the post-fifth century Tamiḻ as Middle Tamiḻ. It is with reference to this cleavage between Sangham Tamiḻ or old

48 Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol, IV pp. 86—88.

Tamil on the one hand and on the other early middle Tamil (from about the 5th century to about the 10th century) that the features of Malayāḷam morphology have been examined here; and I may say at once that such an examination reveals very clearly a remarkable closeness of affinity for Malayāḷam to early middle Tamil. There are a few features of Malayāḷam morphology which may be described as archaic; but even these are nearly related to Tamil than to any other Dravidian speech. Most features of Malayāḷam morphology are either most nearly allied to, or derivable from, a speech[49] corresponding to the early Middle Tamil". He adds: "There is not one single feature of Malayāḷam phonetics or Malayāḷam morphology which can be shown nearer related to any Dravidian speech than to Tamil." [50]

Līlātilakam.

Līlatilakam, the only early work relating to grammar and poetics in Malāyaḷam, was written towards the close of the 14th century A. D. The author's name is unknown; but it is presumed that he must have been a Nampūtiri Brahman. He was greatly proficient not only in Sanskrit but also in Tamil. He is in a position to quote Tolkāppiyam and Divākaram (the earliest Tamil lexicon) freely[51]. He expressly states that his aim is only to write a work on Maṇipravāḷam and not on Malayāḷam in general, but is obliged to touch upon many a feature of Malayāḷam also, because Maṇipravāḷam was a mixture of that language and Sanskrit. The name given for Malayaḷām is Bhāshā. The designation of Malayāḷma was applied to it long after, which subsequently became Malayāḷam. The word 'Tamil' persisted in popular parlance to denote the language even up to the 15th century. The author of Līlātilakam is at great pains to point out that Malayāḷam is not more closely allied

49 The Evolution of Malayalam Morphology, p 2.

50 Ibid, p. 40.

51 Vide p 5 in which Tol. II, 397, p. 18 in which Tol. I, 173, and p. 21 in which Tol. I, p. 88, as also p. 26 in which Divākaram are quoted.

to Tamiḷ than to Kannaḍa or Telugu, but in several places he himself indirectly admits that the reverse is the truth. In the first place, he states that there are certain pure (Śuddha) deśi words in Malayāḷam which are not found in other South Indian languages such as koccu, muḷam and noṭi[52]. It may be easily proved that all these words are common to Malayāḷam and Tamiḷ. Koccaiyar in the sense of young persons is used by Tirumūlar in Tirumantiram and Koccaiṟuvāṉuṭar by Kampar in Rāmāyaṇam. Muḷam in the sense of cubit is also used by Kampar. Noṭi in the sense of time needed for a snap of the finger is found in Tolkāppiyam itself[53]. Noṭi, of course, has become Ñoṭi in Malayāḷam; but that phonetic change cannot make it a pure deśi word. Even the word paṭṭi (dog) is not particular to Malayāḷam. Piṅgaḷantai says that the meanings of that word are 'place', 'dog' and 'cow-shed'[54]. It is doubtful whether there is a single indigenous word in Malayāḷam which is not found in Tamiḷ. No doubt the meanings of some words changed and some words which became obsolete in Tamil continued to be popular in Malayāḷam. It was the sound changes and the inflectional modifications that mainly contributed to the development of Malayāḷam as a separate language. The author of Līlātilakam was perfectly right when he asked whether Malayāḷam did not possess case endings different from Tamiḷ[55]. The second case suffix was e (എ) instead of ai (ഐ) and the sixth uṭe (ഉടെ) derived from Uṭaya (ഉടെ) meaning one's own, instead of atu (അത്). The fourth case suffix became nu (ന) in some instances instead of ku. For the third, fifth and seventh cases, the old suffixes ān, in and kaṇ were given up and āl (ആൽ) in addition to oṭu (ഒടു) and il (ഇൽ) were adopted respectively. These suffixes are to be met with in medieval Tamiḷ also. Lastly, while Tamiḷ was

52 Līlātilakam, p. 13.

53 "Kaṇṇimaiṉoṭiyaṉa", ("கண்ணிமைனொடியன",) Tol. I, 7.

54 Piṅgala Nighaṇṭu (Ripon Press, 1917), p. 570. "Iṭamum nāyum tolzhuvum paṭṭi" இடமும் நாயும் தொழுவும் பட்டி."

55 Līlātilakam, p. 8

satisfied with il (ഇൽ) for the fifth case, Malayāḷam added ninnu (നിന്നു) to it, obviously to draw a distinction between that and the seventh case suffix. Malayāḷam retained with Tamil 'ṟ' (റ) 'ḷ' (ള) and 'ḻ' (ഴ). 'ḷ' (ള) disappeared from Kannaḍa by about the 12th century getting absorbed in 'ḷ' (ಳ) and 'ṟ' (ರ) by about the 17th century merging in 'ṟ' (ರ)[56]. Telugu too lost 'ḷ' (ళ) very early. Several of the grammatical rules relating to sandhi in Lilātilakam were bodily copied from grammatical works in Centamiḻ, and they had no correspondence whatever with the spoken language of the day. According to Lilātilakam no Malayāḷam word should begin in 'r' (ര) and 'l' (ല). This is no doubt the rule in Centamiḻ, but was not applicable to Malayāḷam as it was spoken and written in the 14th century. The author, however, justifies the use of rāyiran and lākku on the ground that they are tadbhavas, ignoring the fact that that concession was not allowed in Centamiḻ. The author depends on Divākaram for settling the question whether a Malayāḷam word like paval (പവൽ) for pavalam is correctly used. It is needless to cite more instances.

Present position of South Indian Languages.

This is not the place to dilate upon the morphological, etymological and other peculiarities of the various South Indian languages. Each language developed in the manner suited to its genius in consonance with its environment. Great writers enriched them with their contributions, and to-day each one of them possesses a literature, of which it may be legitimately proud. In view of the fact that the modern vernaculars of North India did not come into existence much earlier than the beginning of the 12th century and that the bardic chronicle, Prithi Raj Raso, the earliest Hindi work extant, cannot be ascribed to a period older than the latter half of that century, even Malayāḷam may take consolation in the

56 History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil, p. 111.

reflection that its literature is comparatively early [57]. Today, mainly under the influence of English, all these languages, as those of North India, have developed an up-to-date prose style, and works on various branches of literature such as drama, biography, essay, literary criticism, novel and short story, are being produced in large numbers. Of late, the influences of Bengali and Hindi have also made themselves felt. Kannada is further subject to the influence of Marathi. Poetry has been liberated from many of the shackles to which it was subject under Sanskrit influence and the appeal to the masses is becoming increasingly greater. Mythological themes are giving place to historical and social, and the creation of devotional literature does not claim the main attention of poets[58]. The movement is gradual ; but it is there and bound to advance as time passes by. There is only one danger. It is no doubt true that art should not be dissociated from life ; but, at the same time, it should not be forgotten that art and life should go together and that the neglect of the former cannot but be detrimental to the interests of the latter. It is neither necessary nor desirable to make an apotheosis of Sanskrit at the present time, but to eschew it altogether is to forget that we are Indians, and that our culture, whatever may be its superstructure, has its firm and unshakable basis in the great literature of that language. This by no means implies that

57 Keay's Hindi Literature, p. 13—14.

58 History of Kannada Language, p. 32. Malayalam, as is well known, uses the largest number of Sanskrit words, as Tamil, the smallest. The following observation in regard to Bengali made by Dinesh Chandra Sen is equally applicable to Malayalam : "Our masses are not at all afraid of the Sanskrit vocabulary. On the other hand they seem to be in love with it..... If the modern literature of Bengal affords them any difficulty, it is found in those modes of expression and of constructing sentences in which Bengal follows the model of English that] are strange and unintelligible to them" History of Bengali Language and Literature, p. 98.

Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, the Retiring President of the Conference, in a short and felicitous speech thanked Their Highnesses.

5·40 P. M. Their Highnesses then departed when the members assembled kept standing.

5·45 P. M. The following condolence resolutions were moved from the Chair—

(1) That the Ninth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum wishes to place on record its sense of deep grief at the demise of (*a*) Dr. A. C. Woolner, late Honorary Treasurer of the All-India Oriental Conference, who has been intimately associated with its work from its very inception ; (*b*) Mahāmahopādhyāya R. Narasimhāchārya, who served as the Sectional President of the All-India Oriental Conference on several occasions ; (*c*) Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, the President of the 7th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference. The death of these scholars has caused an irreparable loss to the world of Oriental Scholarship in general, and All-India Oriental Conference in particular.

(2) That the 9th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum wishes to place on record its sense of deep grief at the demise of (*a*) Dr. M. Winternitz, (*b*) Prof. E. J. Rapson, (*c*) Dr. Herman Jacobi, and (*d*) Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, which has caused an irreparable loss to the world of Oriental Scholarship.

The Report of the Proceedings and Transactions of the 8th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Mysore was then presented. The function came to a close with the singing of "Vañcheeśamaṅgalam"

7 P. M. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M. A., Director-General of Archæology in India, gave a lantern lecture in the Girls' High School Assembly hall on the *"Indus Valley Civilisation"*, a summary of which is reproduced below—

The lecturer first referred to the amount of interest which the discoveries at Mohenjo-daro and elsewhere in the

we should be slaves to Mammaṭabhaṭṭa or Dhananjaya and write poetry in the manner of Naishadhīyacarita, drama in the manner of Anargharāghava, or prose in the manner of Kādambari. A working knowledge of Sanskrit is indispensable to writers in Kannada, Telugu and Malayālam, and in my judgment advantageous even to those who write in Tamil. Let the ship of our literature, in its forward course, avoid, by all legitimate and reasonable means, the Scylla of Sanskrit, but not strike against the Charybdis of third-rate western literature. Illumination is help; conflagration is destruction.

Hindi and South Indian Languages.

No true patriot of South India is or can be antagonistic to the study of Hindi. He knows that it is the *rāshṭra-bhāsha* of young India, that it is spoken by the largest number of Indians, and that a knowledge of it would be useful in bringing North India and South India closer, and would render us substantial help in the task of nation-building. But it must, at the same time, be admitted that it will not be a cultural substitute for any of the South Indian languages. For that purpose, even Prākṛtic languages like Bengali, Gujarati and Marathi would not be prepared to vacate their seats for the installation of Hindi. For a vast variety of reasons, one's mother-tongue has to be studied intensively, on top of it comes English, which we cannot if we will, and even will not if we can, wholly dispense with, at any rate in the light of present-day requirements. Then, there is Sanskrit which I, for one, would make a language of compulsory study for every Hindu in a few classes at least. It is only after all these demands are met that Hindi can be thought of, although I strongly feel that that language too should be given a place in the curricula of school-studies. The study

of four languages is no doubt an evil ; but it is a necessary evil in the environment in which we are placed. Hindi as a literary language can be cultivated only by those to whom it is really or virtually a mother-tongue. In the normal course of events we have no reason to expect the production of a Hindi work like Rāmacaritamānasa to the south of the Vindhya Range. South Indians can and need study this language only for the purposes of coversation, correspondence and public speech.

Some Common Needs.

For a comparative study of South Indian Languages it is necessary that the important works of grammar and prosody in every one of them should be translated into every other. What an advantage it would be to possess translations of Tolkāppiyam, Virâcoliyam and Nannūl from Tamil, Kavirājamārga, Karṇāṭakabhāshābhūshaṇa, Kāvyāvalōkana, Bhāshābhūshaṇa and Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa from Kannaḍa, Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi, Āndhrabhāshābhūshaṇa, Vikṛtivivēka and Tṛlingaśabdānuśāsana from Telugu and Līlātilakam from Malayāḷam in the other three Dravidian languages. The chief classics of these languages also deserve a similar treatment. Nannayya and Tikkana among the Āndhras, Tiruvaḷḷuvar and Kampar among Tamils, Pampa (author of Bhārata) among Karṇāṭakas and Punam (author of Kṛṣṇagāthā) among Malayālis—which South Indian would not like to get into closer touch with these great masters? The South Indian Universities will have to make some effective arrangement towards the achievement of these laudable objects. Each of these languages has its own special requirements in the matter of reference books, scientific literature, translations of European and American works etc., which will have to be satisfied as early as possible. I

have no doubt that there is a bright future for all these languages. All that is needed is steady, intensive, consecrated work on the part of the various scholars inhabiting the several linguistic areas, with one eye turned towards the past and the other towards the future. The old saying that one's mother and one's mother-land are greater than even heaven[5] necessarily applies to one's mother-tongue as well.

Vandē Mātaram.

(5) "जननी जन्मभूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी !"

"EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE ANCIENT TAMILS AS OBTAINED IN THE TAMIL CLASSICS."

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Introduction.

To a student of the ancient history of South India the sangam epoch in Tamil Literary history is of the greatest interest and importance. It is an acknowledged fact that the Augustan era of Tamil Literature was in the 1st or 2nd century of the Christian era. We have certain works belonging to this period which go by the collective designation of "Sangam works," which throw a flood of light on the social and economic life of the ancient Tamils.

Sangam works —Aham and Puram.

The Sangam works are chiefly divided into "Aham" and "Puram". Aham meant "the joy and experience of a married couple" born out of harmony at home. Puram is regarded to imply wealth and warfare. Aham centred round what was necessary for the satisfaction of the inner-self of man and Puram for the advancement of material development. Subjects like social life, relations of the sexes, religious ideas and philosophic thought, etc., were classified under aham. The acquisition of wealth and the rules of warfare and political institutions were placed under the category of puram. Subjects that pertained to the mundane world were called arâm, porul and inbam corresponding to the sanskrit 'Trivarga' dharma, artha and kama. Apart from these was vidu or moksha.

Fine Arts.

Tamil Literature is much devoted to love and romance hence there is no wonder if we say that fine arts played an

important part. One of the noteworthy and distinct contributions that the people of South India made in the direction of fine arts was in the department of music and its handmaid dancing. (Vide the paper on Music and Musical instruments of the ancient Tamils of the author of this paper published in the Q. J. M. S. Vol. 26. No. 1.) Sculpture and painting too had attained their zenith of perfection.

Ideals in Education.

Regarding education and ideals of education only a few ideas of an original character are discernible. The texts do not throw much light regarding the institutions in which the Tamil children were taught and how higher education was imparted. But one thing is certain, attention was bestowed to higher education and the scientific cultivation and development of fine arts, for the terms Asiriyar (ஆசிரியர்) Pulavar (புலவர்) Panar (பாணர்) Kuttar (கூத்தர்) Viraliar (விறலியர்) are mentioned time and again. Besides mention is very often made in the classics of the poets and poetesses enjoying unequalled and unparalleled patronage and hospitality at the hands of the Tamil monarchs of old.

Early Rising due to the influence of home training.

In a true and brotherly spirit boys and girls received education at home and in society. They were taught to get up early and work, which is a proof postive of the wholesome effect of home training in education. The idea was that the cool and pleasant hours of the morning would enable the young minds to have a good and lasting impression.

"அறத்துறை யுள்ளிய அறவோர் பள்ளியும்
மறத்துறை யிளங்கிய மன்னவன் கோயிலும்
வாள் வென்ற சங்கொடு வகைபெற்றுயர்ந்திய
காவிரும்பாசம் கனைகுரலியம்ப."

(Silappadikaram Canto XIV ll. 11-14)

Mothers fed their children in the open yard in front of their houses. In the very initial stage of an infant's career discipline at home was well exercised. In the very lap of nature the child derived the benefit of free air and exercise.

"சுள் படுத்துவும் வான்பொரு தெறுநிகழ்ப்
பொரியரை வேம்பின் புள்ளி நீழற்
சட்டினர்வன்னவட்டாம் இழைத்துக்
கல்லாச்சிறுசிர் செல்லிவட்டாடும்
வில்லேருழவர் வெம்முனைச் சிறார்"

(Narrinai 3)

Aim of education.

The ennobling of spirit and the improvement of the inner culture of man were considered as the sole aim of education. If one's ideas were not clarified and if one was not gifted with lucid exposition then education was of no avail.

"உளமெனுமுண்மை யுரைடாப்பக் கலைஞ்சிக்
கற்ற செலச் சொல்லாதவர்"

(Kural 730)

Real education is that which enables one to equip himself well to handle thoroughly and satisfactorily the six tasks of life as conceived by the Tamil poet. These were not to be achieved easily and consisted of the acquisition of culture endowment of valour for self defence, possession of powers for purposes of arbitration, faithful and loyal discharge of the duties to one's country, production and acquisition of wealth and continence and abstention which only could vanquish lust and license. Even a low born person got the due meed of praise and appreciation without any distinction of birth, if he was really learned namely acquiring the

".....வேற்றுமை தெரிந்த கற்பாலுள்ளுங்
கீழ்ப்பாலோ ருயர்ந்தோர்பின்
மேற்பாலொருவனுமமைவன்கட்படுமே"

(Puram 183;
also vide Sutra 75 Tholkappiyam
Poruladikaram, Purattinai iya..

knowledge worthy to be gained and putting them to practical use.

"கற்க கசடறக் கற்பவை கற்றபி
னிற்க வதற்குத்தக"

(Kural 391)

Ponmudiar.

(பொன் முடியார்) a classical poet of the last sangam in stanza 312 of Purananuru gives us some idea of the aim of education. The following ideals of a youth are given.

"The mother is entirely responsible for his behaviour training, up-bringing and breeding in his childhood. The father should impart to him conduct and character and the good qualities of virtue and valour. The necessary implements of warfare were supplied by the blacksmith. He was raised to a decent position and status by the state by employing him as an officer. He was expected to win laurels for the State by his untiring devotion to duty in times of war and by his unflinching courage and righteous warfare."

"சன்று புறத்தருத லென்றலிற் கடனே
சான்றோ ருக்குதறன்னைக்குக் கடனே
வேல்வடித்துக் கொடுத்தல் கொல்லற்குக் கடனே
நன்னடை கல்கல் லேற்றற்குக் கடனே
பொலிய வாளருஞ் சமமுருக்கிக்
களிறெறிந்து பெயர்தல் காளைக்குக் கடனே."

(Purananuru, 312

In ancient times it was a recognised principle in imparting instruction that the pupil was to be properly modulated and taught according to his capacity. "The level of teaching should be attuned to the mental development of the student."—is a statement referred to in canto XII of the Tamil Classic Manimekalai (Lines 97-107) which is as follows :—

...கூனுங் குறளு மூமுஞ் செவிடு
மாவு மருளு மன்னுயிர் பொரு அ
வர் காட் பிறன்கள வருணதங் கோட்டே
ரின்னுப் பிறவி யிலக்கோ ரதனிற்
போதி மூலம் பொருந்திய திறப்பி
னுதன் பாக னவைமெட வேக்குதல்
பிறவிதோ றறிவின் மடக்கொடி
மாதர் கின்னல் வருவன வில்லு
சேது நிகழ்ச்சி யாவும் பலவுள
வாங்கவை நிகழ்ந்த பின்னாலல்ல
பூங்கொடி மாதர் பொருளுரை பொருந்தா".....
"திறப்பில் திதடு மூமப்பில் பிண்டமுவ்
கூனுங் குறளு மூமுஞ் செவிடு
மாவு மருளு முளப்பட வாழ்நர்க்
கெண்பேரெச்ச மென்றிவை யெல்லாம்
பேதைமை யல்ல தறிய மில்லென"

(Puram 28)

"குறளொடு செவிடு மூங்கை கூன்மருள் குருடு
மாலே, யுறு முறைப் பல்லாப் பிண்டமோ டிய லெண்
மெய் எச்சம்"

(Chudamani Nikantu, 12
Pala peyarkuttathu orupeyar Thokuthi, 94.)

If the lessons were to be properly assimilated by the pupil, the fact, that his mental back ground must be cleared first and foremost, should not be lost sight of. The system or method of instruction that was imparted to a child varied according to the class or caste to which it belonged. The education of a brahmin youth was quite different as compared with the other classes. (For a detailed account vide canto XIII of Manimekalai.)

The well known maxim of pedagogics was, that the teacher ought to teach more by example than by precept. "Man is blind to his own short-comings, so widely awake to those of others; it is indeed easy for any one to be a

teacher of others ; while he may not himself be taught in discipline and morals."

"அறிவிலார் தாந் தம்மை மிழிக்கும் மேழை
செறுவார்க்குஞ் செய்தலரி தது"

(Kural 843)

The preceptor should be amply remunerated and should always be kept above want.

"உற்றழி யுதவியு முறுபொருள் கொடுத்தலும்
பிற்றை நிலை முனியா தகற்றல் வன்றே".....

(Puram 183)

The pupil while receiving instruction at the hands of his master should possess the following qualities viz., humility, earnestness, and faithful obedience.

"உடையார் முகன்னோக்கி யோலைக் கற்றுக் கற்றுச்
சுடையறி சல்லதவர்."

(Kural 395)

Recognition of merit and Scholarship

The kings and chieftains of old amply rewarded the poets, appreciated their learning and held their scholarship in high esteem and veneration. Besides the poets received unstinted encouragement and support at the hands of the Tamil monarchs, who were very famous for their munificence as patrons of poets. At the same time the poets possessed high and marked sense of dignity and self-respect and utterly disregarded wealth as is illustrated by the following stanza (Puram, 197.)

"வளி கடந்தன்ன.....ண்கொழுதானை
யொன் பூண் வேந்தர்
வென்றுடைச் செல்வம் வியத்தலோ விலமே
யெம்மால் வியக்கப் படூஉமோரே
யிடுமுட் படப்பை மறிமேய்ந் தொழிந்த
குதரு முண்ணாக் கொழுங்கட் குற்படு

புன்புல வாகின் சொன்றியொடு பெறூஉந்
சிறார் மன்னவாயினும் மெம்வயிற்
பாடின்றி தாழுரும் பண்பினரே
மிகப்பே சொல்ல முதினு மெண்ணத்து
முணர்ச்சி யில்லோ ருடைமை புள்ளே
கல்லறி வுடை யோர் நல்ரா
வுள்ளுதும் பெருமயா முவக்து களிபெச்தே."

(1) GURU-KULAM.

Ancient Educational Institutions.

The present is an age of educational reform. The methods of teaching most of the subjects in the school curriculam have undergone considerable changes. But the methods that were in vogue in ancient days were quite different. The Guru's house itself was the school which was called Guru-kulam. The village was not a village if it did not contain atleast one Guru-kula.

கணக்காயரில்லாத வூரும் பிணக்கறுக்கும்
மூத்தோரை யில்லா அவைக்களனும்—பாத்துண்ணும்
தன்மையிலாளர் அயலிருப்பும் இம்மூன்றும்
நன்மை பயத்தல் இல."

(Tirikadukam.)

The teacher was called by the term *kanakkayar*. He was considered to be well read hence this term. He was compared to a mountain as he possessed immeasurable and unrivalled scholarship. "அனக்கலாகா அளவும் பொருளும்" He was compared to a sweet flower. "மக்கலமாகி இன்றிய மையாது பாவரும் மிழ்ந்து மேற்கொள."

The disciples looked upon him as their God.

"யாது மொன்றறியா ஏன்னை
இவனரதிவ் வென்றித்த
மேதினி மறிக்குமாபு

Indus Valley have created in India and outside. It was at Mohenjo-daro that Indian Archæology might be said to have its rebirth; and the credit of the discovery was due to the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, who began work at this inhospitable desert site with a view to find out more about th Buddhist *stūpa* which crowned one part of the site. The l ɔturer then gave an idea about the work done at Mohenjo daro and Harappa during the last 14 years and the results of the survey of parts of Baluchistan, Sind, Punjab and Kathiawar which have brought to light various sites elucidating different phases of the chalcolithic civilization, so-called because of the use of stone and copper implements. The unique character of the Indus civilization, which offered better opportunities of life and its amenities to the ordinary citizen than contemporary Egypt or Sumer, was then illustrated by a number of lantern slides. The commodious well-built houses of burnt bricks, the arrangements for water supply by wells and particularly the drainage system as studied at Mohenjo-daro betoken an advanced civic culture evolved by a community of commercial magnates and business-like people. Neither great palaces nor large temples can be distinguished in the lay out of the city, and at least from the existing ruins the citizens appeared to be free from the dominating control of kings and priests. The only prominent structures, besides the ordinary houses and shops of citizens, are the Great Bath at Mohenjo-daro and the great granary at Harappa. A group of small buildings at Harappa have been identified as workmen's quarters owing to their uniform and small accommodation. The great advance made in the technical and industrial arts, such as that of pottery, faience and terracotta modelling, seal-cutting and bead-making, gold smith's and silver smith's work show the same high level as town-planning and house-building. There are few indications of the religious faith of the Indus people, but in some of the seals and small finds there are indications that phallic worship and the worship of a god, who may be the prototype of Śiva associated with animals, is indicated. The worship of sacred trees and the consecration of animals must also have formed

வில் முதற்படைகள் யாவும்
நிகறற் தந்த உண்மைத் தெய்வம்"

(Villi Bharatam, Virata Parvam
Niraimeetchi Sarkam St-88.)

The teachers devoted their whole time for rendering service to the humanity.

(2) *Pial Schools.*

The schools that obtained in every village were called pial schools. They were situated in a public place under a big tree. There was a platform under it on which the teacher sat and taught the pupils.

"அன்னுப் இவன் நர்
இன மாணாக்கன்
தன் னர் மன்றத்து
என்னன் கொல்லோ"

(Kuruntokai)

3. *Schools proper.*

It will be interesting to note that in ancient days institutions grew up round the temples of the villages. These were the centres of learning. There were mutts and people ent their children to them, where they received the best and ideal education possible. In some places there were one or two mutts alone and people from outside flocked there. Mass education was thus rendered possible. Every boy or girl of the village knew the rudiments of the three R's. (Reading, Writing and Arithmetic.) The pial schools in course of time were changed into small hamlets. School sprang up in many places under the aegis of the mutts. They were known as *Palli* (பள்ளி) according to Jainism. "அந்தணர் பள்ளியும், அறவோர் சாலையும்". An inscription of Raja Raja Chola II bears testimony to the fact that in the ancient mutt of Tiruvaduthurai students were reading and re-reading and dissecting *ad-infinitum* a grammatical treatise named *Rupavataram*, for which large grants of land

were made as gift. Similarly we hear of many patasalas devoted to vedic and agamic culture receiving such grants

(4) *Tamil schools.*

It is a pity we are not able to get much tangible proof or evidence from inscriptions regarding the existence of Tamil schools. But traditional accounts come to our rescue and warrant the existence of these schools such as run by Agastya and Drona.

The capacity of a teacher

The teachers were expected to train the pupils in such a way as to mould his character and make him fitted for any kind of work for the state. They were not satisfied with mere book-learning. The adage "A teacher was born and not made" stood the teachers of old in goodstead. For they had such wonderful powers to control rich and wealthy people to obey their commands. (Examples of Jivaka in Chintamani, and Arjuna and Drupada in Bharatam support the above statement.)

Classmates in a school.

There was no distinction between a rich or poor student in the schools of old. Princes and peasants sat together in the same class and same bench in a spirit of fraternity. (Drupada and Drona ; Kuchela and Krishna)

Training at school.

Those who lived in Gurukula begged their food daily, supplied their guru first and later on partook of the remnants. This taught them obedience, patience and good behaviour. The public had regard for them and reposed their confidence in them. It is the teacher—more than the parents—who is really responsible in training the children of the State to become useful citizens in the future. It is the teacher that makes his life worth living. (Vide Kambaramayanam for details.)

"நிறையோடு மனிறைந்தும் செறிகழற் காற் சரதனும்
பொறையோடுத் தொடர்மனத்தான் புதல்வனெனும் பெயரோ
னான்
உறையோடு நெடுவேலாய் உபாயனனிறி முடித்து
மறையோது விற்றிவரை வளர்த்தானும் வினிட்டன் காண்"

(Kamba Ramayanam, Bala kandam,
Kulamuraikilattu padalam,
Stanza 24.

Aksharabhyasam

Usually children of five years and more were entrusted to the care of a teacher by the parents. They were taught to write at the outset, 'Om Namasivaya' (ஓம் நமசிவய,) or 'Om Namo Narayanaya' (ஓம் நமோ நாராயணாய.) The Jains were taught to write Om Jinaya Namaha' (ஓம் ஜி நாய நம :) It is a custom to send children to school for the first time only on the Vijayadasami day, and this occasion was enjoyed with great eclat. The teacher got good presents. This aksharabhyasam ceremony was otherwise known as "மையடல்" (maiyadal)

"ஐயாண்டெய்தி மையாடி அதிக்தார்கள் கலை."

(Cintamani)

"மஞ்சட் குளிப்பாட்டி மையிட்டு முப்பாலும்
மிஞ்சப் புகட்டி மிகவளர்த்தாய்"

தமிழ் விடுதூது.

(Tamil Vidu-thuthu.)

Writing on the sand.

Children practised the art of writing at the beginning only on the sand, as this was considered to improve the writing

"இறை நிலம் எழுதி முன்
இனைய பாலகன்
முறை வனைவே னென
முயல்வ தெதிர்க்குமால்
அறமுகம் உடையவர்
அமலன் மாக்கதை

சிறியதோர் சதிகினேன்
செப்பு கின்றதே."

(Kandapuranam
Avai adakkam.)
(கந்தபுராணம்— அவையடக்கம்.)

The first stage of education was writing on the sand. This enabled the students to write a good hand. Several manuscripts bear testimony to the excellence of the writing of the ancients. This neatness of writing is compared to an array of storeyed houses in a public street.

"பொதிக்க ஒழுகுத் தொழுக்கெலை
பொற்ற மாடங்கள் செறித் தலர்கிலை
னீதிசேர் நிலைமம் மொழிந்தாம்"

Thanikai puranam
தனிகைப் புராணம்

Memory training.

There is an ocean of difference between the old method and modern method of study. Recitation class was made compulsory for the children of the village in the village schools. This helped the cultivation of memory to a great extent. The best piece of poetry and prose from the holy scriptures were taught. Each pupil had a great regard and admiration for his Guru, so much so there was complete harmony in the institutions. The present day students do not like the idea of memorising passages of verse or prose.

Early rising.

The pupils were trained to get up early in the morning by the teachers. The discipline was so strict that no student went late to the school. Pupils realised the grave consequences of late attendance at school. Great care and attention were bestowed to preserve the books in good condition. Once a year during Sarasvathi puja pupils arranged all their books in an order and offered puja to the Goddess of learning. Printing was unknown in ancient days and so books

consisted of cadjan leaves (palmyra.) People wrote on these leaves with the quill with such ease and facility as we write on paper now-a-days-unfortunately at the present day the art of writing on these leaves has gradually declined.

Salary of the teacher.

The term "Vadyar cooly" corresponds to the modern connotation of salary. Every day, as befited the status of his family each student offered one thing or the other to the teacher in the shape of vegetables, milk, fuel, cowdung cake and so forth. But the teacher had the same affection and kindness towards all his pupils irrespective of the things supplied. The teacher did not get more than four annas a month by way of salary. Paddy was supplied to him in plenty. On important festivals he was awarded with precious gifts. The teacher did not have any care for the morrow. The people considered it their primary duty to look after the welfare of the teacher and his family.

Punishments.

The teachers of old did not award any drastic or severe punishment to the pupils but controlled and managed them with kindness and affection.

Disquisitions.

From very early days Vakyartha or disquisitions were conducted in our schools. The ancient works furnish us with much interesting information regarding this subject. Change of time has altered the course of events but yet the best treasures of ancient literature and culture carry us back to the golden age and make us muse over the glories and ideals of the ancient education and educational institutions of the ancient Tamils.

N. Chengalvarayan.

THE EARLY TELUGU DRAMA

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In almost all languages Drama is given the highest place among all kinds of poetical composition and probably the greatest authors in every literature are its dramatists. Curiously, though not without reason, the position is reversed in the case of Telugu. Dramatic composition was considered to be second rate work, and the vernacular dramatist was ranked with the lowest in the cadre of literary authors. So the early Telugu drama formed the major part of the much neglected literature and came to be "classed" with folk-lore.

Telugu literature, like many other vernaculars of India, had its development from the 9th century A.D. Many of the ancient Telugu poets also held this view According to them all, Nannaya, the court poet of Rāja Rājanarēndra, was the first poet of Telugu literature and he was also the Pradhānāchārya. But later researches have revealed the work of Nannechōda, and the former theory was thrown to the winds though the orthodox section still clings to it. The absence of any considerable work before Nannaya and even Nannechōda and the perfection and the high level their works exhibit, disclose a hidden gap between the origin of Telugu literature and its development. The main reason why Nannaya came to be regarded as the first Telugu poet seems to be the fact that he was the first to bring a change in Telugu literature by introducing the Sanskrit element largely into Telugu poetry. Thus he laid the foundation of what is known as Mārga Kavita and made it conform to the rules of Sanskrit Poetics and its Sāhitya (Rasālankāra),

All this will seem irrelevant here, if it cannot help us to understand that, besides the Mārga Kavita, there was what is known as Dēsi Kavita of which the Early Telugu Drama formed the most important part. Dēsikavita is not the syrup, that is manufactured with the apparatus of the Sanskrit Laboratory but is the honey gathered from the bee-hives of the hearts of the people. Hence, though it did not have the glittering glare of polished Sanskrit, it had the simple, yet characteristic plainness of the native Telugu. The origin of the early Telugu Drama is to be found in this kind of folk-lore rather than in the former type of Prabandha Literature.

The Kāvyas are divided into two categories by all Ālankārikas (1) Drisya (2) Sravya. In the latter, the heart feels after the intellect has grasped. In the former the senses are appealed to and then the intellect grasps. Though the purpose is the same the process is different. Thus, besides the importance given to Rasa and Alankāra and the like of it as in the former Sravya Kāvya, the dramatist has to please the two senses of the eye and the ear. The eye is pleased with scenic arrangements and the like. This comprises of stage technique. The appeal to the ear lies in melody and harmony of sounds. The playwright has to look after the two aspects also, if he wants to run the show of his play successfully. This fundamental idea underlying the art of writing plays was grasped by the early Telugu dramatists; and they incorporated these ideas in their plays and shaped them in such a way.

Beginnings.

Though the privilege of deciphering the alphabet and mouthing the letters and interpreting books was limited to the blessed few in ancient and mediaeval India to a much larger extent than at present, yet the knowledge of

the great works of the ancient Rishis was not altogether denied to the unlettered masses. On the other hand, regular institutions existed to diffuse knowledge even among the lowest strata of society. Purāṇakālakshepamu was one such. The village temple or mutt or even the grāma-chāvadi invariably maintained this. The scholar would read the verses from the great Epics mellowing them with music and would explain, in a graphic manner with the aid of gestures, their contents. Besides the above, there have been what are known as Bhajan-parties where the Bhajan is not merely intended to be a sort of congregational worship set with music but to explain the meaning of the songs by dance and gestures. Relics of these have not altogether disappeared even now, because they are in vogue in all villages on occasions of festivals. The songs of Rāmadāsu the great Telugu devotee of Bhadrāchalam, are sung like this. They are so arranged for the purpose that they not only reveal the fervour with which the great devotee worshipped Rama but also give us glimpses into his life, the sufferings he underwent in the process of his sādhana. The party consists of three or four people of whom the leader carries a light-stand in one hand and the cymbals in another and the others head chorus. The leader explains the meaning in the course of the singing.

Closely allied with these, but more elaborate and better planned are the padas and the gēyakāvyas. These were almost like ballads sung by parties of singers. To this class belong many of the dwipada kāvyas. The gēya kāvyas and songs of Rāmadāsu here mentioned are later examples representing the *form* of musical compositions in earlier times from which the early Telugu Drama might have developed.

The Bhāgavatamu or *Bhāmakalāpamu* and the Telugu Puppet shows are certainly the predecessors and the precursors of the early Telugu drama. In the former

some episodes of love in the life of Lord Krishna are written in the form of musical compositions and are sung accompanied by dance. Greater importance is given to dance, which is utilised to interpret the contents of the song. The whole story is narrated in this form. The success of a performance of this kind depends on the talent and scholarship of the artist rather than on the story itself.

The puppet play is something like the screening of a talkie in a very crude form. Pictures of the heroes and other *Dramatis Personae* are drawn on fine skin in rich colour and are projected on the screen. The performers sit behind the screen not visible to the audience. Incidents are taken from the Rāmāyana or Mahābharata. As the Pictures projected on the screen play their parts the performers inside conduct the dialogues in prose and verse. For these performances the great dwipada kāvyas like *Ranganādha Rāmāyaṇamu* are selected because they easily lend themselves to be set to music and because their language could be easily understood by the masses. Now and then in the course of the story, some Hāsyaprasanga (comic element) is introduced to relieve the minds of the audience. The Yakshagāna and the Veedhi nātaka are the two forms under which the early Telugu drama was written and flourished. The difference between the two is not marked and fundamental though there are some slight variations here and there. This will be discussed in another context in this essay.

The Yakshagāna.

References about Yakshagānas can be traced in the earliest works in Telugu. There is ample evidence to show that these were prevalent even by the time of Vēmulavāda Bhīmakavi, one of the earliest of the Telugu poets, Sreenādha and Pālkuriki Sōmanādha. Sreenādha, in his Bhīmakhanda, described how Allaya Vema used to spend his time in attending the various kinds of performances like Nātaka and udāharana enacted in his court-hall. Pālkuriki

Somanadha of the 14th century tells us in his *Basavāpurāṇa* how the story of Siriyāla was staged by the people. *Kreedābhirāmamu* of Vinukonda Vallabhāmātya, which is in away, the first Rūpaka in Telugu on lines of Sanskrit Drama belonged to the beginning of the 15th century and in it, there are references to the prevalence of the staging of dramas. The hero, Manchana Sarma, goes with his friend Tittibha from place to place to enjoy various sights and in the course of his wanderings he describes the enactment of the drama of Māchaldēvi. In the same century we find many other references to the prevalence of Yakshagānas. Haribhattu, the author of *Narasimhapurāna* (published by the Telugu Academy, Cocanada) refers to one Chenna, Sauri who is said to have been the author of Saubharicharitamu (a Yakshagāna). And this Haribhattu belonged to the later part of the 15th century or the early part of the 16th century. Rudrakavi, who lived in the 16th century probably at about the time of Krishna Dēvarāya was the author of *Sugreevavijayamu*, which is considered to be one of the best Yakshagānas in Telugu literature.

One interesting point about the authors of the Yakshagāna is that two great grammarians or Lākshaṇikas in Telugu literature were so much fascinated by this class of literature that they wrote two Yakshagānas and that they made proud mention of them in their Lakshaṇagrandhas. Kākunūri Appa Kavi, the author of *Appakaviyamu*, one of the most authoritative treatises on Telugu grammar and prosody was the author of a Yakshagāna called *Ambikāvilāsamu*; and anthor was Mahāmahōpadhyāya Elakūchi Bālasaraswati, the author of a nāṭaka called *"Rangakaumudi"* and he styled himself "Rangakaumudināma Nāṭakavidhāna Pratishṭānaghana"

Vāranāsi Achyuta Kavi lived in the 18th century and in his Prabhanda *"Suratāniparinayamu"* he mentions of a Yakshagānamu of the same name already in existence.

part of the religious beliefs. As to the ideas of a future life and funerary custom, it is considered likely that a large number of the people were cremated, but at least a certain number were buried at first in the open with a number of small funerary vessels around and later only the skulls with a number of bones in large-sized jars. These latter forms of burial are found in the cemetery at Harappa. The script in use is known from a number of objects found at both the sites, mostly on seals, the number of known pictographs at the present moment being over 300. It was undoubtedly written generally from right to left, but no attempt to decipher it has so far been universally accepted. A number of scholars have proposed Dravidian or Sumerian keys to the decipherment, but in the absence of any bilingual records there is no means to check the results. The civilisation was undoubtedly very widespread, as traces of settlements of the period have been found as far south-east as Kathiawar and in the north-east up to Ambala, but its closest connexion with the series of sites in Baluchistan and through them with the cultures of south Iran and Sumer is undoubted. The question of tracing the extension of this culture into the Gangetic Valley is only a matter of further detailed investigation which will be taken up in the near future. From the south, some materials found only in the Nilgiris such as Amazonite were used for beads and the conch-shell found in the extreme south of the peninsula was extensively used for a variety of purposes by the Indus people, but more than this commercial intercourse it is difficult to presume. The date of the Indus culture has been obtained by the affinities afforded by loan antiquities found at either end, connecting the Indus culture with the Sargonic epoch in Sumerian history, roughly the first half of the third millennium before Christ. At present it is isolated from the course of Indian History as regularly known from the birth of Buddha in the 6th century B. C. to the latest period. Future work in the Gangetic Valley and in the Madras Presidency (where since the discoveries at Adichanallur, no efforts to extend our knowledge

The patron to whom the Prabhanda is dedicated calls the poet and says "A work by name *Suratānīpariṇayamu* was formerly written in the form of a Yakshagāna (by some one). You may render it into a famous Prabhanda". This indicates how a Prabhanda was written with a Yakshagāna as its source. In the sixth book of this work, the author describes in a prose passage, the festivities organised for the occasion of the marriage of Suratāni and Rangarādha. There he mentions the actors of Bhāmakalāpamu marching in the marriage procession So Bhāmakalāpamu must have been a popular form of entertainment on such occasions in those days. Another great poet of the 18th century Kankanti Pāparāju was the author of *Vishnumāyāvilāsa Nāṭakamu*. In his famous kāvya, Uttara Rāmāyanamu he refers to this fact. In the introduction to that poem, he says "with great glory you have dedicated to me on a former occasion the Yakshagāna named *Vishnu-Māyā-Vilāsa*. Since then we have been greatly enraptured by your sweet melodies filled with nectar". These were the words in which the author imagined his Lord to have appreciated his Yakshagāna.

Some prominent poetesses also wrote Yakshagānas. Tarigonda Venkamma, the author of *Venkaṭāchala-māhātmyamu* wrote the Yakshagāna, *Sivavilāsamu*. Rangājamma of Tanjore was the author of *Mannārudāsa-Vilāsa-Nāṭakamu*. This shows how women also pioneered in this kind of literary enterprise. The work of Rangājamma was published by the Telugu Academy. It belongs to a very high order of these nāṭakas. It is of great interest not only to the general reader but of immese value to scholars interested in this branch of Telugu literature. The characters in the story and the story itself portray in detail the court of those kings and the customs of the people. The language of the drama bears on it the impress of the times.

This brings us to the hey day of the early Telugu drama. Basking under the sunshine of the patronage of the Nāyak and Mahrātta Kings of Tanjore it developed to its fullest extent during that period. What perfection the Telugu Prabhanda reached and what wide patronage it enjoyed under Vijayanagar Rulers, that perfection was reached by the early Telugu Nātaka and that patronage was extended to it under the rule of the Nāyak and Mahrātta Kings of Tanjore. Of these kings, a good many of them were actually the authors of many works besides being great patrons.

The Nāyaks of Tanjore were the earlier Royal patrons. Raghunādharāya was a great patron of these dramas. Next to Krishnadēvarāya, it may be undoubtedly said, that there was no other ruler who patronised Telugu literature so much and during whose regime such rich literature was produced. His famous court poet Chēmakūra Venkata Kavi, the author of well known *Vijayavilāsamu* alludes to the prevalence of these dramas during his time. Describing the town of Raghunādharāya he could not omit the mention of the existence of the many theatres that beautified the city. Its glory was described to be its being the abode of Nātya Vidya. The ruler himself was a profound scholar in Bharata Vidya, or dance. His son, VijayarāghavaNāyaka was another great patron of the Telugu muse and was greater as a writer of the Telugu dramas. He was responsible for the writing of the history of his father in the form of a nātaka (*Raghunādhābhyudayamu*) which was dedicated to him. He was himself the author of five dramas, *Kālīyamardanamu, Prahlādacharitramu, Pārijātaharaṇamu, Vipranarayaṇa charitamu and Raghunadhābhyudayamu.* But from the account given in his Prahlada Nātaka he was the author of nearly ten dramas. Not only did he write many padas, keertanas and other kinds of songs in several languages he

was also well versed in the nātya Sāstra. Rangājamma was his wife (Dharmapatni) and not a courtesan as mis-understood by others.

The Mahrātta rulers were the descendants of the younger Brother of Sivaji, namely Ekōji, the first Mahrātta ruler of Tanjore (1676 to 1683 A. D). Shāji, the most important of these royal authors was his son and he ruled from 1684 to 1710. According to the descriptive catalogue of the Telugu manuscripts in the Tanjore M. S. S. S. M. Library, not less than 18 dramas are ascribed to his authorship. Thus he stands out as the prince of the early Telugu drama.

The Mahrātta ruler Ekōji was the author of *Vighnēswara Kalyāṇamu* (1735-36) which formed the theme of a former version by Shāji himself. Thulajarāja was the author of *Sivalamasundarē Pariniyamu*. This was written for the occasion of the festival of the Ādivarāhaswāmi. This drama has a Nāndi and Prasthāvana as in a Sanskrit drama and the Sūthradhāra and Pāripārsvaka are introduced and the drama begins with a description of the season (Vasantha Rithu). But in other respects the old model is kept up.

In the court of Shāji lived another great poet Giri Rāja who was the author of many of these works. He wrote *Sāhendravijayamu* and *Rājamohanakoravanji*, the themes being the love episodes of Sāhurāja. The themes of all these dramas were of two kinds. (1) Purānic tales (2) The love episodes or commemoration of important events in the lives of these royal patrons. Many of these dramas belonged to the latter type. Besides these, there were two important dramas in which purely philosophical themes were adopted and made to conform to the technique of these dramas. They were the *Jeeva-Nātakamu* whose authorship is not yet known and *Vivēkavijayamu* in which the individual soul, the knowledge lover, the Emperor of Adwaita is married to the

Lady of Salvation, the Lady of the Upanishads. The author was Challā Sūrayya, native of Poveravaka, near Tanjore.

The last of the Mahratta Kings, Sivaji, who ruled Tanjore (1833-35) was himself the author of two works and one of them was *Annapurnāpariniyamu*, the story of Tanjore Konkaṇēswara and Annapūrna.

In the nineteenth century with the decay of the Tanjore dynasty the Telugu stage shifted from the southern Tamil districts to a little north namely, Rayala Seema or the Ceded districts. About the year 1870, a number of these dramas were written and published and they were enacted throughout the Telugu country. Some places like Dharmapuri and Vēmulapalli and Lēpakshi became so famous that they were added to the title of the drama itself so as to give it some status. These were places wherefrom the dramatic troupes started to enact the dramas throughout the neighbouring districts. They spread to the northern Telugu districts and Kūchipūdi, an Agraharam in Kistna district became famous for this class of artists so that to-day any drama of this kind passes popularly under the name of "Kūchipūdivāri Bhāgavathamu". Tradition in our parts confirms the above view. The most popular of these dramas is *Prahlādacharitramu* and the most popular type of Gēyakāvya which is put on boards is *Bhāmakalāpamu* or *Samudramadhanamu*. So far there are about four hundred of these works known as published in the Amudrithāndhra-Grandhasarvaswamu. Of these, 290 are printed and 190 are not yet printed. About 63 are available as manuscripts in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library and about 70 are available in the Tanjore Library. Most of the printed works are modern versions of the still more ancient Veedhi-Nātakas available in the Tanjore Library and the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library.

Technique.

From the view point of technique, the Yakshagānas and the Veedhinātakas come under the same category. About this there are two distinct views. One is that the two are quite different. The second is that they belong to the same class. The correct view seems to be that the Yakshagāna was the name of this species of composition and that they were called Yakshagāna Prabandhas in the times when the Prabandha type of Kāvya was held in high esteem and that they came to be known as Yakshagāna Nātakas when the Nāyaks and the Mahratta Rulers encouraged their staging in their own courts. The term Veedhi Nātakamu does not seem to have any significance of its own. Probably it might have come into vogue in recent times after the modern Telugu Drama began to develop and appear on the better equipped stage. As these modern dramas were enacted on well equipped stages the old Telugu Nātakas began to receive a set back. They became less fashionable all over the country and more so in towns. Even if they were enacted, their stage was erected in the streets. Thus the term, Veedhinātakamu might have come into vogue. But it has nothing to do with the Sanskrit Rūpaka, Veedhi, which has a technique of its own quite different from that of these plays. So the technique of all the categories of the early Telugu drama is based on the same. It is that of the Yakshagāna.

Definition of Yakshagāna.

It has no definition clearly enunciated by any Lākshaṇika. As already pointed out the composition purely evolved from the popular branches of literature. It did not inherit the past traditions of Sanskrit. It developed its own career from the stem of the unlettered Muse. Just as the dwipadakāvya is considered to be the popular type of Kāvya literature as different from the Prabhanda, the appreciation of which was limited to the scholarly and the cultured, the

Yakshagāna catered to the taste of more humble folk, distributed among them its Rasa freely and gracefully and diffused its learning among the masses. That was possible on account of its technique and metre. Telugu metre is divided into two categories (1) the Mātra Chandassu (metre based on sound length) and (2) the Varna Chandassu (metre based on number of letters). The Indra, Surya and Chandraganas are based on the former. The eight Nisarganas are based on the latter. The Matra Chandassu is highly useful in musical compositions and so the metres of dwipada, ragada, akkaras and daruvus consisting of Chandra, Indra and Suryaganas are used in Gēyakāvyas, *i. e.*, poetical works intended to be sung. The Yakshagāna, as the term itself indicates is a Gēyakāvya. It is of Gāna. It is intended to be sung and so the indigenous metres like dwipada are largely used in Yakshagānas.

No Lākshṇika gave a definition of Yakshgānas because it was not possible. It was not written according to certain rules laid down in text books. As they came to be written conventions began to develop. Only Appa Kavi tried to say something about the Yakshgānas. Even he confined himself to mentioning the external features of the composition. What all he said was that Yakshgānas could be written with the help of Tripata, Jampe, Āta tālams, Arthachandrikas and various kinds of Ragada. This does not take us far. It only indicates that the composition is intended to be musical and that only such metres as would be conducive to produce that effect should be used. All the works of early Telugu drama conform to this rule. When other verses were used the subject matter was again explained in dwipada or prose or kandārthamu and songs were frequently used.

There is one passage in a work called *Kamēswaripāta* which alludes to the traditional origin of the Yakshagāna. In it there is a passage which says that Lord Siva sent two

Yakshas, equipped with the necessary instruments to sing these Yakshagānas and ordered them to serve Kāmavalli the deity of Kāmapalli, successively generation after generation. This probably gives us a clue as to how these Yakshagānas were performed before deities on festive occasions and how they were actually performed in the beginning.

There was no restriction regarding the theme. Purānic stories and legends often formed the subject matter. Episodes were taken from the two great epics the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata* and were composed in the form of these dramas (The story of Nala, Sugrīva etc.) Lord Krishna is a popular hero among all classes. To the philosophers, he is the supreme deity (Krishnaparamātma). The erotic find him to be the emblem of love (Sringāra) as typified by Rādhākrishna. To the illiterate, he is the mischievous shepherd boy of Yasōda. Many of these compositions select some incident or other in his life as their main theme. If it is pertaining to love it is his relations with Rādha or Gōpi. If it is pertaining to his amusement it is his Leelas. Of all these, the most popular is the love of Krishna and Gōpis. During the time of the rulers of Tanjore, incidents from the lives of contemporary monarchs were narrated in the form of these dramas. Raghunādhā's conquests are described in *Raghunādhābhyudayamu*. Shāji's love episodes and Vijayarāghava's were the themes of many dramas that were produced during that period. Important events like the marriage of a ruler or a festival also formed the theme of the drama as in *Leelāvatīsāhasarājīyamu* of Bāla Kavi Subbanna or *Tanjāpurānnadānamahānātakamu* of Vijayarāghavanāyaka.

The conversation is in verse, song or prose. Sometimes a song itself containes a dialogue as in *Samudrama dhanamu* or *Bhāmakalāpamu* where Bhāma argues with

Lord Krishna entreating him not to trouble her in the public and Lord Krishna knavely replies to her words. Though there is not much characterization in the western sense each character is carefully developed to produce the effect of *Rasa* or sentiment and the language is carefully chosen to be worthy of status of the character. The hero and heroine speak chaste language whereas minor characters which are generally introduced for purposes of humour, speak in ludicrous language to produce that effect. The writers of Tanjore seem to have observed this rule very carefully. The common reference to each author that he had knowledge of the eight languages (Ashtabhāshāpraveena) clearly indicates how every author was required to know all the prakrit languages for the purpose of introducing them wherever necessary. Rangājamma, in her work called Mannārudāsa Vilāsamu styled herself as "Atulitāshtabhāshākavitā Sarvankshamanīshāviseshasārada". In that drama in the scene where the Brahmin scholars and priests praised Vijayarāghava, she introduced the various kinds of the Prakrit languages in their conversation.

The Rasa is Sringāra, though in some cases it is over done. But in *Bhāmakalāpamu*, some of the dialogues are exquisite. The narrations of Bhāma bespeak the tenderness with which she feels, the patience with which she talks and explains, the innocence with which she loves, the raptures which she experiences as she talks of Lord Krishna (in thinking of whom she is constantly absorbed); and all these are very touching. HāsyaRasa is also essential in every play and this is utilised to relieve the minds of the audience from seriousness in the course of the story. This is created by scenes like those of the Brahmin talking fondly of the sumptuous dinners or the Pundit or the pretender of a Pundit explaining great subjects to a fool. In one of the dramas, *Tanjāvuri Annadāna Mahānātakamu*, the

Rasas prominent in it are said to be Sringāra, Hāsya and Adbhuta. In every drama, forest scenes or characters of hill tribes are introduced. They are called Erukulu or Chenchethalu (foresters). In some dramas they play the part of the heroine or a part as important as that of a heroine. In a drama like *GarudāchalaNātakamu* the chenchu girl is a very important character, because the theme of the story is the marriage between the Lord of the hill (Lakshmīnrisimha) and the forest girl.

One great defect in these dramas is that there is not much arrangement of plot. The story is narrated in the usual form. Only humorous characters are introduced here and there to amuse and entertain the audience. There is not much scenic arrangement. But great care is taken in describing the dress of every character and the necessary instructions about dress are suggested in the speeches of *Dramatis Personae* themselves. This is characteristic of great dramas and is seen in these works also.

The drama begins with prayer especially that of invoking Vigneśwara and Saraswati and the prayer song is sung with great musical skill. Next the story is announced and if it is a Yakshagāna the story begins in the usual way of a Prabhanda. But in the nātaka type, the King's servant (courtier or Chōpudāri) makes his appearance and announces the King's arrival or the King himself first appears on the stage. The other characters appear on the stage as occasion for each of them arises and exit as they finish their parts. The story is interspersed with comic scenes or the chorus-bearer himself plays the part of comic characters. In the course of the drama scenes with Ātavikas are introduced. The story always ends as a comedy and closes with Mangalam or Bharatavākyam. (Epilogue)

From this short survey it will be quite clear that the early Telugu drama had an origin of its own quite distinct from that of Sanskrit and that it formed a considerable part of the Telugu literature. Still, its virtue has been its weakness and its very simplicity and directness of appeal even to the illiterate mind have made it the object of neglect by the aristocracy of the Sanskrit biassed Telugu poets and critics. But that they have something interesting and attractive in them as a species of literary art cannot be denied.

of the prehistoric age were made) is likely to fill up the existing gaps in the cultural history of Northern and Southern India, and in this work the co-operation of a large number of scholars with proper equipment and training with the Archaeological Department is necessary. The lecturer concluded with an appeal to South Indian scholars to come forward in this task of reconstruction of history.

7-40 P. M. Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, Director-General of Archaeology, Netherlands-Indies, then delivered a lecture on the "*Development of Indian Art in Java*" illustrated with lantern slides.

"Dr. Stutterheim proved with the aid of a long series of slides that the development of Indian Art in Java cannot be regarded as a mere degeneration of its forms there, but must be considered as an adaptation of Indian forms to old indigenous Indonesian conceptions.

The changes and transformations undergone by Indian temple architecture and sculpture can be explained by the re-assertion of conceptions rooted in old-Indonesian ancestor worship and magic.

The temple-plan, originally symmetrical according to Indian ideals, became asymmetrical and elongated, like that of the ancestor temples of Polynesia. The temples themselves, in the first part of the Hindu period still quite similar to their prototypes in India, changed in meaning, into tomb-monuments for deceased kings, and in form became high and tall like menhirs. The images of the gods became images of dead kings, their life-like forms acquired a rigidity of corpses and in essence approached more and more the wooden ancestor figures of the Indonesians. The relievos changed from three-dimensional into two-dimensional form and became shadow play performances in stone the shadow play having been connected with ancestor cult. Finally, the Javanese used in their relievos many symbols, showing the

SOME WORDS DENOTING RELATIONSHIP IN THE DRAVADIAN LANGUAGES.

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There is a peculiar system in the Dravidian languages by which some pronominal bases are prefixed to words denoting family relationship with no change of meaning. The words 'Engai', 'Nangai', 'Nungai', 'Tangai', and 'Mangai' appear to have been formed from the same word 'Kai' to which the pronominal fragments 'En', 'Nan', 'Nun', 'Tan' and 'Man' are prefixed. The first four words mean 'sister' in Tamil, and the last means a woman. The five prefixes split up above are undoubtedly pronominal in origin and the last of them clearly shows a semantic divergence from the rest. The word 'Tangai' exists in Canarese in the form 'Tange' meaning sister. There are also other words formed in a similar way as 'Enbi', 'Nambi', 'Tambi' all of them mean brother in Tamil and some of them like 'Tamma—Canarese (brother) and 'Tammuḍu'—Telugu (brother) are current in the other dialects with absolutely no semantic change and with only a little of phonetic change. The word 'Akka' occurs in Telugu, which means an elder sister and I think it reasonable to explain it as having been derived by prefixing a demonstrative base 'a' to the word 'Kai' as split up above. The words 'Tandai,' Tamil (father) Canarese—Tande, and Telugu—'Taṇḍri, appear to have been related to the word 'Tāy' mother (Tamil and Canarese) in the same way as the forms analysed above are related to each other. The above examples clearly show that some cases exist where there have been semantic changes. Almost all the examples referred to by me were noticed by Dr. Caldwell in his comparative grammar of the Dravadian languages, page 395—402 Revised Edition 1913.

When studied as an extension of this principle I find that some of the words which denote relationship (family) appear to have undergone some semantic changes in the various Dravidian dialects both with and without the prefixing of pronominal fragments.

'Magan' (Tamil) son
Tamil (husband)
(Tamil Lexicon) } (Canarese) 'Maganu'—son.

In Telugu this word has undergone a change and assumed the form 'Magaḍu' or 'Maganḍu'. The earlier form is 'Maganṛu' and is identical with the form in Tamil. But it means only the husband at present and the meaning 'son' has entirely gone out of use. The Sabdaratnākara a standard Telugu Dictionary does not give the meaning of 'son'. The word 'Magan' has *in usage* no meaning of husband either in Tamil or Canarese. As shown by the Tamil Lexicon the word existed with both the meanings in the early stage and one dialect specialised in one whereas the other dialect specialised in the other.

The word 'Aṇṇan'—means elder brother in Tamil. Telugu—'anna'. (Canarese) 'aṇṇa', Malayalam 'aṇṇan' Tulu 'Aṇṇe'. The word 'anna' is said to have the meaning of 'father' in colloquial usage in Tamil—(Tamil Lexicon). Canarese people also call the father 'aṇṇa'. The Telugu people say 'Nānna' or 'Nāyana' for father, these two words being compounds of 'Nā + anna' or 'Nā + ana' (a form of 'anna'). 'Nā' is a pronominal prefix meaning 'my'. The word 'amma' in Telugu means mother and 'Māmma' means grand-mother or father's mother as distinguished from 'ammamma' mother's mother. Here the semantic change has been accompanied by the prefixing of the pronominal base 'mā'. Another expression used to denote the father's mother is 'Nānnamma' or 'Nāyanamma' which is evidently a compound and derived from 'Nānna + amma' or 'Nāyana + amma'. The word 'Tāta' in sanskrit means father as is

shown by the Amarakōsa 'Tātastu' Janakahpitā'. The same word 'Tāta' if regularly brought into Telugu ought to be 'Tātuḍu' but that form is nowhere used. The word 'Tāta' in Telugu means a grand-father, a father's father (mother's father as well) and I have no doubt that this word must have been the same as the Sanskrit one with a semantic change. The word 'Kōḍalu' in Telugu means a daughter-in-law and Brown's Telugu Dictionary page 325 gives two meanings "A daughter-in-law also a wife, Bhārya; 'Mā kōḍalu' = 'Mā Bhārya' ". A number of the village folk even to-day use the word in this sense and this sense which is not familiar to the classes, makes them question the user what exactly, the meaning of the word is as the only meaning of the word 'son's wife' known to them, does not fit in with the context. The word 'kōḍalu' appears to be a compound of two words 'Kōḍa + ālu' or 'alu' as in 'maradalu' and 'chellelu'. Kōḍa (or Koḍa) appears to mean tenderness, or youth, (Kittel's Canarese Dictionary Page 483) as such in origin it means young wife. The counterpart of the above usage may be found in the way in which a wife speaks of the husband. In those classes in which, it has been represented that the wife is addressed as 'Kōḍalu', the husband is spoken of or referred to by the wife as 'māma'. 'Māma' is the word which denotes an uncle or father-in-law. In the higher classes to distinguish between the two senses, the father-in-law is spoken of as 'māma-gāru' the last portion 'gāru' is only an honorofic and is clearly a latter addition.

As has already been shown, some of these pronominal prefixes do not bring in a semantic change and Dr. Caldwell is of opinion that these are merely honorofic which appears to be probable. Another explanation also appears to be possible. These pronominal prefixes might have been added in their original and usual significance *e. g.*, 'amma' mother, and 'māmma' = my mother (to distinguish the mothers of others), and the compound might have been afterwards extended back to its original general signification of mother.

Such instances are not lacking in Telugu. 'Abbāyi' a boy 'Ammāyi'—a girl and 'Sitāyi'—Sita, possess a suffix 'āyi' which is nothing but the vocative 'āy' (ōy) with 'i' for enunciation and the vocative forms afterwards came to be used as the Nominatives. The various honorofics that were once used have to-day become part and parcel of the names.

Now the most important task of explaining the semantic changes that have taken place in the words mentioned above remains. It can be seen that all those changes appear to have been due to one and the same cause, *viz.*, the family relationship of the individual members in olden days amongst the Dravidians. If we can prove by other independent evidence or authority, that in the Ancient Dravidian family, there were circumstances which must necessarily have led to the confusion or identification of the relationship above pointed out, the answer is given. The semantic transition may be grouped as follows :—

Elder brother = Father	Father = Graud father
'Anna' = 'Nānna'	Tāta = Tāta
Mother = Grand mother	Son = Husband
'Amma' = Māmma	Magan = Maganḍu
Daughter-in-law = wife	Father-in-law = Husband
'Kōḍalu' = Kōḍalu as (mā Kōḍalu)	Māma = Māma

All these changes appear to have been the results of a custom, which must have been widely prevalent in the Dravidian tribes, of the father marrying an older girl than his son to him and thereafter taking up the duties of the minor husband on himself until he comes of age. Traces of this custom appear to exist even now (though *very very rarely*).

The following extracts from the District Gazetteers form authoritative evidence as to the existence of the practice mentioned above.

I. *Indian Antiquary Vol. III Page 32.*

A Sudra custom in Koimbatore by J. D.

"A father marries a grown up girl 18 or 20 years old, to his son, a boy of seven or eight, after which he publicly lives with his daughter-in-law until the youth attains his majority when his wife is made over to him, generally with half a dozen children. These children are taught to address him as their father. In several cases this woman becomes the common wife of the father and the son. She pays every respect due to her wedded husband and takes great care of him from the time of her marriage".

II. *Manual of the Coimbatore District (page 58) 1887.*

(The marriages). "They take place after puberty, the male being about 20 and the girl about 15; the only exception is when a boy of 7 or 8 is occasionally married to a maternal uncle or paternal aunt's daughter of perhaps 16 or 18 in order to avoid losing so specially proper a relationship for marriage; in this case it is said that the boy's father is the de-facto husband. But this barbarous and objectionable custom is more honoured in the breach than in the observance, *and is hardly practised*, though it is alleged that it can be enforced by appeal to the community, and that upon any objection, the boy's mother is entitled (to threaten) to drown herself in a well, or (as is not unfrequently the case) she will incite her friends to tie a 'tāḷi' on the girl by fraud or force."

III. *The Gazetteer of the Madura District Vol. I page 87-88 (1906).*

" The rule that a man can claim the hand of his paternal aunt's daughter in marriage is enforced with a rigour which sometimes leads to curious complications.

The idea underlying this last custom appears to be the feeling that a woman is bound to replace the loss to her father's family occasioned by her marrying out of it, by

returning one of her daughters to that family. The simplest way of making the restoration is to marry her daughter to her brother's son. But if the brother has no son he can still demand that the girl be restored to his side of the family and can require that she shall marry some other boy belonging thereto. This latter alternative is adopted in some castes where the age of the girl is much greater than that of the mother's brother's son, but in others custom requires that the latter shall marry her however old she may be and the result is naturally the subversion of all the ordinary rules of morality."

IV. *Madura District Gazetteer p. 103.*

"*Kunnuvans*". These are the principal cultivating caste on the Palni hills. They speak Tamil.

"The claim of a man to his paternal aunt's daughter is rigidly maintained and the evasions of the rule allowed by other castes when the ages of the parties are disproportionate are not permitted. Consequently a boy sometimes marries more than one of these cousins of his, and until he reaches manhood those of them who are much older than he is, live with the other men of the caste, the boy being the nominal father of any children that may be born. A boy of nine or ten may thus be the putative father of a child of two or three."

V. *Ibid—p. 106 and 107.*

Toṭṭiyans—The only Telugu caste which is characteristic of the district are the Toṭṭiyans. Centuries ago, they say they migrated to this district.

In these people "Marriage is either infant or adult. A man has the usual claim to his paternal aunt's daughter and so rigorously is this rule followed that boys of tender years are frequently married to grown women. These latter are

allowed to consort with the husband's near relations and the boy is held to be the father of any children which may be born."

(6) *Ibid—Page 108.*

"Of the Canarese speaking castes of this district, two, the Kappiliyans and Anuppans are worth a note".

"A man's right to marry his paternal aunt's daughter is so rigorously insisted upon, that, as among the Toṭṭiyans, ill-assorted matches are common. A woman whose husband is too young to fulfil the duties of his position is allowed to consort with his near relations and the children so begotten are treated as his."

7 Page. 109 *Ibid The Anuppans*

"The right of a man to the hand of his paternal aunt's daughter is as rigorously maintained as among the Kappilians and the Toṭṭians; and leads to the same curious state of affairs." "A bride price, as usual, is paid."

8 *Gazetteer of the Salem District P. 157.*

"The Malayalis observe the rule of mēnarikam with unusual rigour and curious results. An inconvenience inherent in the "Menarikam System" is that some times the 'Urimai' girl is a good deal older than the husband allotted to her fate by custom. Hence it sometimes happens that 'sons when mere children are married to mature females and the father-in-law of the bride assumes the performance of the procreative function,' and raises up a progeny on his son's behalf. 'When the putative father comes of age and in their turn his wife's male off spring are married, he performs for them the same office that his father did for him.' If the boy husband's father is dead, or is not particularily fond of his daughter-in-law, one of his brothers or some other near male relative may be requisitioned to take charge of the girl."

Now that the quotations given above appear to confirm the existence of such a habit in at least some of the Dravidian tribes talking the four cultivated dialects, viz Tamil, Telugu Canarese and Malayalam, I feel that the linguistic evidence shown above goes to prove that the habit must have been widely prevalent in the past ages. There is no evidence so far as I could gather to state that the above mentioned hâbit exists to-day or existed in the recent past in the Telugu country also and the intimate touch the Telugu had with the Aryan civilisation is responsible for its disappearence in the Telugu country earlier than in the farther south. The south always prided in maintaining the integrity of the past Tradition (Dravidian) though even there the disappearance of this custom in the modern age has to be traced to the influence of the Aryan civilisation at a later stage.

The influence of Sanskrit language and sanskrit culture on the Telugu Language and Literature is certainly much greater than on Tamil and its Literature and in more ways than one it can be proved that the nearness of Sanskrit culture has influenced the Telugu people more than it has affected the Tamilians as a race.

Now it is easy to imagine how the semantic confusion could have been possible in the early stages in such a family. But I shall explain it for clearness. For a child born in such a family the eldest son of the family is a father as well as a brother, because he is his real father's son and the husband of his mother. So has arisen confusion between Anna and Nānna. The young wife is at the same time a yong wife to the father and a wife to his son, and as such the word 'Kōḍalu' came to mean both a wife and a son's wife. The young wife is again a mother and a grand mother to the child, because she is not only his mother but also his grand father's wife, Hence the confusion between 'amma' and 'māmma.' Again the grand-father and father

are identical in the old man of the house and hence the semantic change of 'Tāta' from father to grand-father. The confusion between the senses of son and husband is also easily explained in the above condition because the husband to the young wife is not only a husband but also a son being the son of her virtual husband, and being much younger than herself.

All the changes are explained in the above manner but it may be pointed out that though not so easily and directly yet other round about explanations may be offered for these semantic deviations and specialisations. The existence of this practice in the tribes has I feel-been established by the quotations presented above and the corroboration afforded by the linguistic forms does not appear to be a matter of chance. A lot of evidence has, I think, already been adduced by the orientalists as to the individuality of the Dravidians as distinguished from the Aryans and this piece of evidence also goes to strengthen the conclusions already established.

In this connection, a story of Sārangadhara and Citrāngi said to have ocurred in the time of Rājarājanarenda, is worth mentioning as it can be interpreted to have something to do with this practice. Rājarājanarēndra had a son named Sārangadhara who was very attractive in appearance and a princess called Citrāngi was selected as wife to the young man. This was done, after the likeness of the young man was shown in a picture to the bride. But after the old man saw the likeness of the girl in a drawing he himself wanted to marry her and did actually marry her under the pretence of marrying her to his son. When she actually come to live with her husband she found that she was deceived and she longed to have the object of her love brought near her. The man was one day brought by chance to her palace where she is said to have compelled him to have her own way but the young man was adamant as she was a mother to him. She not being able to bring him round thought of revenge

and reported to her husband that his son was a source of trouble to her, he having tried to seduce her. This enraged the father and he cut off the legs and hands of the son. Later on, a Siddha came that way and having understood the innocence of the young man by celestial sight, (Divyadrishti) made his limbs grow by a mysterious process." There is absolutely no historic evidence as to the existence of Sārangadhara and it must undoubtedly have been a myth. That this myth is authenticated and probably believed to be true in the Telugu country can be proved by two independent sources. This story has been written in the verse from by Chemakura Venkatakavi apost who lived in the time of the Nayaka Kings of Tanjore (year 1614-33) in the first quarter of the 17th century (but his version is slightly different).

Appakavi who is supposed to have lived in the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 17th century refers to the story of Sārangadhara in his grammer where he states that Sārangadhara became an immortal Sidha and handed over the Telugu Vyākarana written by Nanayya Bhatta and learnt by him by rote, in the year 'Kilaka." (1656-7).

All this proves that the story was current in the Telugu country and that it was a myth. If it were a myth why was it created at all. There is clearly a didactic purpose in it, that the son should have nothing to do with the woman whom the father was living with as a *de facto* husband. The story must have been created some time after the 11th century *i. e.*, after Rājarājanarēndra, by some who has seen the clash and incongruousness of both the Aryan and Dravidian systems. According to the practice that was held up by the story as moral, if the old father was living with a woman as his second wife, the son after he grows up shall have nothing to do with the woman though she was originally fixed up for him and she may be left alone as his father's second wife. This would be a happy solution and probably this is what is aimed at by the author of the story. I feel

supernatural magic power of heroes and gods, unknown in Indian art, but created in Indian style.

Thus the lecture demonstrated that the Javanese had not merely taken over Indian art ideals and had used them until degeneration followed, but that already from the beginning they had consciously applied them for a higher and better expression of their own, old indigenous, Indonesian conceptions of hereafter (ancestor worship) and religious magic."

9-30 P. M. The members and delegates were entertained at the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall by the Trivandrum amateurs who staged select scenes from Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadatta*.

Tuesday: 21st December 1937.

8 to 11 A. M. The Sectional Meetings were held in the rooms of H. H. the Maharaja's College of Science and the Presidential Addresses of the Vedic Sanskrit, Classical Sanskrit, Philosophy, History, Archaeology and Islamic Culture Sections were delivered.

1 to 3-30 P. M. The Presidential Addresses of Malayālam and other Dravidian Languages, Kerala Art and Culture, Ardhamāgadhī and Pāli, Iranian and Zoroastrian, and Philology Sections were delivered. The Paṇḍita Parishat had its first session between 1 and 4 P. M.

4-30 to 7 P. M. Members and delegates were invited to a Garden Party at the Kowdiar Palace, the residence of H. H. the Maharaja. The function was largely attended and Their Highnesses mingled freely with the guests. There was also a performance of *Kathakali* in which select scenes from *Dakshayāga* were acted by the Palace troupe.

9-30 P. M. After dinner, Dr. J. H. Cousins gave a lantern lecture on "*Post Ajanta Mural Paintings*" which was followed by an Indian Classical Dance by Mr. Gopinath the Palace Dancer, and his troupe. A summary of the lecture is given below—

that there is an intimate connection between the habit referred to by me above and this story. By itself the story may lead us to nothing but when read together with all the other evidence it appears to fit in with the explanations.

There is another story (The story of Kunala) which appears to be similar to the myth of Sarangadhara current in India in the 7th century. Cf. Buddhist records of the western world by Beal-Trubners Oriental series—page 139 (Vol. 1). Though this story is different from the episode of Sarangadhara in details, still the principle involved in both is the same and both are myths. It appears to me that this might have also been intended to discourage incestous relationship.

A direct discouragement of this Dravidian habit in the Telugu country must have started about or after the time of Rājarājanarēndra by the upholders of Aryan institutions.

I may once more state that this adds to the evidence already adduced to prove that the Dravidian culture and languages are distinct from the Aryan languages and culture in origin.

JAINISM IN KANNAḌA LITERATURE.

H. Chennakeśava Ayyangar, M. O. L.,
Senior Lecturer and Head of the
Kannada Department, University of Madras.

The First contact of Jainism with the Kannaḍa country.

Jainism in South India has been in existence for a period extending over 2,200 years now. The first permanent abode of the Jainas after their migration to the south from Pāṭalīputra or Ujjain in about 297 B. C. is at the rocky hills, called Śravaṇa Belgoḷa in Mysore of the Kannaḍa country. This marks the date of introduction of Jainism into South India and marks also an epoch in the history of Digambara Jaina migration to the Karṇāṭaka. From here branched off, after a time, a number of Jaina Sanghas to the Tamil country and to the North Karṇāṭaka and a few parts of the Telugu country. Wherever they went they appear to have gained a good deal of influence with the ruling powers of the parts visited. Although the original language of their *Tattvārtha*, *Āgamas* and *Purāṇas* was Ardhamāgadhi (and Prākrits) and latterly Sanskrit, exigencies compelled the Jainas to adopt the South Indian indigenous languages, *viz.*, Kannaḍa, Tamil and Telugu as media to propagate their religion in the South, the country of their adoption. In this respect Kannaḍa stands undoubtedly the first in the list. There is no subject or *śāstra* of the original Jaina works, which has been left untouched in its Kannaḍa rendering.

Jaina works in Kannaḍa Literature.

The Jaina works in Kannaḍa flourished mostly under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Gangas and the Hoysaḷas and to a small extent under the Chālukyas, the Kings of Vijayanagara the Pāḷeyagārs of the Tuḷuva country and the Mysore kings. The Jainas lay great stress in their works on four

kinds of gifts, *viz.*, food, medicine, knowledge and peace or succour from fear. Many works are available on each of these subjects in Kannaḍa. Under religious knowledge are written—

1. *Tattvārtha-mahā-śastra-Vyākhyāna*, called *Chūḍā-maṇi*, consisting of 96,000 *granthas*, by Tumbuḷūrāchārya of about 650 A. D.

2. *Chāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇā*, a prose work of the 10th century, dealing with the lives of 63 Jaina Śalākāpuruṣas (or ideal personages). *viz* 24 Tīrthankaras, 12 Chakravartins, 9 Vāsudevas, 9 Baladevas and 9 Prati-Vāsudevas;

3. Independent works, called Purāṇas, on the lives of eleven of the Tīrthankaras, one or more for each of the lives of Ṛṣabha, Ajita, Dharma, Śānti, Malli, Nēmi, Pārśva and Vardhamāna, with the epithet *Nātha* added to each of these names;

4. Lives of about ten Jaina princes, *viz.*, of Sukumāra, Jīvandhara, Dhanyakumāra Sanatkumāra, Jayanṛpa, Śrī-pāla, Prabhanjana, Nāgakumāra, Varāṅga and Bijjaḷarāya, written by different authors.

Under secular knowledge there are a number of works in Kannaḍa on—

1. The science of general medicine, Veterinary science, Mathematics, Physiography, Astrology, Cookery and many other useful and interesting sciences;

2. Omens, Magic remedies and precious stones;

3. Grammar, Prosody and Poetics;

4. Lexicons and Anthologies.

Besides these are works on subjects such as *Paramāgama*, *Dvādaśānupreksha* etc., and works in the form of collection of Jaina religious stories, such as *Dharmāmṛta*, *Samyaktva-kaumudi* etc., to bring home the tenets of Jainism to the

masses. There are also works in Kannaḍa on the duties of a Jain householder and on the comparative merits of religions. A number of Jaina *stotras* have also been composed in Kannaḍa. *Rajāvali-Kathe*, a prose work of Jaina history and tradition by Devachandra of 1838 A. D., is of great help as a guide to the history of Jaina religion and literature in the Kannaḍa country.

The teachings of Jainism through Kannaḍa Literature.

In all the Jaina religious works in Kannaḍa we find the doctrines and tenets of Jainism and the Jaina ideals clearly explained and illustrated. The conception of the Universe with its three component parts or worlds, its unknown and limitless origin, the absence of a Supreme Being, Creator and Ruler of the Universe, the significance of births and rebirths, of *Sallēkhana* or voluntary starvation, the advocacy of severe austerities, means to control and conquer life, victory over the bodily passions, renunciation, asceticism, and individual and universal peace are all explicitly brought out. Every *jīva* possesses the power of purging itself of its *karma* and attaining to a divine perfection so as to become a Jina or Tīrthankara in the end.

Kannaḍa Literature and Jaina propaganda.

One noticeable feature of secular works in Kannaḍa by Jaina authors is that we find the imprimatur of Jainism and Jaina colour creeping into them with the least friction and in a most compromising manner. *Kabbigara Kāvam* by Āṇḍayya (c. 1235 A. D.) is an instance in point, where Śiva of the purāṇic episode of *Kāma-dahana* is in this Jaina work allowed to suffer from the curse of Kāmadeva to become a "*half-woman*" (*Ardhanārīśvara*) in the fight that ensued between them, while Kāma himself is made to survive after light punishment of deportation or incarceration for a time. *Kavirājamārga*, a work on Poetics of the early 9th century, which is more or less a rendering of Dandin's

Kavyādarśa, substitutes Jaina conceptions for the Brahmanic ones embodied in the sūtras and illustrations. The *Pampa Bhārata* and the *Gadā-Yuddha* of the first and the second half of the 10th century, by the Jaina poets Pampa and Ranna respectively, possess a contemporary historical background, notwithstanding their appearance of the epic of the *Mahābhārata* for all outward purposes, and dexterously employ tenets which are common both to Brahmanism and Jainism, but which are, at the same time, the essential doctrines of Jainism. For nearly a century of Jaina inactivity during the 11th century owing to the onslaught by the Chōḷas and other causes, the Jainas had to fight their way in the 12th century against other religions in the Kannaḍa country. The smooth sailing of the earlier centuries of the Jaina propaganda disappeared to give place to unpleasant attacks and counter attacks against other religions. This unhappy position of Jainism can be said to have continued more or less in the same strain during the subsequent centuries but for a slight relief during the Hoysaḷa ascendancy. In spite of their eye on propaganda it must be said to the credit of the Jainas that they have contributed very largely to enrich Kannaḍa Literature. The Jaina works, on the whole, form a very great important section of Kannaḍa Literature and throw a flood of light on the history and tenets of Digambara Jainism in South India, particularly in the Kannaḍa country.

TELUGU LITERATURE: PAST AND PRESENT

By Vimarsakagresara N. Kuppuswamayya
(of Tirupati)

Of no less importance than Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese, three of the four Dravidian languages of South India, is the Telugu language. It is the commonly spoken language of the central and north-eastern districts of the Madras Presidency comprising the Ceded Districts and the Northern Circars and also a considerable portion of H. E. H. the Nizam's dominions. Another appellation of this language is 'Andhra', a word which is more in currency among the present day peoples of this country.

History does not take us back beyond a thousand years to enable us to trace the growth and the vicissitudes of this language and literature and much less its antiquity. Barring the writings on a few ancient inscriptions which have recently come to light as a result of the labours of the Archæological Department we do not come across any literature worth the name before the days of Rajaraja Narendra, the great Chalukyan King, who ruled over the Telugu country in the eleventh century A. D. with Rajahmundry for his capital. Nannaya Bhatta, the first and one of the great trinity of Telugu poets was the poet-laureate of that illustrious King, and he immortalised himself by translating the Sanskrit Mahabharata in running Telugu verse. His Telugu rendering however covers the first two Parvas and one third of the Vana Parva. Besides this magnificent work he is accredited with the authorship of Andhrasabda Chintamani, the first treatise on the Telugu grammar, written however in Sanskrit verse. A mastery over the Sanskrit and Telugu languages was not his only accomplishment; he seems to have acquired proficiency in various other languages such as Kannada, Tamil, and so on, which have earned for him the unique title of 'Sakala Bhásháváganusásana' (he who laid down rules regarding

the words of all languages). Being the first great author as far as is known to history and a thorough puritan in his writings, he has come to be regarded as the greatest among Telugu poets by all subsequent authors. Equally great poets who succeeded him, namely, Thikkana and Erra Preggada, completed the remaining portion of the Mahabharata, closely maintaining the high and excellent literary standards set up by Nannaya Bhatta. Of Thikkana it is no exaggeration to state that he was in no way inferior to the great Nannaya Bhatta. In the opinion of several competent scholars, he has even excelled him in style, idiom, diction and delineation of character. The writings of Erra Preggada, the third of the above poets, reveal a delightful combination of the poetical excellences of the other two. The language of these three great poets is so idiomatic and simple, the style so flowing and charming, the diction so vast and apposite, the grammar and structure so faultless and erudite, that they have become commonly known as the 'Kavitraya' or triumvirate of Telugu literature. They are the great pillars of the Telugu language and the model for all subsequent poets.

Another great poet of the same age is Bammera Pótana, the author of the Telugu Bhagavatam, a work written in such charming and mellifluous style and so fully saturated with Bhakti Rasa that it has become even more popular than the Mahabharata with the Telugu speaking people. These four—Nannaya, Thikkana, Erra Preggada and Pótana—shine like stars of the first magnitude in the firmament of Telugu poets, and their age may be called the Puranic Period while the subsequent period may be styled as the Prabantha Period.

చ॥ ద్రళితవమీసకంజళ కదంబ కదంబక కేతకీరజో
మిళితసుగంధ బంధుర సమీరణ మస్సళి యూచుచుండఁగా
నులియుచుఁ బువ్వగుత్తులను నుయ్యెలలూఁపఁగ నెక్కి యూగెను
ల్లలదళినీ కులంబు మృదులధ్వని గీతము విస్తరించుచున్॥

(నన్నయభట్టు)

చ॥ ఒకరుని చేతిప్రోపును దదున్నతి ప్రాపునుగాంచి యెల్లవెం
టకును గొఅంతలేక పొగడందగు సంపద నొందియట్టిదా
తకు మదిఁగీడురోసిన కృతఘ్నుని పీనుఁగునైనరోఁతపు
ట్టక కబళింపఁ గుక్కలు నొడంబడునే కురువంశవర్ధనా॥
(తిక్కన)

ఉ॥ ఎవ్వనిచే జనించు జగమెవ్వనిలోపలనుండు లీనమై
యెవ్వనియందు డిందుఁ బరమేశ్వరుఁడెవ్వఁడు మూలకారణుం
డెవ్వఁడనాదిమధ్యలయుఁ డెవ్వఁడు పర్వము దానయైనవాఁ
డెవ్వఁడు వానినాత్మభవు నీశ్వరు నే శరణంబు వేఁడెదన్॥ (పోతన)

శా॥ కింకుర్వాణపురందరాదిక మహాగీర్వాణకోటీకిరీ
టాంకస్థాపితమాల్యరత్న రుచిధారాశ్లేషప
త్పంకేజుండు హరుండు జంతువులకుం బ్రాణాంతకాలంబులం
దోంకారాహర మంత్రరాజమునెవిక్ ధ్యానించుఁ గాశీస్థలిన్॥
(శ్రీనాథుడు)

During the second period works written in the Kavya or Prabantha style come into prominence, and they devote themselves mainly to descriptions of the beauties of nature and of the human form and of artificial sceneries. Among the first to introduce this style of writing may be mentioned Nanne Choda, Nachana Somana, and Srinatha. Even Erra Preggada tried his hand very successfully at this method of literary composition. A distinguishing feature of this kind of literature is the introduction of a larger element of Sanskrit diction. In this preliminary Prabantha Period the themes adopted were from Puranic legends, and they were described and developed with many fascinating embellishments, alankaras of both form and matter, and Rasas (flavours) and Dhwani (suggestiveness) which are considered by all rhetoricians as the very soul of poetry. To name only a few of the great poets of this period we have Peddana (author of *Manucharitram*), Timmana (of *Pârijâtapaharanam*), Ramarajabhûshana (of *Vasucharitra*), Ramalinga (of *Panduranga-mahatmyam*), Pingali Sooranna

(of *Kalápoornódayam*). Their scholarship in Telugu and Sanskrit was vast and profound and they demonstrated to the world their past mastery in the art of poetical composition of this kind. Though their poems are pleasing to the imagination, both on account of their vividness of description and picturesqueness of style, they are not so informative or instructive as the works of the Puranic period.

శా॥ శ్రేణుల్గట్టినభోంతరాళమునఁ బాఱెం బథ్థులుష్ణాంశుపా
పాణవ్రాతము గోష్ణమయ్యె మృగతృష్ణావాప్తులింకెంజపా
శోణంబయ్యెఁ బతంగబింబముది శాప్తోమంబుశోభాదరి
ద్రాణంబయ్యె సరోజ మండములు నిద్రాణంబులయ్యెంగదుఁ॥
(పెద్దన)

సీ॥ కనుపట్టెనొకచోట ఘుసఘుసానాఘుసరంగ విద్యున్నటీనాట్య విలస
[నములు
చూపట్టె నొకచాయ వాపికాజలజాతజాలవాచాలహంస
[వ్రజంబు
తలసూపె నొకవంక దరదళత్సేవంతికాగంధినీహారకణభరములు
పొదసూపె నొకచక్కిఁ బుష్పిత ఫలినీలవంగవాసితశైత్యవైభవ
[ములు

తే॥ నెఱసెనొక యెడఁ దామ్రపర్ణీజలార్ద్ర
చందనాచలపవమాన కందళములు
మొనసెనొక కడ సామినంపుల్లమల్లి
పాటలీచంపకోత్పల ప్రౌఢిమములు॥ (తిమ్మన)

క॥ తలిరులతుదఁ జినుకులుజల
జలపడియఁగఁదడిసి మెలఁగుచలికరువలిను
న్వొలపమున విరియుఁబరువపుఁ
దొలుమొగడల వలపుఁదెలుపు తోటలలోనన్॥ (తిమ్మన)

This Prabantha literature became the model and supplied the inspiration for all later day poets. In point of mere scholarship the successors were second to none of

the great masters of the Prabantha period, but their art did not disclose any freshness of form or substance and there was no real enrichment of literature by their efforts; and they slavishly copied and largely improved upon the tricks of style and even the idiosyncracies of composition of their predecessors, and their productions have in consequence resulted in stereotyped barrenness.

Before coming to dwell upon the Telugu literary compositions of the present times it is as well to note the chief characteristics of the poetical works of the periods which we have dwelt upon. All the poets have uniformly striven to adopt strictly literary standards of their illustrious predecessors, not swerving from grammatical and prosodial conventions or elegances of expression. It should be remembered that a mastery of the Sanskrit language and grammar is a *sine qua non* for understanding the earlier poetical works and much more for writing elegant and dignified Telugu poetry or prose, and the poets of the above periods were all great masters of Sanskrit language. Of this class of poets it may be said that their writings are so replete with Sanskrit terms and expressions that it is not easy to master them without a good grinding in Sanskrit language and grammar. The Telugu part contributes the melody, the Sanskrit conveys the loftiness of thought and richness of imagery, the grammar and prosody keeps everything within the confines of literary diction and propriety.

If we have discussed at some length only the poetry of the Telugu literature it is only because the Telugu literature consisted till a few decades ago mostly of poetry. Prose writings were rare and were to be seen interspersed in patches here and there in the poetical works themselves. Almost the first great scholar to write in faultless and grammatical Telugu prose was Chinnaya Suri whose *Nitichandrika* has ever since stood as a standard for all subsequent Telugu prose compositions, and whose *Balavyakaranam* has acquired unique renown as a fairly comprehensive grammar on Telugu.

"Dr. Cousins said that the title of his lecture might suggest an All-India survey, in keeping with the inclusiveness of the Oriental Conference, of mural painting in India, subsequent to the golden age with which all the world was now familiar. It was, however, rather an indication of a study that was in the process of development on the side of its materials, and to which he proposed only to make a brief indication from the point of view of a single area, namely, that in which the Conference was meeting. Work on post-Ajantan murals was going on in other areas, and the results would, no doubt, be duly made known. He had himself been concerned in the bringing to light of a set of ceiling paintings of the Vijayanagar period in a small and remote temple in the Deccan, and he trusted that copies of them would soon be available.

Turning to the mural painting of the Kerala coast, Dr. Cousins said that the realisation of the historical and artistic value of the wall-paintings in temples and palaces was of recent growth, but the movement for the discovery and conservation of such works had already, in Travancore, through the encouragement given by His Highness and the Government and the cordial co-operation of the departments of Archaeology and Fine Arts, produced a substantial record of originals in good preservation of which faithful copies had been made. Such copies were now on public view in the Śrī Chitrālayam in Trivandrum, and he hoped that a series of reproductions in full colour would before long be made available for addition to the educational material of art-organisations and private collections. Similar conservation and reproduction was, he understood, in process in the neighbouring State of Cochin.

Chronology of the Kerala Murals.

As regards the chronology of the Travancore murals, Dr. Cousins continued, the absence, so far, of contemporaneous records made the dating of the murals at present a

Coming to recent times two great Telugu scholars, the late Viresalingam Pantulu and the late Vedam Venkataraya Sastrulu, introduced an innovation in their Telugu prose writings by relaxing the rules of Sandhi and the distinction between the two kinds of répha (ర and ఱ) thus making the writings less pedantic and more easy of understanding. It must be said to their credit that they went so far and no further in the matter of simplifying Telugu prose writings and did not interfere with the purity of diction or lower the standards of literary composition. The relaxation of the rules of Sandhi and the non-observance of the distinction between the two kinds of répha in prose works intended for the benefit of students of lower standards and commonfolk may no doubt be desirable. But even those responsible for the innovations did not follow any regular system or order in this respect, and we find in many places in their writings no uniformity in the non-observance of the rules.

In more recent times, however, marked changes are observable in the writings of authors. Persons ill-equipped for the task have begun to aspire to the fame of poets. Young men having only a meagre acquaintance with the Telugu literature and with little or no knowledge of Sanskrit are attempting to write dramas, novels, and other works, for the edification of persons whose tastes seem to have also correspondingly fallen low. It is not uncommon to find in the writings of the present day authors such grammatical disfigurations as శిరోత్రైలము, అభ్యంగనము, ప్రాముఖ్యత, ప్రావీణ్యత, కమలలోచని, అనేకమాఱులు, బాణవేమక, పునీతము, కంఠోపాఠము, గౌరవనీయులు etc.

Most of the conventions of poetry, grammar and of prosody are not observed. Several writers have discarded the observance of the distinctions between Ardhánuswara and Sakata répha—the two stumbling blocks in the paths of authors in the Telugu language, the justification for this abandonment being the failure to observe them in a few instances even by renowned poets. Some go the length of

eschewing 'Prasam' and 'Yati' in their so-called poetical compositions, two of the essential characteristics of elegant Telugu poetry.

A new species of poetry has sprung up within recent years which is known as 'Bháva Kavitwam', which may be rendered into English as 'poetry of ideas'. The poetical productions of this school purport to be fashioned after the lyrical pieces in the English language, and may be called Khanda Kavyas, like the *Meghasandesa* of Kalidasa. It should be observed that most of these modern works rarely go beyond versification and they reveal little literary merit or real poetical imagination. They would seem to be written largely for obtaining introduction in the educational institutions as text-books and earning money thereby.

Yet another change which is gradually coming into vogue is the increasing use of the spoken dialect and colloquial terms. As the dialects vary in different districts and the same expressions are used in different ways by different communities no uniformity of style is possible of attainment. It needs no argument to prove that the spoken dialects of the present times must have been the same as that which prevailed in ancient times with fluctuations due to provincial or local peculiarities, and it is a misnomer therefore to imagine that there is anything like modern Telugu. What is modern about this kind of recent compositions in prose is the employment of the terminology of the market place in books pretending to literary distinctions. Such terminology is plain, common, devoid of beauty or grace and inelegant, and it is easy to perceive that loose and standardless spoken dialect is unfit to be employed in literary works.

The so-called reformation of the Telugu language which was hailed by many as simplification of its genius and the better correlation of the spoken language with the language of literature has really resulted in a deplorable lowering of levels in diction and purity of expression. It is a great pity that the pure, elegant, mellifluous and

charming Telugu of the olden times has been undergoing a deliberate disfiguration at the hands of the protagonists of this new school of literary thought. Works written in strict accordance with the standards established by the great ancient poets have become increasingly rare, and those that do appear in this dress do not pass muster with the rising generation. It is sadder still to find that books written in the commonplace and vulgar dialect are sought to be introduced even in the seats of learning as text-books for study in the High Schools and the Colleges. Little do these reformists realise that to deform is not to reform.

In days when the mind is most impressionable it should be brought into contact with pure and high class literature maintaining first-rate standards of excellence from the point of view of grammar, idiom, prosody, diction and rhythm. And if in later days it becomes necessary to get acquainted with works in prose or poetry of lower standards there will be no real danger in the direction of deterioration of literary taste. Unless all true lovers of Telugu language and literature which has been rightly acclaimed as the 'Italian of the East' for its melody and symphony cry halt to this process of gradual but steady deterioration and make up their minds to proclaim the danger even at the risk of incurring a certain amount of unpopularity with the younger generation with a pronounced dislike for what are called conservative ideas and ideals and prancing for reform—unless this is done, Telugu literature strictly so called will soon dwindle into comparative insignificance and will eventually disintegrate and decay, losing its place in the literatures of the East. I would like on such an important and memorable occasion as this to make a special appeal to true lovers of Telugu language to check-mate these modern disintegrating tendencies and give them in the interests of the language and literature a turn in the right direction so that true literary effort in Telugu prose and poetry might continue to maintain its usual level of chastity, excellence and elegance.

In my opinion strict literary standards should be followed in purely literary works, poetry or prose, and in works intended to convey instructions to the rising generation in scientific and popular subjects and also in light literature such as novels, etc., the relaxations introduced by Viresalingam Pantulu and Venkataraya Sastrulu may be followed in order that those works may be more readable and easy of comprehension; but on no account should any recognition or encouragement be accorded to the adoption of the loose and commonplace spoken dialect in any writings.

SECTION XIV.

OTHER "INDIAN LANGUAGES" PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

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The observations that I propose to make today on the non-Dravidian languages of India are purely from the standpoint of a man of the South who has had opportunities of cultivating acquaintance with some of these non-Dravidian tongues mainly for the enjoyment of the literary treasures contained in them and secondarily for some help in the linguistic work carried on by him. Primarily, the fascination of these northern speeches for me was purely literary : the bhakti-filled Tulasīdās of old, and the *conteurs* Prēmchand and Jayaśaṅkara Prasād of today in Hindī ; the poets Madhusūdhan Datta, Rabīndranāth and Satyendranāth Datta, the novelists Bankimchandra, Rabīndranāth and Saratchandra in Bengali ; Gandhiji's essays and writings in Gujerati ; and the sayings of Tukārām in Marāṭhi ;—it was these that first attracted me to these speeches, and though my knowledge of these tongues has not had the profundity of a specialist, I have never missed an opportunity of taking now and then a dip in these sanctified pools of wisdom and entertainment. An earnest student of Dravidian that I have been for the past twenty years, I have had perforce to be *au courant* with some of the scholarly research carried on in connection with non-Dravidian languages. For, it is becoming increasingly clear today that no Indianist (whatever his particular sphere may be) can ignore the Indian languages or cultures that lie outside his immediate purview. India was the scene of racial and cultural fusion again and again in the past, and our heritage today bears the unmistakable impress of this series of past fusions. The process has not

stopped yet; on the other hand, the study of English and of Western culture has only helped forward this fusion in diverse ways. Whether we are students of Dravidian, Indo Āryan or Kolarian, the necessity for some knowledge of cultures and languages outside our immediate sphere has become imperative today.

No longer is it proper to call the more important Indian languages of today "vernaculars" (in the restricted sense of the term). Both past heritage and present-day achievements entitle them to the status and dignity of "Modern Indian Languages". I am not unaware of the recent observations of Prof. Bloch (L'Indo-Aryen, p. 321) "While the most cultivated among the Indo-Āryan languages have acquired a wealth of vocabulary equal to that of I. E., on account of the material supplied by Sanskrit primarily and Persian secondarily, they have not succeeded in attaining the richness of nuance and the psychological *liaison* of I. E., as there was a divorce between language and culture in the past history of these languages." The fact that pre-occupation with Sanskrit on the part of scholars in the past has resulted in insufficient cultivation of the living speeches is largely true, though even here (as Dr. S. K. Chatterjea has pointed out in his review of Prof. Bloch's book in the *Calcutta Review*) instances are not wanting to show that philosophical and technical ideas were adequately discussed in the living speeches also. Be this as it may, there is an ever-increasing consciousness on the part of the peoples of India today that the language which one has learnt at the mother's knee is more precious to them than any other. This love of the mother tongue is finding expression in numerous ways. Witness the attempts made to resuscitate the literary culture of Rājasthāni and of Maithili in the North, and the enthusiasm displayed by the Tuluvas in the South to cultivate their mother tongue and create a literature of their own. Here and there one does meet people who still look down

upon their mother tongue ; but their number is fast dwindling. I may be permitted in this connection to give you a striking instance of a young man of the South who had the utmost contempt for his native speech (vehicle of a fairly ancient literary culture though it was) but who after a few years of study at Śāntiniketan became so ashamed of his indifference that he began the study of his mother tongue for the first time in all earnestness and has now become one of the most powerful writers of his province.

The consciousness of the importance of one's mother tongue is everywhere spreading in India ; and some of our Universities are translating this feeling into action too. The Osmania University has already led the way by making Urdu the medium for all courses of study and by preparing text-books in Science and Technology. The Punjab and the Calcutta Universities have also made the languages of these provinces the media of instruction up to a certain standard. The inspiring influence of Prof. Woolner (whose death a year ago has been a serious blow to the cause of Indianist studies) made this possible in the Punjab ; and the untiring efforts of the energetic Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Mr. Shyām Prasād Mukherji, have converted into an accomplished fact a dream of his noble father, the *bāṅglār Bāgh*. I understand that a bureau of scholars is now working at the compilation of scientific and technical vocabularies in Calcutta. Such lists are essential for all the main Indian languages, and a few individuals and learned bodies in other parts of India have already compiled tentative lists. Some inter-provincial co-ordination of activities in this direction would, I think, smoothen the work and be conducive to better results. The basic principles on which such compilations are to be proceeded with have to be discussed and decided on by a committee of experts recruited from all parts of India. The interesting suggestion that with the exception of terms which are in active

currency in the different provinces the terminology of the West may be adopted (with the necessary structural modifications in assimilating them to each Indian language) merits consideration. Wherever actively current native words are available, they may be retained; but for the rest we may unreservedly indent upon the Western forms. This, I think is a compromise which would meet all needs and at the same time ensure interprovincial and international contacts.

The recognition of the supremacy of one's mother tongue is manifesting itself in the publication of definitive editions of old texts and in the investigation of the cultures enshrined in them. The work of the Nāgarī Pracāraṇī Sabhā is well known. Some of the Sāhitya Pariṣads and the Universities of Calcutta, Dacca and Allahabad are also making themselves active here. The Indian Orientalist journals are throwing open their coulmns to papers treating about the living languages of India and their literary and linguistic heritage. I do not possess full information about the work done recently in the several provinces, but I find that good headway is being made in Bengal in the publication of old manuscripts and in the study of Bengali culture and language. Professor Chatterji informs me that apart from the work done by scholars even the lay public are interesting themselves in the study of the heritage of Bengal. A society for the revival of the old Bengali style of Kīrtan singing has been formed. A popular weekly Śanibārēr Ciṭṭī is bringing out properly collated editions of old works in a series entitled Duṣprāpyagranthamālā.

Historical accounts of the literatures of the more prominent Indo-Āryan languages already exist; but barring a few these are written in the respective languages themselves. I think it desirable that authoritative accounts should appear in English in a more amplified form than is available in the all-too-short manuals of the "Heritage of India" series.

Scholars in different provinces should not only get to know of the literary and cultural activities of other provinces but should also have opportunities of comparing notes and exchanging ideas. While a journal like the *Oriental Literary Digest* (a new *Besprechungs-Zeitschrift* started in Poona on the model of the reputed *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung*) can help here, scholars should (I think) also have opportunities of consulting one another. The Bhāratīya Sāhitya Pariṣad which, I believe, is still working, is an excellent move in promoting interprovincial contacts. The provincial Sāhitya Pariṣads might establish connections with the Bhāratīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, and special conferences might be organized for discussing common work. This would facilitate an effective co-ordination of activities which is bound to strengthen purely provincial work too. One of the ways in which interprovincial understanding among scholars may be strengthened is to publish representative extracts from the classics of each language in a common script (with English renderings and biographical introductions. The need for such volumes has been expressed to me time and again by many lovers of literature in the South.

This leads me to the question of a common script for Indian languages. The suggestion that the Nāgarī script may be used (with modifications and diacritics) for this purpose has found favour in some quarters. I hope you will not convict me of parochialism when I say that the suggestion does not appeal to me for many practical reasons. I am one of those who think that with the march of time India will have to fall in line with the west and adapt the Roman script to its needs. This question has been very ably discussed by Prof. S. K. Chatterji in a recent paper of his (Calcutta University Phonetic Studies, No. 4.) The comparative simplicity of the letters, the alphabetic character of the writing, the absence of complicated conjunct ligatures and the wide employ of the Roman script in the world today, these are some of the factors in favour of the Roman script ;

and if the script is adopted with Sanskrit names and arranged according to the scientific scheme of Sanskrit, it will (says Prof. Chatterji) be 'an ideal script, as far as scripts go.' Prof. Chatterji has discussed all aspects of the question and met the needs of national self-respect and sentiment. He does not advocate for the present a revolutionary supplanting of the old script all at once. He has outlined a gradual scheme whereby the script could be popularised through the successive stages of propaganda, University recognition and optional use in educational institutions.

It would be appropriate in this context to refer to a subject which is exercising many minds in our presidency today, *viz.* the compulsory study of Hindī in our schools. The cry that the popularisation of Hindī in the South would ring the death-knell of the Dravidian cultures and languages has no substance in it. The antagonism that is sought to be made out between Āryan Hindī and Dravidian Tamil or Dravidian Telugu is a myth. Speaking as I do before a gathering of scholars it needs no emphasis on my part that neither culturally nor otherwise has there been a conflict between Indo-Āryan and Dravidian. On the other hand, from the earliest known periods, IA and Dravidian have influenced each other both culturally and linguistically. The wail that the study of Hindī will stifle the South Indian speeches out of existence is raised by those who are ignorant of the numerous past contacts and interactions of IA and Dravidian. The stories of Rama and of Krishna and the spiritual wealth of the scriptures form the basis of the literary heritage alike of the North and of the South; it is these that have nourished the cultures of all parts of Hindu India and still continue to inspire the lives and the outlook of a large section of people. To say then that the ideas of a work like Tulsīdās' *Rām Carit Mānas* would be destructive of the culture of people who have produced a Kamban or a Pampā or an Ezhuthachan bespeaks either crass ignorance of facts or extreme intellectual myopia.

matter of inference from collateral circumstances and internal evidence. Three stages seemed fairly certain. In the tracing from fragments of what must have been a fairly large mural in a cave at Tirunandikkara, taken to be of the ninth century, they appeared to have the earliest example of mural art in the State. This rendered it of special local importance. But it had, he ventured to surmise, a wider interest in showing probably the stage of transition from the simplicity of the Ajantan mood to the elaborateness of the Hindu conception and expression of the life of the universe. The atmosphere of the fragment, if they were not misreading it, was that of Ajanta, but the figures were identified as Śaivite, and probably led on through gradations of which they might yet recover traces, into the subsequent stage of devotional and symbolical detail so richly and uniquely expressed in the murals of Padmanābhapuram Palace, which represented the second stage of which they had records.

The Padmanābhapuram murals now consisted of the contents of a single room in the Palace that had for centuries prior to the establishment of Trivandrum as the State-capital, been the centre of Government. They were, therefore, almost certainly the survivors of a much larger set of murals in the palace and elsewhere and in successive stages of growth. Their artistic distinctiveness was obvious, and showed the stylistic peak of attainment of generations of artist devotees. Along with a remarkable exuberance of detail and decoration, they expressed a dignified reserve in the deific figures, and through a strict convention managed to convey a vivid sense of super-personality.

The third phase.

The Padmanābhapuram phase in the legislative life of the people, and probably also in the cultural life, ended in the mid-eighteenth century, when Maharaja Mārtāṇḍa Varmā moved the capital from Padmanābhapuram to Trivandrum. His dedication of the State to the deity probably also moved

Perhaps a little more serious is the objection that the compulsory prescription of Hindi for the first three forms of our High Schools might overweight the syllabus, tax the powers of the pupil and even lame his mind in its freedom of movement. This is not, however, an insuperable difficulty if we remember that the aim is only to enable the pupil to become acquainted with the elements of grammar and to pick up a small stock of vocabulary. The course can be made sufficiently easy to begin with. In this connection the recent pleas for the popularisation of a simplified Hindī should not be dismissed lightly. I think it would not be absolutely difficult for a committee of experts to devise a basic Hindi grammar and vocabulary somewhat on the lines adopted by C. K. Ogden for his "Basic English". Dr. S. K. Chatterji has already put in a plea for the use (in non-Hindī provinces) of a simplified Hindī in which the grammar will be regulated on the basis of the common colloquial Hindustānī current in different parts of India today. His scheme, I think, deserves consideration at the hands of scholars and authorities in the South. The employment of natural gender, the formation of plurals by composition, the uniform use of *Kā* (instead of *Kā*, *Kē* and *Kī*,) the absence of the rules of concord of gender and number, these exist already in the colloquial Hindī used in non-Hindī provinces. Prof. Chatterji has evolved a grammatical scheme based on the somewhat heterogeneous forms and constructions employed in these colloquials. The use of a simplified grammar in the non-Hindī provinces should on no account be interpreted as a fiat to native Hindīs that they should forget their own *Khaḍī bolī Hindī*. What is envisaged in such a scheme is only that for the popularisation of an all-India medium the non-Hindīs may have the freedom to use a carefully regulated grammatical scheme based on the colloquials current already in different parts of India. If the Khaḍī bolī Hindī of today is itself the result of a process of fusion and standardization that went on in North

India from about the 12th to the 15th centuries, I feel that for the purpose of encouraging the study of Hindī among non-Hindus there may be nothing intrinsically wrong in systematising carefully the grammar and the vocabulary of the colloquials already current in non-Hindī provinces.

Let me now proceed to another aspect of the study of Indian languages, in which some of us are deeply interested, *viz.* Linguistics. The reproach that used to be attached to this subject by the layman is fast disappearing today. The *strengwissenschaftliches* work of eminent scholars (both Indian and European) has raised the subject to the position of an exact science. The work started by pioneers and earlier scholars like Grierson and others has been pursued with distinction by Bloch and Turner in the West and by Varma, Chaterji, Bābu Rām Saxena, Banārsi Das Jain, Dhirendra Varma and others in India. A reference may be made here to the recent work that has come to my notice. Doctor S. Varma has brought out his study of Lahnda (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. 2, No. 2.), which has been rifted with many a vein of pure gold. The wealth of minutiae presented in this work in a rigrously scientific shape is amazing. Dr. Varma has published in "Indian Linguistics" (Vol. 6) an equally good paper on a Pāhāḍīya dialect. Dr. Katre's "Formation of Koṅkaṇī" is being published serially in the "Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute," and it bids fair to be a worthy pendant to Bloch's work on Marāṭhī. Dr. Sukumar Sen's analysis of the grammar of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kīrttan (Journal of the Bengali Sāhitya Pariṣad No. 3, Bengali Era 1942) is an equally good piece of work in another direction. Dr. Sen's *History of Vaiṣṇavite literature* (published by the Calcutta University) has been described as a landmark in Bengali studies. Dr. Sen apparently, like his former guru and present colleague, is demonstrating hereby how Linguistics could be a handmaiden to literary and cultural studies, Linguistics can and must serve the *Nachbarwissenschaften*, in an eminent

measure, though it may not fall to the lot of all workers to do anything more than to try to till a corner of their own specialist fields.

The scope for work in Linguistics is immense: the collection of data through field work with particular reference to communal and class dialects, of which we want photographic reproductions (like those of Dr. S. Varma or those prepared for Dravidian Toda by Dr. Emeneau, a scholar commissioned by the Yale University to work in India); the initiation of linguistic geography, a new type of work, which is sure to solve old difficulties and open up new problems; the application of experimental methods to the analysis of speech-sounds; the correlation of linguistic data to social and political history (good specimens of which are provided in Chatterji's *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* and Dhirendra Varma's *La Langue Braj*); and the publication of detailed historical grammars for some of the speeches that now lack them.

Such work will never materialise if left exclusively to individual effort and initiative. It should, I think, be the concern of our Universities to supply the incentive by organizing special departments of work in these fields.

One important problem of Linguistics in which both Indo-Aryanists and Dravidianists are alike interested is the question of the contacts of IA and Dravidian. It is well known that all the Dravidian speeches (including the literary languages from their earlier stages) have borrowed and adapted numerous IA words. It may not however be so widely known that there are also a number of bases and forms which are now classified as native Dravidian but which appear to be "disguised" adaptations from IA. This aspect which of course primarily concerns the student of Dravidian has not been satisfactorily tackled so far. Borrowings have been made not only from OIA in several stages but from

MIA and NIA speeches also. Successful work in the discussion of these borrowings requires an intimate knowledge alike of the Dravidian speeches and of the history of IA. Attempts have been made in the South here and there to approach this subject, but comprehensive studies are yet to come. As the collaboration of IA scholars and Dravidianists alone could produce good results here, it is to be hoped that arrangements will be made by our University Oriental Institute to secure effective collaboration from northern scholars in the elucidation of these connections.

The existence of "disguised" IA loans in Dravidian vocabularies should not lead us to take a leap into the dark and postulate (as some southern scholars have recently done) a Prākṛtic origin for Dravidian languages. If a postulate like this should have any plausibility at all, at least a systematically established series of phonological and morphological correspondences will have to be adduced. Such correspondences have not been forthcoming so far. Wild comparisons like the following would lead us nowhere — Dravidian plural ending *kaḷ* beside IA *guḷi* or *guḷa*; Dravidian plural ending *r* beside Bengali *rā* or *ērā*; Tel. plural *lu* (really related to *kaḷ* above) beside Skt. *loka*; the Dravidian postposition *kuricis* beside the IA verb-form Kṛtvā; the "second case" endings *ai*, *a*, *e* beside a number of vowels appearing in second case forms of NIA speeches. Suggestions are made without any attempt to establish the Dravidian inter-relationships on the one side or the IA inter-relationships on the other. Further, the phonetic equivalences are far from definite or clear. The whole attempt, as it is presented to us, suffers from a lack of all modern methodology or scientific discipline. If instead of frittering our energies in what can only be described in the present state of our knowledge as a "wild goose chase", we concentrate our attention on the intensive analysis of the several stages of our literary speeches, noteworthy advance could be made. The work

so far attempted here reveals the existence of numerous connections and relationships among these literary speeches. The exploration of these connections would be greatly facilitated by the analysis of the evolution of forms in the literary speeches. Here is almost a virgin field awaiting the Dravidianist. In my opinion, the materials available now would hardly help us in reconstructing primitive Dravidian (*Urdrawidisch*). I know that Pro. Bloch has thrown out certain suggestions regarding the pre-history of Dravidian: the possibility of the existence of consonant groups (other than those now tolerated by the speeches) which may have been simplified in the history of Dravidian (as in IA); a pre-literary or pre-historic initial *s*-; aspirate occlusives; the anteriority of initial voiced stops to voiceless ones. I fear, however, that the limitations of Dravidian data may not allow us to test or to prove these interesting suggestions. In this connection I may say that the "theories" of the American scholar, Mr. E. H. Tuttle, who claims with loud insistence to have solved some of the problems of Dravidian phonology have failed to appeal to me. Many of his reconstructions are fundamentally vitiated by his unscientific inferences drawn from the confrontation of present-day forms with others which are at least as old as the beginning of the Xian era, by wild postulates of complicated phonetic stages which remain unattested in the speeches, by his reliance on phonetic analogies adduced from foreign language-families for illustrating pre-historic Dravidian changes, and by his ignorance of the chronology of the linguistic stages in the evolution of the literary speeches. He often plays recklessly with Dravidian sounds and forms. Leaving aside, therefore, the problem of Primitive Dravidian, the student today has to concentrate on the collection and classification of material from the cultivated and uncultivated speeches, on the analysis of data so acquired, and on the study of the historical evolution of the different stages of the literary speeches

Then there is the other side of the problem of the contacts of IA and Dravidian. Prof. Bloch has dealt with it *en passant* in a number of his papers, and summed up his views in his latest work *L'Indo Aryen*. He approaches the problem with caution and outlines preliminarly the limitations inherent in the subject (p. 323 ff.). His conclusions regarding the influence of Dravidian on IA in the spheres of morphology and phonology are somewhat negative. The action of the Dravidian *substratum*, if there has been any, has been largely in the direction of hastening and fixing the results of native tendencies. He is, however, inclined to grant more weight to the influence of the Dravidian vocabulary. In his *Forlong lectures* he has referred to words like *toya*, *mīna*, *nīra*, *pulaka*, (Drav. *puḷu*), *kuntala*, *cāḍā*, *cikura*, *dāḍhikā*, *musala*, *ulūkhala*, *biḍāla*.

Prof. Bloch is on the whole of the opinion that, except in the sphere of vocabulary to a very limited extent, the influence of foreign language-families on IA has nowhere led to "denaturalisation". On the other hand, the correspondences and convergences of IA with Iranian (and with IE) markedly persist. Some may hold the view that Prof. Bloch has perhaps placed a little too much of stress on the IE aspect of IA and minimised the importance of the influence of other languages and cultures. But I am sure that Prof. Bloch who has based his conclusions on what has so far been rigorously proved will be ready to set the balance right if and when results of future research call for it.

The Kolarian languages of India are also being studied by a few scholars. The publication of Rev. P. O. Bodding's monumental Santali dictionary has now reached completion, and it contains a mass of information (collected by him through a period of more than three decades) which will be most useful to comparativists I believe that the publication

of the instalments of the *Encyclopaedia Mundarica* is proceeding apace. The last letter received several months ago from Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurthy, the veteran scholar of the South, intimates to me that he is heroically devoting himself to the preparation of the *Sora English Dictionary* despite bad health and many private worries. His friends and admirers would pray that this scholar who has been carrying on *Ohne Rast und ohne Hast* this labour of love for so many decades will be spared for many a year to come. The ethnological aspects of some of the Kolarian tribes are being studied by Rao Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray. The linguistic work has however, touched but a corner of the vast field. There are as many as 17 dialects of Kolarian, and one would wish there were more scholars who could turn their attention to this secluded corner and give us detailed descriptive grammars of all these speeches on the model of Bodding's *Santali Grammar*, Hoffmann's *Mundari Grammar* and Ramamurthy's *Savara Manual*.

The importance of the study of Kolarian and allied speech-groups has today assumed a position of capital importance for all Indianists, in view of certain recent researches. That certain aspects of IA culture have in the course of past history been influenced by Kolarian is a view that is generally compelling recognition today. The postulate that the Indo-Aryan languages too have borrowed many forms from the "Austric" languages is an inevitable corollary to this proposition. Prof. Przyluski (in the west) and Prof. Chatterjee and Dr. Bagchi in India have already placed before us tentative lists of vocabularial parallelisms. Even Prof. Bloch who is sceptical about "this Austric business" (as he put it in a letter to me) keeps an open mind (as shown by his attitude to the subject in his recent work) and would even be prepared to concede that there may be something in these discussions of lexical loans.

The vocabularial contacts of Dravidian and Kolarian have also to be investigated carefully. Comparatively recent borrowings and loans between regionally contiguous dialects, I think, will have to be distinguished from what may conevably be ancient exchanges between Dravidian and Kolarian. The existence of local loans and borrowings (like those between Telugu and Sōra, Kurukh and Santāli) is undisputed, though properly checked lists are still wanting. As for the ancient contacts of Dravidian and Kolarian, certain correspondences have been noted; but most of them are bound up with complications involving IA, so much so that it becomes extremely difficult to distinguish the lender and the borrower and to trace the exact course of the history of the forms. Prof. Bloch has already posed a number of such instances in which IA, Dravidian and "Austric" are involved. Among a number of suggestions of Dravido-Austric correspondences which I used to make (some of which, I confess, are absolutely untenable to me today) I would single out one or two which I regard even now as worthy of further investigation —

Tam. *Mādaḷam* — Skt. *Māḍuḷuṅga* — "Austric" *Bah delima*

„ *Vaḷuḍuṇai* — „ *Vāṭiṅgaṇa* — „ *Bah tiong*

All scholars who have hitherto discussed the lexical resemblances of "Austric" to IA or to Dravidian have tacitly accepted, at least as a working hypothesis, the view of Pater Schmidt that Kolarian, the Mon-khmer group and the languages of the Indonesia and Melanesia have a sufficient number of fundamental affinities to justify the grouping of all these languages as a common "Austric" family. The Hungarian scholar M. G. De Hevesy, however, has strongly criticised the postulate of Pater Schmidt both

in his book *Finnisch-ugrisches aus Indien* and in numerous contributions to periodicals. He has subjected the structure built up by Pater Schmidt to a critical examination, and has also exposed a number of weak points in Schmidt's hypothesis; but, if I may venture to express an opinion on a subject which is as good as foreign to me, it is that the whole controversy and the criticism levelled by M. de Hevesy against the *Arbeitsmethode* and the *Wortgleichungen* of Schmidt serve but to emphasise the need for further intensive investigations into the languages grouped together as "Austric". On the one hand, the impression has been borne in on me that M. de Hevesy has not succeeded in demolishing the structure erected by Schmidt though, a few, weak spots have certainly been isolated; on the other hand the existence of a few weak spots makes it absolutely essential that the stability and strength of the structure should be carefully tested again.

M. de Hevesy has in his *Finnisch-ugrisches aus Indien* gone further and propounded the theory that "there is a remarkably high degree of probability that the Munda languages belong to the Ugric branch of the Finno-ugric family of languages." I do not feel competent to express any opinion on the subject; but certain difficulties and handicaps (recognised by M. de Hevesy himself) would strike all students of general Linguistics. Until the speech-material of all the 7 dialects of the Munda family is exhaustively analysed, it might be premature to postulate any conclusive theory of affinities. Further, as Prof. R. L. Turner has put it, "any correspondences of grammatical structure or vocabulary must be shown to be part of a regular scheme." A third point that strikes me is that the large chronological interval that lies between the elements compared on either side is a factor adding to the lack of certainty in questions like these.

Please allow me, gentlemen, to close these imperfect observations with a grateful acknowledgment of the courtesy shown by the Conference authorities in inviting me to preside over this section and also with a sincere expression of joy that I have had this opportunity to meet a large number of distinguished scholars hailing from all parts of India.

the art of wall painting from the social to the religious environment. At any rate, the post-Padmanābhapuram murals that had been brought to light so far were in the temples, though within the past year, the largest single mural in the State had been found in a small palace at Kṛshṇapuram. The royal temple of Śrī Padmanābhaswami in Trivandrum had been specially rich in murals of the 18th century, and a number of these had been copied. But one of the most notable embodiments of the idea of the Lord of the Cosmic Dance, Naṭarāja, painted in the seventeenth century, had been rescued from oblivion in the temple of Ettumānūr. The mural at Kṛshṇapuram was probably not more than a century old. If so, it showed by its superb composition and fine craftsmanship that the mural art was in full activity until recent times in Travancore, and gave the hope that, with the revival of interest in art in the State, and its coming development in education, the inherent skill of the people would be stimulated into fresh expression. The same mural also appeared to close the third phase in the history of mural painting in Travancore."

Dr. Cousins illustrated his remarks by a series of lantern slides from both full colour and line copies of the murals referred to, and others, to which he added slides from murals in Cochin State indicating both the similarities and differences in the mural art of the two neighbouring areas.

Wednesday : 22nd December 1937.

8 to 11 A. M. The Presidential Addresses of the Ayurveda and Technical Sciences, Fine Arts, Anthropology and Modern Language Sections were delivered and the Sectional Meetings and Paṇḍita Parishat were continued in the Science College. The meetings of the Executive Committee and of the Council were held in the Girls' High School Assembly Hall.

2-30 to 3 P. M. The Executive Committee had its closing meeting in the Girls' High School Assembly Hall.

HINDOOSTĀNEE PUBLICATIONS IN THE COLLEGE OF FORT WILLIAM. (1800—1820)

(Based on the records of the Government of India.)

PROF. PRIYARANJAN SEN, M. A.,
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I had, in the Mysore session of the Conference, described the provisions for teaching the Hindi and Hindustānī language in the College of Fort William, with particular reference to Gilchrist and Lalluji Lal, and had incidentally dwelt upon a few of the publications. I desire in the present paper to attend more particularly to the *publications* from 1800 to 1820, and dwell incidentally on some of the changes in the Department during the period. Hindi in those days was included in Hindustānī and the slight provisions that came to be made later on in connection with the teaching of Khoree Bolee, Birj Bhakha, Poorbee Bhasha etc., were all in connection with this Department.

We know that the College of Fort William was established in 1800 by the government of Marquis of Wellesley. As a matter of fact, the publications date long before that, Gilchrist, as early as 1785, had applied to Warren Hastings, for leave of absence from his duties as an assistant surgeon so that he might complete "a Grammar and Vocabulary of the Hinde language", materials for which he had collected.[1] In November 1786 Gilchrist himself wrote to the Government of Cornwallis, forwarding the first number of the Dictionary at which he had been engaged [2]. The manuscript of his first volume was completed in 1787 and forwarded as an accompaniment to a petition for further facilities.[3]

1. Letter of the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., G. G., and members of the Supreme Council from C. G. H. Stibbert, dated Fort William, 15th January, 1785.
2. Letter, Home Dept. 1786. O. C. December 18.
3. Public Proceedings, 1787, pp. 2139—42.

From another letter we learn that the first two parts were in print in 1791, [4] and a petition to Edward Hay, Secretary to the Government, for a raising of the price agreed to formerly, contains the information that the English and Hindustānī Dictionary was completed, *minus* the Grammar and Appendix. [5] Gilchrist had been instructing the Junior Civil Servants of the company in the Hindustānī and the Persian Languages, and such gentlemen were to be examined and rewarded according to their results from June 1800 as we know from the Council Proceedings of the 7th January, 1800. [6]

On the 2nd November 1801 the College Council had directed the printing of class books for the use of the students and on Dr. Gilchrist's recommendation the following books were printed for the purpose :

1. *Miskeen's Elegy Hindoostanee.*

2. *Singhausun Buteesee.* It was translated into the Hindustānī from a Brij Bhakha version rendered from the Sanskrit original it was declared, "by order of the Emperor Shah Juhaun."

3. *Sakuntoli Natuk* : Dr. Gilchrist's "Orthoepigraphical Ultimatum."

4. *Ukhlaque Hindee* : translation of the Hitopadśa from a Persian version.

5. *Buetal pucheesee* : a collection of twenty-five stories translated from Brij Bhakhá into Hindustānī.

6. *Bagho Bahaar* : or Char Durveesh, a translation into the Hindustānī from the Persian original by Meer Khoosro "Containing a pleasing description of the manners and customs of the Asiatics."

4. Public Proceedings, January, February, 1791, p. 262.
5. Letter from Ghazeepoor dated 23rd November, 1790.
6. Public O. C. 1, 14th January, 1800.

7. *Meer Hasan's Masnavee*: also known as Sahrul *Bayan*. It is a History of the Prince Benazeer, an allegorical Tale.

8. *Goolisten and Pundnamu*: Translation of Sadee's Goolistan.

9. *Tota Kahanee*: abridged translation of the Persian Toote Nama of Zeeaooddeen Nakhchubee (Nakshabee.)

10. *Hindoostanee Dictionary*: Practical outlines with the First and General Principles of HindustānT Grammar composed by Dr. Gilchrist.

In the O. C. of 19th March 1813 we also meet the following names:

11. *Nuzre Be Nuzeer*: translation of the Masnavee of Meer Hasan superintended by Dr. Gilchrist.

12. *Hindee Moral Preceptor, and Persian Scholar's Shortest Guide to the Hindoostanee Language*. It contained Persian and HindsutānT Inflexion and Grammar, and Extracts from the Pundnamu of Sadee (with English translation) and other works, also Dialogues in Persian with HindustānT translation.

13. *Oriental Fabulist*. Aesops' Fables rendered by Gilchrist into Arabic, Persan, HindustānT, Brij Bhakha, Sanskrit and Bengalee.

14. *Goole Bakawalee*: also known as *Mushub-i-eshq* translated by Nehal Chand.

15. *Raj Neeti* in Brij Bhakha prose, translation of Hitopadeśa.

16. *Sutsae of Beharee Lall*.

17. *Prem Sāgar.* Published by Lulloo Lall Kub, Bhasha Monshee in the College, a collection of stories in the Urdu ("oordoo") Language, containing a variety of proverbial and idomatic phrases in that and the Hindoe Language, with a glossary by Prof. Taylor and Examiner Lockett.

19. *Surfi Urdoo.* A short abstract of HindustānI Grammar compiled by Amanutoollah in verse for help to the momory.

20. *Intikhabi Kulliyat (Koolleeaut) i sauda* or selections from the Odes of Mirza Rafi commonly known as Souda (Sawda.)

21. *Grammatical Principles of Brij Bhaka* by Lulloo Lal Kub, Bhasha Moonshee, contains a compendious view of the Grammatical Principles of the Brij Dialect in that Language and in English.

22. A translation into HindustānI of the *Ikhwaun oos Sufia*, an Arabian fable well known for its easy, simple and interesting way of imparting moral and philosophical instruction. Supervised by Professor Taylor.

23. *The works of Meer Tukkee.* Edited by Tarinee Churn, the Head Moonshee in the HindustānI Department of the College, and by Gholam Akbar attached to the Department. Meer Tukkee was a native of Agra, but was bred in Dehli and resident in Lucknow in the first years of the century. He wrote epics, odes and other kinds of poems in HindustānI which were highly appreciated.

24. *An English and Hindoostanee Naval Dictionary with a Grammar prefixed,* by Lieutenant Roebuck. Mr. Roebuck on his voyage from England to Bengal compiled a Dictionary of sea-phrases and technical terms which, with the assistance of the *lascars*, he translated into HindustānI; it was later revised by him with the assistance of experienced

native serangs from all parts of India, specially enriched by the dialects peculiar to the inhabitants of different parts on either side the Indian Peninsula.

25. *A supplement to Hindoostanee Dictionary.*

26. *A Collection of Oriental Proverbs.* By Dr. Hunter. A collection of Hindustānī, Persian, Arabic, Punjaubee Proverbs compiled and translated into English with an explanation of their use and application.

27. *Bāra-Māsa*, or *Dustoor-ul Hind.* One of the few original works in Hindustānī.

In 1805 we find Dr. Hunter submitting a proposal to John Lumsden, Chief Secretary to the Government, for assistance in his dictionary, Hindustānī and English, which would be a useful supplement to the work of the "industrious pioneer of Hindoostanee Literature"—Gilchrist. His idea of the language, and the way in which he carried out the task, may well be understood from the following observations contained in his letter.

"The formation of this mixed language from Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, perhaps engrafted on a rude primeval stock, has been amply discussed by several able philosophers. And as each of these portions prevails more or less in any composition according to the Religion, Education and situation in life of the writer or speaker, it becomes difficult to assign the limits which should determine the admission into or exclusion from a Hindustānī Dictionary of words from each of these tongues. Much in this respect may however be accomplished by a careful perusal of the Hindustānī poets, and of those works in prose which have lately been published under the inspection of Mr. Gilchirst by learned natives attached to the College of Fort William."

The proposal was not discouraged, but was dropped for the time being for inadequacy of funds because Dr. Hunter wanted a monthly allowance of one thousand

rupees for three years (which he would require to complete the book) and a moonshee and one Kātib, in addition to two learned Hindus then employed in the College-Lalloo lal Kub and Sudal Meesher Pandit.

But Dr. Hunter was on the temporary establishment of the College sometime in 1806 during the absence on sick leave of Macdougall, assistant professor of Hindustānī, J. Mouat, the senior assistant of the Department having succeeded Gilchrist as the Professor of Hindustānī, and in 1805 Hunter was appointed to be Secretary and Librarian of the College on a pay of Rs. 1,000 per month. He had a busy and useful career upto the year 1811, in the month of November of which year (his letter of resignation to the College appointment is dated Batavia, 1811) he was appointed superintending surgeon at Java. The Dictionary in Hindi and the collection of proverbs which he had published (the second was still in the press in January, 1812) did him much credit at the same time that they proved of use to the College. With the departure of Dr. Hunter several changes occurred in the Hindustānī Department; Lt. A. Lockett who was then absent on a tour in Arabia was to succeed Dr. Hunter as secretary and examiner, Lt. A. Galloway was appointed to the permanent office of Assistant Secretary and Examiner, and Lt. Roebuck acted for Galloway while Galloway officiated for Lockett. Lt. T. Roebuck soon proved a useful hand, and authorised by Dr. Hunter he made valuable additions both to the large appendix of his Hindustānī Dictionary and his collection of Oriental Proverbs, adding to and translating many of them; his students numbered the most and he was also resident in the institution, therefore he had to his credit more duties than any other teacher. Mirza Kazim Alee of the Hindustānī Department had submitted a proposal for printing the Bara-Masa, or Dustoor-ool Hind, "a poem in Hindoostanee of his own composition, descriptive of the manners and customs of the natives of India, and their

various occupations during the different months of the year", extending to about 125 octavo pages, and the author requested a help of Rs. 425 Sicca for 100 copies which he would hand over to the College in exchange ; his proposal was recommended by the Hindustānī Professor who reported that it would be advisable and useful work for the College as a class book" [7]. Another proposal was submitted by Gholam Ukbur, one of the Moonshees attached to the College, "to publish a new Edition of the Bagh O Buhar or history of the Four Derveshes, in Hindoostanee" [8] and soliciting the usual aid, which was subscription for one hundred copies. "It was the most valued class book then available and the first edition was nearly out of print, so the proposal was considered most deserving of help. Mr. Tarinee Chanan Mitra also undertook to translate the *Poorsh Pureeccha* from the Sanskrit original into Hindustānī. In recommending the publication the Professor, Captain Taylor, testified to his "high abilities and indefatigable industry". [9]

In June, 1813 Captain Roebuck wanted leave and aid of the College Council to publish an improved Hindustānī Dictionary, with the manuscript of which he was busy even so late as April 1815 when we find him writing a letter remonstrating with the authorities to have more patience. In the meantime a knowledge of Hindustānī had gained in importance as it was considered minimum qualification desirable for army officers, and arrangement was made accordingly. Lt. Price being appointed as an Assistant Professor of "the Sanskrit, Bengali, and Hindoostanee languages" on an allowance of Sā Rs. 400 per mensem , but as Lt. Price was thoroughly occupied with his duties in the College *re* the "civil" students, Lt. Martin was appointed to the work.

7. Proceedings No. 35, 8th May 1812.
8. Proceedings No. 28, 19th March 1813.
9. O. C. No. 30, 25th June 1813.

Dr. Hunter had died somtime in 1813, Moonshee Hyder Buksh who had been attached to the College since its beginning retired in 1814 on attaining to his 55th year, and was recommended for favourable consideration.[10] The College Council recommended the case of Moonshee Moohummud Khuleel Khan for a pension of Rs. 20 per mensem, being half his salary on retirement.[11] It was this Moonshee who had translated into Hindustānī some Persian books. In the meantime, Roebuck had petitioned to the College Council for permission to publish, for the use of the students in the Hindustānī class, a very celebrated work entitled the *Khirud Ufroz*, formerly translated by Muolovee Hafeezood-deen from the Persian *Uegar Danish*, written by the famous Abool Fazl, by order of the Emperor Akbar.[12] It was a book full of beatiful tales with moral instructions and philosophical ideas, divided into sixteen chapters, the last of which concludes thus :

"Temporal vicissitudes are not to be regarded, but everything is to be referred to God's sovereign will and decrees absolute."

Bruj Bhakha and Poorbee languages, *i. e.*, Hindi and Bihari, gradually came in for more attention and regular lectures were delivered on them by Lt. Price; specially because several military students were very eager to receive instructions in Brij Bhakha ; the need of a Pandit to help the Examiner in preparing and examining exercises was soon felt, and it was thought desirable that "a native of the Upper Provinces who was well acquainted with the Bruj Bhakha, Poorbee and Sanskrit languages would be added to the Establishment."[13] No doubt this gave an impetus to Hindi publications and Lulloo Lall proposed to print an

10. O. C. No. 36, 11th March 1814.
11. O. C. No. 37, 16th September 1814.
12. O. C. 32, 16th September, 1814.
13. O. C. 64, 20th January, 1815.

anthology of poems in the Bruj Bhakha, named the *Subha Bilas*, consisting of "approved" extracts from various authors and extending over 37 octavo pages.[14] The term "approved" comes in for an explanation and this we get in Lt. Price's recommendatory letter with the following comment: "The licentious tendency of the greater part of the regular poetical composition in this dialect" (Bruj Bhakha) "renders them totally unfit for the perusal of the students."

More light is, however, shown on the growing importance of the new language in the following letter addressed by Price to Captain Reobuck, Secretary to the College Council, describing the actual condition of Hindi teaching, and proposing to publish a Dictionary of the Bhakha;

"Before the perusal of original compositions in the above dialects" (he refers to the Bruj Bhakha and Poorbee languages) "it is requisite that the student should be well-grounded in the Hindoo Mythology to enable him to understand the allusions to it which are of constant recurrence in them. No work with which I am acquainted is better calculated to afford instructions of this nature, or to serve as an introduction to the study of either tongues than the Prem Sāgur or History of the Deity Krishna, translated into the Khuree Bolee some years back by the Bhakha Moonshee attached to the College. In the perusal of this book however the want of Dictionary is much felt, for although some of the words have been inserted in Messrs. Taylor and Hunter's Compilation yet they are so much disguised under the Persian orthography that the student experiences considerable difficulty in finding them, and his search is from the same circumstance often rendered ineffectual. To obviate this inconvenience I have extracted all the principal words of the work above alluded to, arranged them

14. O. C. 24, 26th January, 1815.

in the form of a Khoree Bolee and English Vocabulary and have inserted the corresponding Sanskrit etymology of each term when it could be cleverly ascertained" etc. [15]

Mughaem Ullee Khan Villa, one of the translators employed in the Hindustānī Department, had died in August 1816, and from a statement made in 1816 we find that the following Indians were employed then under the Professor of Hindustānī :— [16]

Chief Moonshee.....	Tarinee Churan Mitra.	Rs. 200
Second ,, ...	Mirza Kazim Ulee.	Rs. 100
Third ,, ...	Mahd Wajid.	Rs. 80
Fourth ,, ...	Moortaza Khan	Rs. 60

This seems to be a reduced establishment, and it is explained by a report of the Hindustānī Professor, Captain J. Taylor, submitted in compliance with the instructions of the College Council : [17]

"The services of Tarinee Churan Mitra the Head Moonshee in the Hindustānī Department are of the greatest importance to it and to the institution in general, as he has been most usefully employed ever since the foundation of the College in addition to his duties with me, he is an able assistant to the Examiners. His absence when occasionally employed by them renders the assistance of Mirza Kazim Ulee of more consequence to me, and I think the zeal and ability with which he has discharged his duty entitle him to look forward to the possibility of promotion in the event of a vacancy.

The College Council has struck out the names of Bahadoor Ulee and Muzhur Ulee from the present list of the Department... their infirmities have for many

15. O. C. 28, 7th March, 1815.

16. O. C. 35, 6th April, 1816.

17. O. C. 36, 6th April, 1816.

3-15 to 4 P. M. The Closing Session of the Conference was held in the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall under the presidentship of Dr. F. W. Thomas who spoke as follows —

"The main official business of this assembly which concludes the proceedings of the Ninth Session of the Conference is to report to you for consideration and ratification the resolutions adopted by the Council at its meeting of this morning. But I must not omit to give expression, in the first place, to the gratitude universally felt by you to the State, people and country of Travancore for the welcome which they have given to the Conference and for their very substantial contribution to its success. Personally, as inhabiting a country which does not enjoy during these months, or even in its summer, the climatic conditions known to you as the cold season, I am grateful ever for the occasional showers whereby your skies have refreshed our afternoon activities. The country has cheered us with the spectacle of its beauty and flourishing condition, upon which, after what has already been said, I need not dilate. We note the spacious new developments of the fine capital ; as to the people I have tried without success to set limits to the field of our gratitude ; so general has been the interest taken in our work and the friendliness with which we have everywhere been met. In Trivandrum we owe much to private hospitalities ; and the junior part of the population, whether students or members of volunteer bodies, has been indefatigable in affording information and guidance to our sometimes erratic movements. The local Reception Committee, being part of the actual composition of the Conference, would expect from us not so much thanks as recognition of its work. This you are, I think, prepared to accord in full measure : the programme of meetings has been perfectly designed and has been carried through practically without a hitch. Beneath this surface has proceeded a complexity of detailed arrangements, such as in Europe, where our limitations in regard to living and messing together are compartively trifling, could not be imagined. If no one's principles or usages have failed to

years rendered them incapable of affording me any assistance and their absence rendering the duties of those who remain more arduous."

There is a grave warning to students and a note of caution to the teachers and examiners that the standards of teaching and examining the languages for the public services are to be raised and not reduced, so that the junior servants of the company may not be put to any difficulty in speaking and translating "the Persian, Hindustānī and Bengallee languages as well as in writing them or dictating written compositions in them."[18]

A detailed statement of the Hindustānī Department was however sent[19] to the Honourable Court of Directors in 1819 when Professor Taylor was in service and Captain Roebuck was acting as the Assistant Professor, and the Nature Extablishment consisted of the four Moonshees—Tarinee Churan, Mnolovee Meer Bukshish Ulee, Mnolovee Mohummud Wajid and Sheikh Yousuf Ulee. But the first had been wholly occupied in attending upon Dr. Hunter and then Captain Roebuck for the dictionary compilation work, and the Professor in his statement laments "the alienation of the services of such a man as Tarinee Churan Mitra as extremely detrimental to the Department."

The Governor-General-in-Council approved of the College Council's attempts at encouraging the study of the Birj Bhakha or Poorbee Bhasha.

Captain Roebuck had been dead by January 1820 and the January of the year finds men applying for the vacancy. This closes an important chapter of the College, and puts a period to the labour of the indefatigable workers who spared

18. O. C. 338, 17th July, 1818.
19. O. C. 19, 22nd April, 1819.

no pains in making the Indian languages as easy of teaching as possible. While the labours of Dr. Gilchrist, Dr. Hunter, Captain Roebuck and Captain Price were mainly, if not solely, devoted to the study of the language, compilation of dictionaries, etc., the Hindu Moonshee Tarinee Churan was assiduous in assisting them, and Moonshees like Mirza Kazim Ulee translated stories from the classical languages into Hindustānī. A significant result, though not then emphasised as much as it deserved—and we may therefore call it a by-product of the labours of the teachers—was in the matter of the Birj Bhakha in which original works were made available, and a dictionary (or if the name sounds too ambitious, a vocabulary) compiled, for the first time.

കേരള സാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

PANDITAPARISAD



Tuesday 21st December 1937

and

Wednesday 22nd December 1937.

॥ श्री ॥

अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्याविपश्चितां नवमं सम्मेळनम्, अनन्तशयनम्।

पण्डितपरिषत्।

[अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्याविपश्चितां नवमस्याधिवेशनस्याङ्गभूता विदुषां परिषद् अनन्तशयनस्थराजकीयसयन्स्कालेज्मन्दिरे २१-१२-१९३७ तमे दिने मङ्गलवासरे मध्याह्ने प्रथमहोरात आरभ्य चतुर्थहोरापर्यन्तं तत्समनन्तरे दिने बुधवासरे पूर्वाह्ने अष्टमहोरात आरभ्य एकादशहोरापर्यन्तं च महामहोपाध्यायविरुदाङ्कितानां चिदम्बरक्षेत्रवासिनां श्रीमतां दण्डपाणिस्वामिदीक्षितानाम् आध्यक्ष्ये समभिळत्। विदेशीया एतद्देशीयाश्च सप्तत्यधिकाः शास्त्रज्ञाः परिषदि सन्निहिता अभूवन्। प्रथमदिने अध्यक्षवैखर्यनन्तरं साहित्ये आयुर्वेदे ज्योतिस्तन्त्रे वेदान्ते भाषाशास्त्रे च पण्डितानामुपन्यासाः प्राचलन्। द्वितीयदिने तर्के व्याकरणे वेदान्ते मीमांसायां च प्रौढगम्भीरा वाक्यार्थाः समवर्तन्त। तदा महोन्नतमहामहिमशालिश्रीयुतः चित्रावतारो महाराजः, महामहिमशालिन्या मात्रा महाराज्ञ्या सेतुपार्वतीभायिनाम्न्या, सचिवोत्तमेन श्रीयुत सर्. सी. पि. रामस्वाम्यार्येण च सहितः परिषदम् आदरातिशयविनम्भितेन सन्निधानेनाभूषयत्।

वे. वेङ्कटरामशर्मा विद्याभूषणः.]

विषयसमुद्देशः ।

प्रथमदिनम् ।

	उपन्यासकाः.	विषयाः.
1	श्री- राव्बहदूर् शेखरीपुरम् पद्मनाभशास्त्रिणः.	यत्किञ्चिद् गालोडितम्.
2	... वरदाचार्याः.	भाषाशास्त्राध्ययनस्यावश्यकता
3	... विद्याभूषण-वे. वेङ्कटरामशर्माणः	अन्वीक्षणशास्त्रम् ।
4	... वेम्बाकं कृष्णमाचार्याः.	वेदान्तदेशिकः.
5	... कडयं नटेशशास्त्रिणः.	आयुर्वेदस्य भूतवर्तमानभविष्यदवस्था.
6	... अनन्तशयनम् सुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्रिणः.	पञ्चाङ्गशुद्धिपद्धतिः.

द्वितीयदिनम् ।

	वाक्यार्थविषयाः.	पूर्वपक्षिणः.	सिद्धान्तिनः.
1	सिद्धान्तव्याप्तिः	श्री- अनन्तशयनम् विद्याभूषण- वे. वेङ्कटरामशर्माणः.	श्री- आत्तूर् कृष्णमिश्रारोदिनः.
2	शास्त्रारम्भसमर्थनम्	... तिरुप्पति वेङ्कटेश्वरदीक्षिताः.	... महामहोपाध्यायाः दण्डपाणिस्वामिदीक्षिताः.
3	भावनामुख्यविशेष्यत्ववादः	... अनन्तशयनम् रामशर्माणः.	... तिरुप्पति तातार्याः.
4	निर्दिश्यमानपरिभाषा	... चिदम्बरम् रामसुब्बाशास्त्रिणः.	... काञ्चिवैकुरुचि शङ्करशास्त्रिणः.
5	स्थानिवत्सूत्रम्	... मधुरै कृष्णमूर्तिशास्त्रिणः.	... महामहोपाध्यायाः तातसुब्बरायशास्त्रिणः.
6	व्यञ्जनास्थापनम्	... हरिहरशास्त्रिणः.	... विद्याभूषण- वे. वेङ्कटरामशर्माणः.

पण्डितपरिषत्

अध्यक्षवैखरी —

महामहोपाध्याय ब्रह्मश्रीयुत-दण्डपाणिस्वामिदीक्षिताः ।

॥ ॐ ॥

श्रीचित्सभेशाय मङ्गलम् ।

अयि भोः ! मान्याः विद्वन्महाशयाः अनेकानवद्यविद्यासमुद्योतित-ज्ञानप्रदीपालङ्कृतजगन्मण्डलाः अधिगतविविधागमतन्त्रकलारहस्याः अप्रतिमनिजशेमुषीवैशद्यविभवविस्मापितसुरगुरवः नानादिगन्तवास्तव्याः नवमेऽस्मिन् प्राच्यविद्याविपश्चित्सम्मेलनेऽधिवेशिनः सहृदयाः पण्डिततल्लजाः प्रभुशिखामणयश्च, चिरप्ररूढभारतवर्षीययशोऽभिरक्षणविधानबद्धश्रद्धाः महिताऽनेकगुणगणभाजः ऐषमः सम्मेलनस्वीकरणसञ्जाताध्यक्षाः सम्मेलनकार्यदर्शिनश्च ।

विदितमेवेदं तत्रभवतां विपश्चिदग्रेसराणाम् ; यत्किल —

"विशेषाद्दक्षिणे देशे धर्मः पादेन तिष्ठति ।"

इति स्मृत्या धर्मविद्वावकेऽस्मिन् कलौ, धर्मसंरक्षणबद्धश्रद्धे परमेश्वरांशभूते श्रीमज्जगद्गुरुशङ्करभगवत्पादाचार्यवर्यावतारपावनीकृतेऽस्मिन् केरळदेशे पुराणप्रथितवैभवायाम्, भासनाटक-कौटलीयार्थशास्त्रादिबहुग्रन्थप्रसाधनेन सहृदयसमाजमाह्लादयन्त्यां श्रीमदनन्तशयननगर्याम्, अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्याविपश्चित्सम्मेळनम्, इदं प्रचलतीति । अस्य च सम्मेळनस्य संरक्षकपदम्, माननीयमहामहिमशालिनः, निजयशोवैशद्यधवलितभुवनान्तराळाः सद्धर्मसमुद्धरणबद्धश्रद्धाः जगद्रक्षाबद्धदीक्षाः श्रीपद्मनाभस्वामिपरमानुग्रहपात्रभूताः महनीयराजगुणराजमानाः जि. सि. ऐ. ई. प्रभृतिबहुविधविरुदभाजः, चित्रानक्षत्रसञ्जाताः श्रीकुलशेखरवञ्चिपालबालरामवर्ममहाराजाः सदयम् अलंकुर्वन्तीति च ।

महामहिमशालिनी श्रीवञ्चिमहाराजजननी श्रीसेतुपार्वतीभायी, जगद्विख्याताः सचिवोत्तमाः सर्. सी. पि. रामस्वाम्यार्याश्च सादरमुपसंरक्षकपदमलंकुर्वन्तीति महदिदं भागधेयमस्माकम् । अत्र च तत्रभवतां सविधे

मामकीनं कार्तस्यं धन्यवादं च सप्रश्रयं निवेदये । यदहमस्याः पण्डित-परिषद आध्यक्ष्यम् अवलम्बितुं तत्रभवद्भिरैकमत्येन सम्भावितोऽभवम् ।

सत्स्वपि बहुषु पण्डितप्रकाण्डेषु मच्चमेतत्स्थानप्रदानाय समुचितं कारणं पर्यालोच्यमानं नान्यदितः प्रतीयते, यत्समेषां युष्माकं चिराय वर्धमाना-ऽनन्यादृशी प्रीतिरेवेति । स्वयमहमशक्तोऽपि, नाऽतिकर्तव्यपरिचयवानपि तदुपयोगिगुणगणविधुरोऽपि भवादृशानामीदृशं निरतिशयं प्रेम सहजं च सौ-मनस्यं महदुपकुर्यादिति बाढं विश्वसिमि ।

"अश्मापि याति देवत्वं महद्भिः सुप्रतिष्ठितः ।"

इति नयेन युष्माभिः सम्भावितस्य किमसाध्यमिति च सञ्जातदृढप्रत्ययः कथ-ञ्चिदभ्युपागच्छम् इदं पदमवलम्बितुम् ।

माकीम्, चत्वारिंशद्वर्षेभ्यः प्राक्, माननीयमहामहिमशालिपुण्यश्लोक-महाराजाधिराजश्रीमूलनक्षत्रमहाराजतुलाभारमहोत्सवसमये, एतन्नगरमागत्य महोत्सववैभवसन्दर्शनादमन्दमानन्दमन्वभूवम् । उत्तीर्णपरीक्षश्च सत्कारविशेष-ममजम् ।

अथत्वे च, नानाविधेषु समुन्नतिप्रकारेषु निरतिशयमभ्युदयं भजन्त्या अस्याः पद्मनाभस्वामिराजधान्या लोकोत्तरं रामणीयकं विख्यातं वीक्षणीयमिति महती लालसा चित्तरङ्गमधिरूढा समुत्तेजयति स्म मामकमुत्साहम् ।

निश्चयचमिदं तत्रभवताम्; यद्भारतीयप्राच्यविद्याविपश्चित्सम्मेळन-मिदम्; पण्डितप्रकाण्डानां नानादिगन्तवास्तव्यानाम् अपि, एकत्र समावेशन-सम्पादनेन, कालदोषवशात्प्रलुप्तानां लुप्यमानानां च कलानां प्रकाशनेन संरक्षणेन च अखिललोकोपकारकं कमप्यपूर्वं महिमानमादधाति ।

अतः संप्रार्थये तत्रभवतः सर्वानपि यदितःपरं कर्तव्येषु शास्त्रार्थ-विचारेषु, सरसकाव्यादिपरीक्षणेषु, उपन्यासेषु, नानाविधविनोदादिषु, संस्कृत-नाटकाद्यभिनयेषु, सङ्गीतेषु, अन्येषु च समुचितेषु विषयेषु प्राच्यरीत्यनु-सारिण्या पाश्चात्यसरण्या कस्याप्यनुद्वेगकरं पन्थानमाश्रित्य सहजसौहार्देनैक-मत्येन साहाय्यकरणेन यथोचितकार्यविशेषप्रतिबोधनेन च सर्वेऽपि विद्वांसः समुपकुर्युरिति ।

सुदुर्लभेऽस्मिन्नवसरे ममापि मनोरथं निवेदयितुमिच्छामि । दक्षिणापथे हि बहुतिथात्कालादारभ्य तिरुवाङ्कूरराष्ट्रमिदं संस्कृतभाषाभिवृद्धिविषये राराजीतितराम् । सरससाहितीविजृम्भितविज्ञानप्रभावाः विविधशास्त्राऽऽहित-मतवः पण्डितोच्चंसाः, अस्मिन् राष्ट्रे महीपतिभिर्महीयन्ते । इदानीन्तना अपि श्रीचैत्रकभूपालाः पौरस्त्यभाषाविज्ञानस्य, विशिष्य संस्कृतभाषायाः परिपोषणे चातीव बद्धश्रद्धाः; इतीदं विश्वविद्यालयप्रतिष्ठापनेन सुप्रतिष्ठितं भवति ।

अधुना किल भारतीयानामस्माकं विद्याभ्याससरणिः; किं विशेषेण सर्वापि लोकयात्रा पाश्चात्यानामेव रीतिमनुरुन्धे । सा च गुणबहुलापि न दोषैर्विवर्जिता । विशेषतश्च भारतीयानां देशकालावस्थाभिः विरुन्धे । अतोऽस्मद्देशकालाऽवस्थानुगुणाः प्रक्रिया विद्याभ्यासे इतरत्र च नियन्तव्याः । इत्याधुनिकाः पुरुषधौरेया अभिप्रयन्तीति विदितमेवेदं समेषाम् । अस्मन्मता-चारसामुदायिकवैयक्तिकधर्माः भारतीयपूर्वाचार्योपज्ञधर्मशास्त्रदर्शनग्रन्थोपष्टम्भेन प्रवृत्ता इति । तेषां ग्रन्थानां सर्वथा परित्यागः भारतीयैरस्माभिः महतापि यत्नेन दुष्करः । यद्यपि कैश्चिदंशैः, इदानीन्तन्या लोकयात्रया ते विरुन्धत इव; तथापि सूक्ष्मदृशा विमृश्यमाने भूयानुपकारस्तैरधुनापि सिध्येदिति । तथाविधानां तेषां ग्रन्थानामध्ययनाध्यापनपरम्परा यथापूर्वम् अस्माभिः संरक्ष-णीया । अस्तु वा तैर्न काप्युपक्रिया आधुनिकानामिति । तथापि प्राक्तना-ऽशोकादीनामिव राजवर्याणां बुद्धादीनां मतप्रवर्तकानां स्मारकाणि शि-लास्तम्भादीनि यथाऽद्यापि जागरूकैरस्माभिः परिपाल्यन्ते, एवमस्मत्पूर्व-पुरुषाणां समयाचारादिधर्माणां तेभ्योऽपि स्फुटतरं प्रकाशकानि तदीयग्रन्थ-जालानि, तद्वंश्यैरस्माभिः अवश्यं परिपालनीयानीत्यत्र न केपि विशयीरन् । इदानीं हि भारतीयविज्ञानसम्पत् तदीयार्थसम्पदिव, गच्छताऽनेहसाऽत्यन्तं ह्रसतीति समक्षं नः सर्वेषाम् । यावती हि ग्रन्थनिर्माणप्रचारोपायसमृद्धिरधुना तस्याः शततम्यापि कलया विहीनेऽतिप्राचीने काले कति दर्शनकाराः अभूवन् ? कति दर्शनग्रन्थाः ? कति वा कवयः ? कियन्ति च काव्यानि ? कियन्ति च वेदाङ्गोपाङ्गपुराणादीनि निरमायिषत ? तत्रैव देशे सम्प्रति, कः संस्कृतकविः, किं च नूत्नं काव्यम्, कुतो वा दर्शनविज्ञानग्रन्थवार्ता । भाव्यं हि, सत्युपायानां पौष्कल्ये उपेयसमृद्ध्या । अनुभवामश्चोपेयदुर्भिक्षम् । किं

पुनरत्र कारणं स्याद् अन्यन्महाजनपरिग्रहाऽभावात् । स च श्रद्धाविरहात् । सा किल विद्वद्भिः स्वस्वविद्यासु लोकस्य रुच्युत्पादनैकसम्पादनीया । तत्र च विमुखा विद्वांसः । तेषां प्रोत्साहजनकानां राज्ञां प्रभूणां वा विरळभावात् । उक्तं ह्यभियुक्तैः —

"निराश्रया न शोभन्ते पण्डिता वनिता लताः ।"

दृश्यन्ते हि पूर्वोक्तसाधनकलापे सति अचिरप्रवृत्ता अपि अन्यान्या भाषा वृद्धिमुपयन्त्यः । अनुष्ठेया हि तथाविधा उपायाः अस्मद्विधाऽभिवृद्धिमाधातुकामैः अस्माभिरपि । अपि च सम्भाविताः खलु सर्वैर्विज्ञानसम्पन्नतया भारतीया बहोः कालादारभ्य । शोचनीयाः खलु तथाभूतानामप्यस्माकं इदानीमन्यथाभावः । एवं हि गीयते गीतासु —

"सम्भावितस्य चाकीर्तिर्मरणादतिरिच्यते ।" इति ।

अस्मत्पूर्वे पुरुषाः पारलौकिकफलप्रदान्येव न्यायवैशेषिक-साङ्ख्ययोगादीनि दर्शनानि बहुधा प्राणैषुः । न तथा ऐहलौकिकान् शिल्प-भूगोळ-खगोळ-स्थावर-भूत भौतिकतत्त्व-शरीरव्यायाम-चित्र दण्डनीति सङ्गीत-गणितादीनप्यधिकृत्येति वक्तुं न प्रमाणमस्ति । पश्यामः खलु विरळान् तादृशान् भूगोळादितत्त्वप्रतिपादकान् ग्रन्थान् । वयं तु उदास्महि । यतस्ते दुर्लभाः संवृत्ताः । तांश्चाधुनात्विष्याऽऽधुनिकलोकोपयोगितया परिष्कृत्य तेभ्योऽपि विवृद्धिमुपयातानां पाश्चात्यानां वैज्ञानिकग्रन्थानां अस्मद्भाषया विपरिणामं सम्पाद्य तदध्ययनाध्यापनसम्प्रदायविवर्धनेन, आङ्गलविद्यानिष्णातैः संस्कृतपण्डितानां तुल्यता सम्पादनीया ।

ते हि प्रायो लोकयात्रोपयोगिविज्ञानसम्पन्ना दृश्यन्ते । मताचारादिधर्मपरिज्ञानचतुरास्तु केचिदेव । एवं संस्कृताभिज्ञेषु च ऐहलौकिकार्थसाधकविज्ञानवन्तः भूयांसो यथा स्युः; अन्ये च यथारुचि तत्तद्दर्शननिष्णातास्तथा परिष्कृतिं यदा सम्पादयितुं प्रभवेम, तदोपाध्यायपदवीमेव जीविकायै काङ्क्षमाणानां पण्डितानामधुनोपलभ्यमाना दुरवस्था नानाजीवनमार्गपरिकल्पनेनाऽस्मद्विधानां लोकोपकारकत्वसम्पादनेन च दूरीकृता भवेदिति सुदृढो मे प्रत्ययः ।

नह्ययमर्थः समूहश्रद्धामन्तरेण सुसाधः, न खल्वसमवयतां सङ्गत-भाव आपद्येत, इत्यसकृत्पण्डिताः सम्मेळनीयाः । असकृदावर्तनीयाश्च तेषा-मन्येषां च संस्कृतभाषामुज्जिजीवयिषतां प्रभुवर्याणां महाराजमान्यानां च पुरतः यथा च तदुभयं सुकरं भवेत् पण्डितैस्तथाऽखिलभारतवर्षीयप्राच्यविद्या-महासभाधिकृताः प्रतिवत्सरं पण्डितपरिषदमीदृशीं सम्पाद्य तन्मनोरथपूरणाय प्रयतेरन्निति विश्वसिमि ।

आशासे च बहोः कालादारभ्य संस्कृतविद्वत्समाजस्य, बहूनामपूर्वाणां ग्रन्थरत्नानां सम्पादनेन प्रकाशनेन च बह्वीः संस्कृतकलाशालाः प्रतिष्ठाप्य सकलशास्त्राध्ययनाध्यापनप्रचारणेन सुबहूपकारकेऽस्मिन्नगरेऽधुनोपक्रान्ते विश्व-विद्यालये यथेयं संस्कृतविद्या पूर्वोक्तैः प्रकारैर्लोकोपकारिणी भवेत्तथा प्रकल्पे-रन् केरळमहीपाला महनीयचरिताः पौरस्त्यभाषाऽभिवर्धनबद्धदीक्षाः श्रीवञ्चि-भूकुलशेखराः क्षेमस्थैर्यधैर्यविजयपुष्टाः श्रीचिदम्बरेश्वरकृपया चिरतरं महीमिमां पालयन्तो जीयासुरित्याशासे ।

"स्वस्ति प्रजाभ्यः परिपालयन्तां
न्याय्येन मार्गेण महीं महीशाः ।
गोब्राह्मणेभ्यः शुभमस्तु नित्यं
लोकाः समस्ताः सुखिनो भवन्तु "॥

receive due consideration—, and I believe that that is almost without exception the fact—, we owe it to the Reception Committee, to its Chairman, Pro-Vice-Chancellor Chandrasekharan, and its Secretary, Mr. R. Vasudeva Poduval, Director of Archæology in the State, who besides an enormous work of correspondence, inspection of accommodation, meals and so forth has actually imposed upon himself the duty of meeting all arriving members of the Conference at the Railway Station.

I must now refer to the action of the State, which has substantiated the honour of its invitation by financial support in various ways and by freely according the use of its Colleges and other State buildings. Museums, Art collections, etc. have been prepared for our visits, and provision has been made for special excursions to Padmanābhapuram and Cape Comorin.

The State action does not by any means cover the whole of the consideration shown to us by eminent authorities in Travancore. I need not remind you of the honour conferred by the personal presence of our Patrons, Their Highnesses and the Resident of the Madras States, and of the Dewan Sachivottama, at the inaugural ceremony and of the inspiring addresses to which we listened. Members of the Conference have been privileged to attend unofficial parties and receptions, whereat they have sometimes witnessed, on the part of the Resident and others, highly instructive expositions of matters quite germane to the interests of the Conference. As to Their Highnesses, to whom I must refer in the last place, since I have been unable, in this rambling, unrehearsed statement, to follow another route, do we not feel that they have devoted their household and entourage unreservedly to our gratification. At Receptions, larger or smaller, we have been entertained by representation of the old Indian arts, so well preserved in this State, of music, dancing and dramatic performances ; and His Highness himself has expounded his own films of archæological and natural curiosities of Java and of instructive pageantry, ceremonial, and ritual usage in his

व्याप्तिलक्षणम्.

वे. वेङ्कटरामशर्मा विद्याभूषणः,
अनन्तशयनम्,

परामर्शजन्यं ज्ञानम् अनुमितिः । व्याप्यवच्छिन्नप्रकारतानिरूपित-पक्षतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नविशेष्यताशाली निश्चयः परामर्शः । व्याप्तिप्रकारकं यत् पक्षधर्मताज्ञानं तज्जन्यं ज्ञानम् इति तात्पर्यम् । एवं च यद्धर्मावच्छिन्नो व्याप्तिप्रकारकज्ञानविषयः तद्धर्मावच्छिन्न एव पक्षधर्मताज्ञानविषय इति फलितम् ।

सन्दिग्धसाध्यः अनवधारितहेतुविषयसाध्यधर्मा धर्मी पक्षः तत्र वृत्तिः पक्षधर्मत्वम् । तत्र सन्देहः पक्षोपलक्षणं वा पक्षविशेषणं वा ? नाद्यः । यत्र असौ गिरिः वह्निमान् न वा इति सन्देहः समजनि ततः तन्निकटं प्राप्तस्य प्रत्यक्षेण वह्निं दृष्टवतः तत्र धूमं पश्यतः असौ धूमो वह्निव्याप्त इति परामृशतोऽपि परामर्शो अनुमानं स्यात् । उक्तलक्षणविरहात् । न द्वितीयः । यथा धर्म्यभावे प्रवृत्त्यभावः तथा अनुमानन्तरम् अनुमानिकनिश्चयेन संशयनाशे तद्विशिष्टपक्षनाशः, दण्डनाशे दण्डिनाश इव । एवं चानुमाय तत्र तत्र तथाप्रवृत्तिर्न स्याद् अन्यत्र ज्ञानमन्यत्र प्रवृत्तिः इत्यतिप्रसङ्गात् । अन्यनिष्ठस्यान्यत्र साधकत्वे व्याप्तिश्च न सिध्यति । यो धूमवान् सोऽग्निमान् इति साध्यसाधनयोर्नियतैकाश्रयत्वलक्षणा व्याप्तिरनुमानाङ्गम् अङ्गीकृता, सा हीयेत, पक्षमादाय साध्यसाधनयोर्वैयधिकरण्याद् इति चेन्न । दण्डिनि वर्तमानदण्डित्वस्य देवदत्तवृत्तित्ववद् विशिष्टपक्षनिष्ठसाधनस्य विशेष्यधर्मिमात्रनिष्ठत्वमपीत्यस्ति व्याप्तिसिद्धिः । सिद्धसाधनस्य हेतोः पक्षधर्मता नास्ति, साध्यस्य प्रमाणान्तरसिद्धतया सन्देहाभावात् । तथा युगपदुभयग्रहेपि साध्यस्य प्रत्यक्षविषयत्वेन असन्दिग्धत्वात् तद्विशिष्टस्य पक्षत्वाभावेन तन्निष्ठहेतोरपक्षधर्मत्वात् । पक्षधर्मता खलु अनुमानादिभिः पक्षे साध्यसिध्यर्थम् अङ्गीकृता साध्यहेत्वोः सामानाधिकरण्यव्याप्तिबलात् । एवं च व्याप्तिमात्रान्न साध्यसिद्धिः, हेतोः पक्षधर्मतयापि । तेन न पर्वतनिष्ठाद् धूमाद् देशान्तरीय-कालान्तरीयवह्निः सिध्यति । सेयं पक्षधर्मता पक्षे साध्यं साधयन्ती कालनियमम् अपि साधयत्येव, कस्यापि पक्षान्तर्भावात् । व्याप्तिपक्षधर्मते अनुमितिं भावयतः ।

अथ का नाम व्याप्तिः ? उच्यते । व्याप्तेर्हि लक्षणं बहुभिर्बहुधा प्रपञ्चितं दृश्यते। तथाहि—तत्र अव्यभिचरितत्वपुरस्कारेण कैश्चिद् व्याप्तिर्निरूपिता । केवलान्वयिसाध्यकस्थले साध्याभावाद्यप्रसिध्या तादृशं व्याप्तिनिरूपणम् अव्याप्तं सन्न घटते ।

एके व्यधिकरणधर्मावच्छिन्नाभावस्य प्राचल्येन व्याप्तिं प्रतिपादयन्ति । तत्र च लक्षणस्य प्रतियोग्यसमानाधिकरणघटिततया यत्तत्पदादिघटिततया च अन्याद्दशत्वेन तद्विपरीताश्रयणेऽव्याप्यवृत्तिसाध्यकेऽव्याप्तिरिति चेन्न। दोषवारणाय यत्समानाधिकरणाभावे प्रतियोग्यसमानाधिकरण्य निवेशावश्यकत्वेन तद्घटितत्वे हेत्वधिकरणे तत्तद्दोषवारणाय हेतुतावच्छेदकसम्बन्धादिनिवेशावश्यकतया तद्घटितनिबन्धनापत्तेर्विवक्षामात्रेण दोषवारणसम्भवात् । किञ्च यत्पदस्य स्वप्रयोजकबुद्धिविषयतावच्छेदकत्वोपलक्षितधर्मावच्छिन्ने शक्ततया प्राथमिकयत्पदस्य हेतुतावच्छेदकत्वाभिमतधूमत्वाद्यात्मकविशेषधर्मावच्छिन्नपरतया; तथा द्वितीयस्यापि साध्यतावच्छेदकत्वाभिमतवह्नित्वाद्यवच्छिन्नपरतया च तदर्थस्यैव पर्यवसन्नत्वात्, साक्षात् तत्तद्धर्मावच्छिन्नतद्बोधकपदेन तद्बोधापेक्षया बुद्धिविषयतावच्छेदकत्वेन तद्धर्मावच्छिन्नबोधे फलविशेषदर्शनाच्च । वस्तुतस्तु व्यधिकरणधर्मावच्छिन्नाभावस्य खण्डितत्वात् तेषां निरूपणं सर्वमपि अस्तङ्गतम् ।

अन्ये तु यत्र विपक्षे बाधकम् अस्ति तयोरन्वयो व्याप्तिः इति वदन्ति । यत्र हेतोर्विपक्षे वृत्तौ बाधकं प्रमाणरूपं तर्करूपं वास्ति, यस्य च साध्यस्याभावेन विपक्षता, तयोरन्वयो व्याप्तिः इत्यर्थः । अथवा यत्र ययोः साध्यसाधनयोर्मध्ये साधनस्य विपक्षे वृत्तौ बाधकम् अस्ति, तयोरन्वयो व्याप्तिरिति। विपक्षे वृत्तौ बाधकं तत्प्रमाणं वा तर्को वा। भूः शशविषाणोल्लिखिता भूत्वाद् इत्यादौ विपक्षे बाधकं नास्ति । तस्माद् व्यभिचारशङ्कापि न । इन्द्रियप्रमाणेनैव विपक्षवृत्त्यभावस्य प्रमितत्वेन संशयनिवारकविशेषदर्शनसद्भावाद् । अतश्च सन्दिग्धानैकान्त्यं न कुत्रापि भवेत् । नापि विपक्षे बाधकस्तर्को वाच्यः, तर्कस्य व्याप्तिमूलत्वाभ्युपगमेऽनवस्थाप्रसङ्गात् । तदनभ्युपगमे प्रशिथिलमूलतर्काभासः ।

केचित्तु सम्बन्धविशेषं पुरस्कृत्यैव व्याप्तिस्वरूपम् अङ्गीकुर्वन्ति। तत्र अविनाभूतः सम्बन्धो व्याप्तिरिति केषाञ्चिन्मतम्। बहुशो गृहीतम् अग्नि-धूमयोः साहचर्यं सहचरितत्वम् अविनाभावो येन तस्य प्रत्यक्षेण वह्निधूमा-ग्रहणकाले विमर्शवशात् पूर्वानुभूतसाहचर्यं स्मृत्वा यदि धूमो वह्निं व्यभि-चरेत् तर्हि नियतसाहचर्यानुपपत्त्या विनाभावः स्याद् इति विचाराद् व्याप्ति-ग्रहो जायते। अस्तु। न विनाभावः अविनाभावः, तत्र नञो विनेत्यनेन वा भावेत्यनेन वा सम्बन्धः। यदि विनापदेन सम्बन्धः, तर्हि एकस्य व्यापकस्याव्यतिरेके भावेऽपरस्य व्याप्यस्य भाव इत्यर्थः स्यात्। यदि भावपदेन सम्बन्धः, तर्हि एकस्य व्यापकस्य व्यतिरेके अभावे अपरस्य व्याप्यस्य व्यतिरेकोऽभावोऽविनाभावः। एवं च न केवलम् अव्याप्तिः, किन्तु यत् पार्थिवं तत् लोहमेद्यम् इति व्याप्यभावे लक्षणस्यातिव्याप्तिरपि भवति। तदर्थम् अविनाभूतः सार्वत्रिकसम्बन्धो व्याप्तिरिति लक्षणपरिष्कर-णेपि वज्रे पार्थिवत्वे सत्यपि लोहमेद्यत्वाभावाद् दोषपरिहारेऽपि सम्बन्धस्य सार्वत्रिकत्वं दुर्वचं भवति। यावत्यो व्याप्य-व्यापकव्यक्तयः तावतीषु सर्वासु सम्बन्धस्य विद्यमानत्वं सार्वत्रिकत्वम् इति चेत् सर्वास्ताः व्यक्तयो विशेषतो ज्ञातुं न शक्या इत्यसम्भवः। यदा यत्र धूमस्तत्राग्निरिति व्याप्तिग्रहणकाले चक्षुषा धूमाग्नी संयोगाद् गृह्येते तदा धूमत्वाग्नित्वसामान्ये संयुक्तसम-वायाद् गृह्येते, तद्विशेषणभूताश्च व्याप्य-व्यापकव्यक्तयः सर्वाः सामान्य-लक्षणया प्रत्यासत्त्या

"एको भावस्तत्त्वतो येन दृष्टः
सर्वे भावास्तत्त्वतस्तेन दृष्टाः।"

इति न्यायेन गृह्यन्त इति चेत् तर्हि व्याप्तिं गृह्णतः पुरुषस्य सार्वज्ञ्यं प्रस-ज्येत। किञ्च सामान्यलक्षणाप्रत्यासत्त्या तासु सर्वासु व्यक्तिषु सम्बन्धा-स्तित्वे प्रमाणमपि नास्ति।

अनौपाधिकः सम्बन्धो व्याप्तिरिति कश्चिदाह। साध्यव्यापकत्वे सति साधनाव्यापकत्वम् उपाधिः।

"एकसाध्यविनाभावे मिथः सम्बन्धशून्ययोः ।
साध्याभावाविनाभावी स उपाधिर्यदन्वयः ॥"

इति ।

अव्यापक उपाधिरित्युक्ते घटाव्यापकपटे अतिव्याप्तिरिति साधनपदं निविष्टम् । क्षित्यादिकं सकर्तृकं कार्यत्वाद् घटवत् इत्यत्र पक्षेतरत्वं साध्यव्यापकं भवति, सकर्तृकघटादौ सर्वत्र भावात् साधनाव्यापकं च पक्ष एव कार्यत्वे सति पक्षेतरत्वाभावादिति तत्रातिव्याप्तिः । किञ्च, साधनव्यापकत्वं तद्व्याप्तिकर्तृत्वं तद्भावः साधनाव्यापकत्वम्, एवं च व्याप्तिसिद्धौ व्यापकत्वसिद्धिस्तत्सिद्धौ तदपेक्षा व्यापकसिद्धिः तत्सिद्धौ उक्तोपाधिसिद्धिः, उपाधिसिद्धौ च निरुपाधिकसम्बन्धव्याप्तिसिद्धिः इति चक्रकदोषापत्तिः । तस्माद् एतल्लक्षणं न घटते ।

स्वाभाविकः सम्बन्धो व्याप्तिः इत्यपर आह—स्वभावप्रयुक्तः स्वाभाविकः । अत्रेदं प्रष्टव्यम् । कस्य स्वाभाविकः, किं सम्बन्धिनोः उतान्यस्य? । न द्वितीयः, वैपरीत्यापत्तेः । असम्बन्धिनोः सम्बन्धसम्बन्धिनोरसम्बन्ध इति विपरीतता । प्रथमपक्षे स्वाभाविकशब्दस्यार्थो वर्णनीयः । तत्र अग्नेरौष्ण्यं स्वभावः, तत्स्वरूपाश्रयत्वात् । एवं सम्बन्धिस्वरूपाश्रितः सम्बन्धः स्वाभाविक इति वा । वसन्ते वृक्षस्य प्रसूतिः तज्जन्यत्वात् स्वभाव इति सम्बन्धिस्वभावजन्यत्वं स्वाभाविकत्वं वा । पुरुषस्य चैतन्यं स्वभाव इति सम्बन्धिस्वरूपमेव स्वाभाविकोऽनन्यार्थश्च तद्धित इति सम्बन्धित्वविवक्षितःस्वभावानतिरिक्तत्वं स्वाभाविकत्वं वा । वाह्निको धूम इत्यत्र धूमस्य वह्निव्याप्यत्वमिति सम्बन्धिस्वभावव्याप्यत्वं स्वाभाविकत्वं वा । आत्मनः आत्मत्वसमवायः स्वाभाविक इतिवत् सम्बन्धः सम्बन्धिस्वभावादन्येन न प्रयुक्तः स्वाभाविक इति वा ।

तत्र आद्यपक्षस्वीकारे, पार्थिवत्व-लोहलेख्यत्वयोः सम्बन्धोपि सम्बन्धिस्वरूपाश्रय इति व्याप्तिर्भवेत् । द्वितीये, रज्जुघटसंयोगः सम्बन्धिस्वरूपजन्यो भवतीति तयोरसौ व्याप्तिरिति अव्याप्तिः, पृथिवीत्व-द्रव्यत्वयोरेकार्थसमवायरूपा व्याप्तिर्नित्यतया न भवतीत्यव्याप्तिश्च । तृतीयेपि, पार्थिवत्वलोहलेख्यत्वसम्बन्धस्यापि सम्बन्धिस्वरूपानतिरिक्ततयातिव्याप्तिः,

धूमसम्बन्धस्य सम्बन्धिस्वरूपातिरिक्ततया अव्याप्तिश्च। चतुर्थे, व्याप्यत्वं व्याप्तिमत्त्वम्। तत्र व्याप्तिरद्याप्यसिद्धा, व्याप्यत्वं कथं सिध्येत्। नापि पञ्चमः, न प्रयुक्त इति यदि न जनितः, तदा सम्बन्धः कृतकः अकृतको वेति विकल्पः प्रादुर्भवति। तत्र अकृतकत्वपक्षे अन्येनेति पराजन्यत्वविशेषणं व्यर्थम्, अकृतकस्य सम्बन्धिस्वभावेनाप्यजनितत्वात्। स्वेन जन्यत्वे सति हेत्वन्तरनिवारणाय विशेषणम् उपादेयम्, स्वरूपेणैवाजन्यत्वेऽनादिसम्बन्ध इति वक्तव्यम्। तथाच धूमादिसम्बन्धेऽव्याप्तिः। सम्बन्धस्य कृतकत्वपक्षेऽसम्भव एव स्यात्। सामग्र्याः सर्वसम्भवाद् अन्ततः कालदेशादृष्टादिभिरपि सम्बन्धजन्यत्वस्यावश्यवक्तव्यत्वात्। देशादृष्टेश्वरेच्छादीनाम् उत्पत्तिमन्मात्रनिमित्तत्वात्।

परे तु सामानाधिकरण्यनैयत्यमेव व्याप्तिम् अङ्गीकुर्वन्ति। व्याप्तिर्हि साहचर्यनियमः। यथा यत्र धूमस्तत्राग्निरिति व्याप्तेरभिनयः। साहचर्यमेव च सामानाधिकरण्यम् उच्यते, तस्य नियमः। हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगिसाध्यसामानाधिकरण्यम्। प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकसम्बन्धेन प्रतियोग्यनधिकरणीभूतहेत्वधिकरणवृत्त्यभावप्रतियोगितासामान्ये यत्सम्बन्धावच्छिन्नत्व-यद्धर्मावच्छिन्नत्वोभयाभावस्तेन सम्बन्धेन तद्धर्मावच्छिन्नस्य तद्धेतुव्यापकत्वम्, तादृशव्यापकसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिः। स्वव्यापकतत्कर्त्वं वा।

एवमनुमानवादिभिरीश्वरकारणिकैर्बहुधा निरूपितेऽपि व्याप्तिस्वरूपे साध्यादिभेदेन व्याप्तेरपि भिन्नतया सर्वमिदं निरूपणम् अनुपपन्नं सत् परास्तम् इति शम्।

पञ्चाङ्गशुद्धिपद्धतिः.

एल् सुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्री, अनन्तशयनम्.

अयि भो आर्या महाशयाः सहृदयाः गैर्वाणीवर्धनबद्धश्रद्धा भव्य-भारतीनिकेतनायमानाः सप्रश्रयमिदमिदानीं विज्ञापयामः ।

लोके हि भाषाः बह्व्यस्तथापि वेदवेदाङ्गशास्त्रादीन्यस्यामेव दृश्यन्ते । अतश्च 'संस्कृतं नाम दैवी वागन्वाख्याता महर्षिभिः' इति भाषासु मुख्या गैर्वाणीति सार्वजनीनमेतत् ।

'ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणेन षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेयश्च'इति श्रुतिः । षडङ्गं विना वेदाध्ययनं नाभीष्टसाधकम् । शिक्षादिषडङ्गेष्वपि नयनत्वाज्ज्योतिष-तन्त्रस्यैव प्राधान्यम् ।

किञ्च, 'कृत्तिकास्वग्निम् आदधीत' इति श्रुत्यर्थविचारश्च ऋते ज्योति-श्शास्त्रान्न लगेत् । श्रुत्यर्थश्च कृत्तिकास्वित्यस्य चारवशात् सूर्ये कृत्तिकासु स्थिते काले इत्यर्थः । स च कालः ज्योतिश्शास्त्रम् अन्तरेण दुर्ज्ञेयः ।

"न दैवं न पित्र्यं च कर्मादि सिध्येत्
न यत्रास्ति देशे ननु ज्योतिषज्ञः ।
न तारा न चारा नवानां ग्रहाणां
न तिथ्यादयो वा यतस्तत्र बुद्धाः ॥"

विहितकर्माचरणं च यथोक्तकालकृतमेव भवति फलदायकम् । न विपरीतकालकृतम् । यथाकालोप्तमेव बीजं भवति सस्यप्रदं न विपरीत-कालोप्तम् । यथोक्तकालावगतिश्च त्रिस्कन्धात्मकज्योतिश्शास्त्रादेव सम्भवति । अतोऽस्य वेदाङ्गत्वमुररीकुर्वन्ति मनीषिणः । अतः ज्योतिषज्ञैः यथावत् कृतं तिथिनक्षत्रग्रहचारादिप्रदर्शकं पञ्चाङ्गं विना भारतीयानामार्याणां कर्माणि न सुसाध्यानि भवेयुः ।

तच्च पञ्चाङ्गं प्रतिदेशं तत्रत्यपण्डितैः प्रकाश्यते प्रतिवर्षम् । किन्तु तथा प्रकाश्यमानानि पञ्चाङ्गानि न साधर्म्यमावहन्तीत्यत्र यद्यपि देशभेदं

निदानं निश्चिनुमः, तथाप्येकग्रामकृतेष्वपि पञ्चाङ्गेषु दरीदृश्यते महान् कालभेदः ।

भेदश्च त्रिधा भवेत् । देशकृतः आचारकृतः करणकृतश्चेति । एषु देशकृतो भेदस्तु सत्र एव, देशान्तरसंस्कारेण खलु क्रियते । आचारकृतं तु न वारयितुं पार्यतेऽस्माभिः । अत्र दिङ्मात्रम् उदाह्रियते । केचन तिथौ श्राद्धं कुर्वन्ति । अपरे च नक्षत्रे । एकस्मिन् मासे द्वयोः तिथिनक्षत्रयोः सम्भवतोः केचिन्मासादिभवयोः परे मासान्त्यभवयोः । किञ्च अस्मिन्नेव मासे केरलीय-पञ्चाङ्गरीत्याद्य षष्ठं दिनं पारदेशिकपञ्चाङ्गरीत्या सप्तमं दिनम् इति च कृत-व्यावहारिकोऽयं दोषः । किन्तु उभयोरपि आङ्गलडिसम्बर् एकविंशति-तमदिनं साजात्यमेवेत्यादि वदितुमस्ति बहु । विचक्षणाः शास्त्रकारास्तु करण-भेदाद्भिन्नत्वं न सहन्ते । अतः करणभेदम् अधिकृत्य किञ्चिद् विचारयामः ।

प्रायेण करणपद्धतित्रिधा —

१. सिद्धान्तपद्धतिः, २. वाक्यपद्धतिः, ३. दृक्पद्धतिश्चेति ।

सिद्धान्तग्रन्थान् अधिकृत्य प्रवृत्ता पद्धतिः प्रथमा ।

आर्यभटसिद्धान्तम् अधिकृत्य केनाचिद्वररुचिनाम्ना रचितानि २४८ चन्द्रवाक्यानि अन्यानि चाधिकृत्य प्रवृत्ता पद्धतिर्द्वितीया ।

प्रत्यक्षानुभूतिसम्भूतेन नूत्नेन दृग्गणितकरणेन प्रवृत्ता पद्धतिस्तृतीया । एतास्तिस्रः पद्धतीरनुसृत्य पञ्चाङ्गानि प्रचरन्ति ।

प्राचीनज्योतिर्विदां वेधयन्त्राण्यत्यन्तं स्थूलानि । तान्याश्रित्य पूर्वा-चार्याः सिद्धान्तग्रन्थान् प्रबबन्धुः । अतस्तानि स्फुटानि कालात्ययादापतित-प्रत्यक्षविरुद्धानि सञ्जातानीति सर्वविदितमेतत् ।

१४४२ तमे शकवर्षे ग्रहलाघवकर्ता गणेशदैवज्ञः स्वीयग्रन्थे —

"सौरोऽर्कोऽपि विधूच्चमङ्ककलिकोनाब्दो गुरुस्त्वार्यजो-
ऽसृग्ग्राह च कुजज्ञकेन्द्रकमथार्ये सेषुभागः शनिः ।
शौक्रं केन्द्रमथायमध्यमगतीमे यान्ति दृक्तुल्यतां"

... ॥

अन्यत्र च—

"ब्रह्माचार्यवसिष्ठकश्यपमुखैर्यत् खेटकर्मोदितं
तत्तत्कालजमेव तथ्यमथ तद् भूरीक्षणेऽभूत् क्षयम् ।
प्रापाऽतोऽथ मयासुरः कृतयुगान्तेऽर्कात् स्फुटं तोषितात्
तच्चास्ति स्म कलौ तु सान्तरमथाभूच्चात्र पाराशरम् ॥

तज्ज्ञात्वार्यभटः खिलं बहुतिथे काले ऽकरोत् प्रस्फुटं
तच्चाभूच्छिथिलं तु जिष्णुतनयेनाकारि वेधात् स्फुटम् ।"

इत्यादिना भविष्यत्परिष्करणं सम्मन्यते । अतः प्राचीनानां करणग्रन्थानां स्फुटीकरणसम्प्रदायाः शुद्धिम् अपेक्षन्ते । तदर्थं नवीनदृग्गणितम् आश्रित्य गणितकरणशुद्धिः कर्तव्येति सिध्यति । अत्र चास्माकं वराहमिहिराचार्यः प्रथमः साक्षी । यथा तद्ग्रन्थे,

"म्लेच्छा हि यवनास्तेषु सम्यक् शास्त्रमिदं स्थितम् ।
ऋषिवत्तेऽपि पूज्यन्तेऽकिं पुनर्दैवविद्विजः" ॥

हेलि हेम्ना आस्फुजिदादीनि ग्रहनामानि, होराद्रेक्काणादयो राशिविभागाः, तौक्षिक आकोकेरतावुरिप्रभृतयो राशिविशेषपर्यायाः केन्द्रलिप्तादयः सङ्केताः अन्ये च बहवो योगादिवाचकाः फलज्ञात्रप्रसिद्धाः शब्दाः यवनभाषात उपात्ता इति स्पष्टम् ।

प्राचीनानां सिद्धान्तानां परिष्करणे आर्यभटादीनां मतमनुसृत्य करणशोधनप्रवर्तकानां मध्ये त्रिचतुरेभ्यो वर्षशतकेभ्यः प्राक् आलत्तूरग्रामाभिजनः परमेश्वराभिधानः कश्चिज्ज्योतिस्तन्त्रज्ञो द्विजश्रेष्ठः सर्वेषामपि ग्रहाणां भगणमन्दोच्चपातपरमफलादीनि वेधादिभिः संशोध्य नूतनं करणग्रन्थं तन्त्रसङ्ग्रहाख्यं प्रणिनाय । तेन करणेन पञ्चाङ्गं च प्रचारयामास । स्वयं च तद्दृक्सिद्धपञ्चाङ्गानुसारेण श्राद्धादीन्यपि कर्माण्याचचार । इदानीमपि तत्पञ्चाङ्गानुयायिनः श्राद्धादिकमाचरन्ति । इदानीन्तननम्पूरियोगक्षेमपञ्चाङ्गे तद्गणितसिद्धश्राद्धादीनामनुष्ठानक्रमश्च स्फुटीकृतः । स तु परमेश्वराचार्यः स्वकीयतन्त्रसङ्ग्रहस्थापनवेळायां पूर्वाचार्याभिमतसिद्धगणितस्य परहितगणितम् इति

स्वमतसिद्धस्य दृग्गणितम् इति चान्वर्थतया नामाकरोत् । ततः प्रभृति प्राचीनस्य गणितस्य परेषां हितं इति वा परसिद्धान्तहितं इति वा परहितम्, दृष्टिम् गोचरतया स्वमतसिद्धस्य दृग्गणितम् इति चान्वर्थतां संज्ञां सर्वेऽप्यङ्गयकार्षुः ।

इदानीन्तनपञ्चाङ्गेषु राजकीयेष्वन्येषु च तिथिनक्षत्रयुक्तमुहूर्तादिषु वैदिकेषु कार्येषु परहितसिद्धा ग्रहाः जातकोपरागादिषु लौकिकेषु दृक्सिद्धाश्च ग्रहाः केरलीयैः परमादियन्ते । अतस्तेष्वधिकृताः दैवज्ञास्तिथिनक्षत्रादीन् कुजादिग्रहांश्च प्रसिद्धीकुर्वन्ति । केचिन्मौढ्ये च दृग्गणितसिद्धमङ्गीकुर्वन्ति । चन्द्रसूर्ययोर्ग्रहणे नवीनसूक्ष्मदृग्गणितमाश्रित्यैव प्रसिद्धीकरणं युक्तमिव भाति । अन्यथा गणितसिद्धस्य असाङ्गत्यं भवेत् ।

चोळदेशीयतिरुवयार्ग्रामाभिजनाभ्यां वेङ्कटेश्वरदीक्षित-सुन्दरेश्वर-श्रौतिभ्यां सौरचान्द्रमानदृग्गणितरीत्या प्रचारितं पञ्चाङ्गं तद्देशीयाः केचन वैदिककर्मानुष्ठाने अङ्गीकुर्वन्ति ।

तथैव वागळकोटे केतकरोपाह्ववेङ्कटेशदैवज्ञेन करणानि परिष्कृत्य नव्यं गणितप्रस्थानम् अतिसूक्ष्मं ज्योतिर्गणिताख्यं करणग्रन्थः १८२० तमशके १८९८ तमक्रिस्ताब्दे प्रसिद्धीकृतः । तदीयगणितसिद्धसूर्यचन्द्रायनचलन-पातानङ्गीकृत्य मयापि ग्रहणगणितमकारि । अत एव मया ग्रहणे दृक्-तुल्यता सम्पादिता इत्यपि वक्तुं शक्यते ।

नवीनदृग्गणितरीत्या आनन्दबोधिनीत्यादीनि पञ्चाङ्गानि प्रचुरप्रचुराणि सन्त्येव ।

अस्मिंश्च ज्योतिश्शास्त्रे ग्रहाणां स्फुटानि भूमध्यात् भमध्याचेति द्वेधा क्रियन्ते । तत्र भमध्यात् साधिता ग्रहाः तिथ्यादिकालनिर्णायकाः । भूमध्यात् साधिता उपरागादिप्रत्यक्षकालनिर्णायका इति विवेकः ।

उक्तं च ज्योतिषनिबन्धेषु —

"शैघ्र्यात् स्फुटास्ते तु भगोळगाः स्युः
तिथ्यृक्षहोराद्युपयोगयोग्याः ।
भूगोळगास्ते विहगाः स्फुटाः स्युः
छायोपरागप्रभृतौ तु योग्याः ॥"

करणोत्तमे च —

"इन्दोः श्राद्धादिकेऽन्यत्र भूमध्येष्टा स्फुटक्रिया ।"

किञ्च —

"यन्त्रवेधादिना ज्ञातं यत् पूर्वं गणकैस्ततः ।
ग्रहणादि परीक्षेत न तिथ्यादि कदाचन ॥"

"शृङ्गोन्नतौ ग्रहयुतौ ग्रहणे तथास्ते
छायानिरीक्षणविधावुदये प्रदेयम् ।
बीजं फलं तिथिभयोगविधौ न देयं
चन्द्रे प्रदेयमखिलं क्षितिजादिकेषु ॥"

इत्यादिवचनानां प्रामाण्यात् कर्मानुष्ठाने सूर्यार्यभटसिद्धान्तान्यतररीतिम् अज्ञहतामास्तिकानां परहितगणितम् एवादरणीयं भवति। तत्रापि च अयनचलनं परं सूक्ष्मतममङ्गीकरणीयम् । अन्यथा दिनरात्र्योः ह्रासवृद्धी न सङ्गच्छेते। एवमन्ये च दोषाः सम्भवेयुः ।

अन्यच्चैतच्चिन्तनीयमवशिष्यते यत् —

"मुखं वा एतत् संवत्सरस्य यत् फल्गुनी पूर्णमासः ।"

इत्यादिब्राह्मणवचनेन कारणान्तराद् वर्षारम्भकालः विषुदिनं फाल्गुनमासेन इति ज्ञायते । आर्यभटादीनामाचार्याणां काले तु विषुदिनं अश्विनीप्रारम्भ एवासीत् । अतश्च ते विषुदिनं चैत्रमासेन परिगणितवन्तः। एवं च फाल्गुनम् चैत्रम्, वैशाखम् , इत्यादि तदा तदा वर्षारम्भकाल इत्यभ्यूहितुं शक्यम् ।

आर्यभटाचार्यास्तु स्वग्रन्थनिर्माणकाले अयनसन्धिः, क्रान्तिपादः, महासम्पातः, नक्षत्रचक्रारम्भस्थानं च अश्विन्या आदिमबिन्दुकृत्यैवारचयन् । तच्च स्थानं द्वयोर्नक्षत्रयोः अश्विनीभरण्योः भा २६ क ४० मितभागान् पुरतः पृष्ठतश्च चलतीति निश्चितम् । एतेन तत्स्थानमेकतः यावत् कृत्तिकारम्भः अन्यतः पूर्वप्रोष्ठपदान्तं चलतीति अयनचलनवादिनां मतं चोपपद्यते ।

अस्य चायनचलनस्य प्रतिवर्षं परहितगणितरीत्या ५४ विकलामितं चलनं दृग्गणितरीत्या ४८ विकलामितं चलनम् इत्येतन्न मे समीचीनं भाति। वस्तुतस्तु ५० १/५ विकलामितं चलनमिति मन्त्रवेधादिना आधुनिकैर्निस्संशयं निर्णयः कृतः ।

own State. For other kind attention to your President on the part of the members of His Highness's household I may venture to convey your grateful thanks in conjunction with my own.

I will now move the following resolutions passed in the Executive Committee of the Conference —

(*a*) That the next or tenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference is to be held at Hyderabad.

(*b*) That Dr. Nizamuddin has been elected by the Executive Committee as the Local Secretary at Hyderabad.

(*c*) That Dr. M. H. Krishna and Dr. S. K. De have been elected as the Hon. General Secretaries of the Conference.

(*d*) That Dr. A. B. Dhruva has been re-elected Hon. Treasurer of the Conference.

(*e*) That it was resolved to convey a message of greetings of the present session of the All-India Oriental Conference to the next Orientalists Congress to be held at Brussels.

(*f*) That the following resolution was adopted by the Council upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee of the Conference :

"That the All-India Oriental Conference favours the early formation of an Indian Academy of Arts and Letters on the lines similar to those of the British Academy, and requests the Executive Committee of the Conference to communicate with other societies and institutions interested in the project with a view to explore the possibilities of its realization at a very early date."

(*g*) "That this session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum conveys its heartfelt thanks to—

(i) The Reception Committee under the lead of Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan and the various other

अनेन व्यत्यस्तमानेन इदानीं चक्रारम्भस्थानं भागत्रयं पृष्ठतोऽपसृत्य तिष्ठतीत्यायाति । प्राक्तनास्तु सिद्धान्तकाराः ग्रहचारादिकं सर्वं नक्षत्रभोगेनैव पर्यगणयन्न तु राश्यादिना ।

सूर्यसिद्धान्तरीत्या तु चित्रानक्षत्रं १८० भागमिते स्थान एवेति सिध्यति । उक्तं च — 'चित्रानक्षत्रं तु भचक्रस्य मध्यमधितिष्ठतीति' । चक्रारम्भस्थानचलनदोषस्तु चित्रानक्षत्रस्यार्धभागस्थितिवशात् परिहृतः । अतस्तत्सिद्धायनचलनेन सूक्ष्मगणना कर्तव्येति सर्वं निर्दिष्टं सूपपन्नं भवति ।

एतेन पञ्चाङ्गगणने परहितरीत्या दिनशुद्धीकरणं इग्गणितरीत्या सर्वग्रहाणां शुद्धीकरणं च कार्यमिति सिद्धम् ।

कालात्ययदोषपरिहाराय प्राक्तनैः पण्डितवर्यैः यथा एकैको मार्गं आश्रितस्तथा अस्माभिरपि सूक्ष्मफलाय कालात्ययदोषपरिहाराय च कश्चन कालो निर्देष्टव्य आधुनिकः । स च पूर्वोक्तदिशा चित्रानक्षत्रस्य भचक्रमध्यस्थित्या समनन्तरनिर्दिष्ट एव कालः शोभन इति मन्ये ।

उक्तरीत्या परिष्करणं साधयितुं किमद्य सद्यः प्रतिपत्तव्यमिति विचारणीयम् । मन्ये परिष्कारश्चैवं भवेत् ।

केतकरोपाह्वेङ्कटेशदैवज्ञैः चिरपरिश्रमाज्ज्योतिर्गणिताख्यो गणितग्रन्थः लब्धः खलु । तत्र रेवतीनक्षत्रतारा राशिचक्रस्य प्रथमो बिन्दुः चित्रानक्षत्रं राशिचक्रार्धस्थितमिति च प्रकल्प्य पक्षभेदेन विविधानि ध्रुवादीनि कल्पितानि दृश्यन्ते । तत्र चैत्रः पक्षस्तावत्तदीयकरणग्रन्थासन्नतरफलप्रदः । अतः स एव चैत्रः पक्षोऽस्माभिर्मान्यः । सूर्याचन्द्रमसोर्गणितं वररुचिप्रक्रियया सम्पाद्यम् । ग्रहान्तरगणितं परं इग्गणितरीत्या स्वीकार्यम् । एवंविधनवीनपञ्चाङ्गगणनाय कैश्चन ज्योतिर्विद्भिर्घटिता काचन परिषदुपकल्पनीया ।

तथा च निर्विवादं निर्णीतां पद्धतिमनुसृत्य नूतनपञ्चाङ्गकरणे महोन्नतमहामहिमशालिभिः श्रीपद्मनाभदास-जी-सी-ऐ-ई प्रभृतिबहुविधविरुदविराजमानैश्चित्रानक्षत्रसङ्घातैः श्रीकुलशेखरवञ्चिपालबालरामवर्ममहाराजैः प्रख्यापितक्षेत्रप्रवेशनादिनं तदासन्नमन्यद्वा दिनं पञ्चाङ्गप्रारम्भाहर्गणत्वेन ग्राह्यमिति मदीयोऽयमाशयः ।

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Committees and sub-committees who looked to the comforts of the delegates and visitors during their stay at Travancore ;

(ii) The cheerful Army of Volunteers who joyfully did all kinds of errands for the visitors, and who made them feel quite at home in this distant land of *Anantaśayana* ;

(iii) The artists and singers who treated the visitors to such excellent music, dance and *abhinaya*, which to many of the visitors have been both entertaining and instructive. And, what should have come first but is purposely put at the end, to

(iv) Their Highnesses, the Resident, the Dewan and the other officers of the State of Travancore for their distinguished patronage."

The vote was carried amidst loud and prolonged cheers.

The Resolutions having been unanimously approved, the President resumed—

"We have now come to what I feel to be the outstanding item in the programme of today's gathering, namely the announced address by the Dewan Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, whom, without further prelude, I invite to fulfil his promise".

Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar delivered an extempore address as follows —

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It was one of my pet delusions that careful men of research and scientists specialise in absolute truth (*Laughter*). But just now, after having heard your revered President, I do not know where I am, because, he has made bold to tell you that the main business of this afternoon is to listen to me. I came Sir, to listen to you, (*Laughter*) to your closing remarks, and I regard myself as a player in an interlude, an interlude in more senses than one. I am not here as a real actor on your stage. I have no right to take part in your

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conference, and I am aware that I am addressing a body of picked men, thorough in their own several lines of research, patient in their accumulation of learning and anxious to enlighten the world. I have very little to say that can really be of use to a learned audience, and I do not presume therefore to address you on the special topics that have occupied your attention during these two days. What I propose, with your leave, Mr. President to do is to undertake the task which is appropriate and pertinent to your labours, namely, the task of feeling for myself, and expressing such feeling, as to what Conferences like this can do, and ought to do.

There are many ways adopted by several types of minds and temperaments in dealing with alien civilisations, cultures and languages. Many of us here cannot be acquainted, are not acquainted, with all those languages, cultures, thoughts, dreams and aspirations which are embodied in the manuscripts, in the books, and in those remains of art and of architecture, which engage your specialised attention. But in dealing with these subjects, foreign to our separate entities and individualities as I said, there are many modes of approach. One of those modes, which I cannot omit to mention, was a mode adopted by men of a very 'superior' type like Lord Macaulay, when dealing with the subject of oriental studies. Let me, at the risk of great irreverence just read to you what Macaulay in his great Minute, said about oriental studies :

> " Why then" said he, and he was a very 'superior' man, "is it necessary to pay people to learn Sanskrit and Arabic? Evidently because it is universally felt that Sanskrit and Arabic are languages, the knowledge of which does not compensate for the trouble of acquiring them." (*Laughter.*) "On all such subjects the state of the market is the decisive test."

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This is a dictum which we have fortunately survived, as we have survived the era of Macaulay. Not content with those pearls of wisdom, he continued in this strain :

> ' To encourage the study of a literature, admitted to be of small intrinsic value, only because that literature inculcates the most serious errors on the most important subjects, is a course hardly reconcilable with reason, with morality, or even with that neutrality which ought to be sacredly preserved."

That is one way of looking at a foreign language, at a foreign literature, at an alien culture. (*Laughter.*)

Another way is that of Ernest Renan of " La vie de Jesus." That is a method of subdued unbelief, or half belief in which careful analytical, silent and destructive criticism is poured upon things which many hold sacred.

Another method is that of the Nazis, a method which proceeds on certain definite exclusions, which asserts, for instance, that Jesus Christ having been a Jew, the religion which he inculcates must be the evil thing, and that therefore it was an incumbent duty of the statesmen of Germany to see that that dread thing was eradicated.

The last outlook is, of course the frank, can did destructive attitude of the Russian Revolution in its initial stages " Away with it ; we do not want these things of the spirit and intellect. We are done with them. We are living in a world of tractors, of machines, of agricultural production, of intensive economic upheaval."

By far the best way, it seems to me of looking at things, is the way which has been evolved in our own country, where the truths of religion and of culture have not been too dogmatically asserted. It must be said of us of the East that face to face with the mystery of things, we have not attempted to be dogmatic or assertive, but we have adopted an attitude of humility and self-effacement.

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STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

STATEMENT I.

Honorary Treasurer's Statement of Accounts of the General Fund of All-India Oriental Conference from 1st July to 24th August 1939.

ate.	Particular.	With-drawals.	Deposits.	Balance.
-1-1937	By balance ...		4,480-8-5	4,480-8-5
-6-1937	To cheque 79702 ...	1,000-0-0	...	.
,,	By cheque on Poona ...	...	25-0-0	...
,,	To Exchange ...	0-4-0	...	3,505-4-5
-1937	By cheque on Bombay ...	...	100-0-0	...
-9-1937	Do. ...	...	250-0-0	...
-9-1937	Do. ...	...	300-0-0	...
12-1937	To cheque 79703 ...	2,000-0-0	...	2,155-4-5
-1-1938	By cheque on Madras ...	...	500-0-0	...
,,	By cheque on Bombay ...	...	500-0-0	...
,,	To Exchange ...	0-15-0	...	3,154-5-5
-9-1938	To cheque 79704 ...	50-0-0	. .	...
-9-1938	By cheque on Bombay ...	...	500-0-0	...
2-1938	To cheque 79705 ...	50-0-0	...	3,554-5-5
8-1939	To commission on duplicate statement ...	0-8-0	...	3,553-13-5
8-1939	To commission on duplicate statement from January 1st 1939 to date.	2-8-0	...	3,551-5-5

Opening balance with the Bank exclusive of Rs. 5 being the amount of cash on hand with the Honorary Treasurer for miscellaneous expenditure.

Ahmedabad,
August 1939.

A. B. DHRUVA,
Honorary Treasurer.

M. H. KRISHNA,
General Secretary.

STATEMENT II.

Statement of the General Secretary's Imprest Account from 1-7-1937 to 31-10-1938 (Dr. S. K. Belvalkar).

RECEIPTS.

	Rs.		
Opening Balance on 1-7-1937 as per Statement VI, Mysore Report P. cxlix	410	11	0
Expenditure as detailed below	284	2	0
Balance on 1-11-1938 handed over to the Deputy President	126	9	0

EXPENDITURE.

Second-class railway fare to the General Secretary bothways between Benares and Trivandrum, *via* Bombay and Madras	258	10	0
Typing and Clerical Charges from 1-7-37 to 31-10-38	18	8	0
Postage and Stationery for the same period ...	5	10	0
Telegram and Registration Do. ...	1	6	0
Total ...	284	2	0

A. B. DHRUVA,
Honorary Treasurer.

S. K. BELVALKAR,
General Secretary.

STATEMENT III.

Deputy President's Advance Account from 1-11-1938 to 31-10-1939.

RECEIPTS.

		Rs.	
Opening balance on 1-11-1938 as per statement above	126	9	0
Expenditure as detailed below	74	13	6
Balance on hand on 1-11-1939	51	11	6

EXPENDITURE.

Typing and Clerical charges from 1-11-38 to 31-10-39.	35	0	0
Telegrams	9	8	0
Registration and postage charges	18	11	6
Stationery and Miscellaneous	11	10	0
Total ...	74	13	6

M. H. KRISHNA,
General Secretary.

S. K. BELVALKAR,
Deputy President.

STATEMENT IV

Statement of Accounts of the Local Secretary, Eighth All-India Oriental Conference, Mysore, 1935 as it stood on 15th December 1937.

RECEIPTS.

		Rs.	As.	P.
1.	Balance carried over from the Mysore Session after closing the Reception Committee account (*vide* statement published in the Report of the Mysore Session, page clii)...	20	1	11
2.	Received from the Honorary Treasurer, Ahmedabad in two instalments being the amount sanctioned by the Executive Committee for the printing and publication and distribution of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Mysore Session ...	3,000	0	0
3.	Sale proceeds of the Conference's publication	22	8	0
	Total ...	3,042	9	11

EXPENDITURE.

		Rs.	As.	P.
1.	Banker's Commission and other incidental charges ...	8	8	0
2.	Postage	45	0	0
3.	Paper purchased for the Proceedings and Transactions of the Mysore Session ...	485	0	0
4.	Printing charges for the issue of appeals for donations, etc., for Trivandrum Session ...	6	0	0
5.	Paid for illustrative blocks for the proceedings volume	148	13	6
6.	Paid Honorarium for the assistants for editing proof reading, clerical and other work .	350	0	0
7.	Balance on hand with the Local Secretary.	50	0	0
8.	Balance with the Bank of Mysore, Ltd., Mysore ...	1,849	4	5
	Total ...	3,042	9	11

T. K. VENKATARAMANIAH,
Clerk and Accountant.

M. H. KRISHNA,
Local Secretary.

STATEMENT V.

Statement of accounts of the Mysore Local Secretary from 15-12-37 to 30-9-38.

RECEIPTS

		Rs.		
1.	Opening balance with the Bank of Mysore, Ltd., Mysore as per Statement IV ...	1849	4	5
2.	Opening balance with the Local Secretary ..	50	0	0
3.	Interest added by the Bankers	7	0	0
4.	Sale proceeds of conference's publications ...	5	0	0
5.	By V. P. P. Money Orders (being the postage recovered from the members after incurring) ...	262	8	0
	Total	2173	12	5

EXPENDITURE.

1.	Banker's commission and other incidental charges	3	8	0
2.	Postage	376	6	6
3.	Paper, etc. purchased for the Mysore Volume	491	10	0
4.	Miscellaneous printing charges	66	4	0
5.	Railway freight and other expenses ...	62	9	6
6.	Honoraria for clerical and other assistance from January to the end of September 1938	70	0	0
7.	Amount transferred to the Imperial Bank of India, Ltd., Ahamedabad for the credit of the Conference's General Funds	500	0	0
8.	Balance with the Bank of Mysore Ltd., for the General Secretary's further expenses	603	6	5
	Total	2173	12	5

T. K. VENKATARAMANIAH,
Clerk and Accountant.

M. H. KRISHNA.
Local Secretary.

Approved

S. K. BELVALKAR,
Deputy President
7-11-38.

STATEMENT VI.

Statement of accounts of the General Secretary's Imprest from 1-10-1938 to 31-10-1939.

(Dr. M. H. Krishna).

RECEIPTS.

			Rs.	As.	P.
1.	Opening balance as per statement V	...	603	6	5
2.	Sale proceeds of Conference publications	...	10	8	0
	Total	...	613	14	5

EXPENDITURE.

			Rs.	As.	P.
1.	Banker's Commission	...	1	0	0
2.	Postage and telegrams	...	47	12	0
3.	Stationery articles	...	6	10	0
4.	Printing charges	...	13	6	0
5.	Paid to Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, President, Eighth Session being the amount spent by him	...	24	8	0
6.	Honoraria for clerical, typing and other assistance rendered from 1-10-38 to 31-10-39 for 13 months	...	130	0	0
	Balance with the Bank of Mysore, Ltd., Mysore	...	390	10	5
	Total	...	613	14	5

M. H. KRISHNA,
General Secretary.

S. K. BELVALKAR,
Deputy President.

Accounts of the All-India Conference) Volumes in Stock at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute from July 1937 to 6th December 1939.

Receipts.					Expenditure.				
1. Balance in Savings Bank on 13th July 1937	... Rs.	511	5	0	1. Freight charges for Mysore Conference Reports	... Rs.	48	14	0
2. 2/3rd sale proceeds of the Conference Volumes for year ending 31-3-1939	... ,,	76	10	8					
3. Interest upto 30-6-1939	... ,,	15	0	11					
4. 2/3rd Sale proceeds of the Conference Volume for year ending 31-3-1939	... ,,	230	14	0		Total ... Rs.	48	14	0
					Balance	... ,,	785	0	7
Total	... ,,	833	14	7	1. In S. B. Account Rs. 676 5 11				
					2. In cash with Deputy President Rs. 108 10 8				
					Rs. 785 0 7				
					Total ... Rs.		833	14	7

R. N. Dandekar, M. A., Ph. D.,
Honorary Secretary, Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona.

S. K. Belvalkar, M. A., Ph. D.,
Deputy President.

Pardon me, Ladies and Gentlemen, if I quote to you a verse from Omar Khayyam which gives one aspect of that outlook.

"There was a door to which I found no key,
There was a veil past which I could not see;
Some little talk awhile of me and thee,
There seemed and then, no more of thee and me.'

Generally speaking, that is the way of approach which may be recommended to a Conference of this kind, to learned men all the world over in these days of travail and tribulation, the way which has been indicated in two lines of Rudyard Kipling:

"There are nine and ninety ways of inditing
tribal lays
And every single one of them is right."

There are nine and ninety ways of approaching Godhead. There are nine and ninety ways of analysing cultures. There are nine and ninety ways of unlocking the doors of learning. Every one of them is right; and the task of the learned man and the student, the obligation of the seeker after truth is not to eschew one or the other of those nine and ninety ways.

In that spirit I shall for a moment dwell upon what I consider to be the special contribution of eastern literature and arts to the sum total of human learning and human thought. If I am too venturesome in this respect, I shall secure the pardon of this learned audience, because the more learned an audience one has before one, the more sure one is of comprehension, charity and tolerance. Now, it appears to me that if one thing can be said more definitely and emphatically than any other, it is this, that eastern literatures are especially distinguished and characterised by what may be called intuition and what follows from intuition. Let me illustrate. Ages ago, a great poet, singing of Śrī Rāma as




കേരള സാഹിത്യ
അക്കാദമി

he came from his conquest in Laṅkā, of Rāvaṇa and his embattled army, spoke of his voyage in that heavenly chariot when accompanied by his devoted Sītā he returned from Laṅkā to Ayodhyā. That poet spoke of that voyage over the waste of waters in this way ;

"वैदेहि पश्य मलयाद्विभक्तं मत्सेतुना फेनिलमम्बुराशिम्।
छायापथेनेव शरत्प्रसन्नमाकाशमाविष्कृतचारुतारम् ॥"

Raghuvaṁśa, Sarga XIII, Stanza 2.

The truth and the full meaning of those lines I learnt only when in 1926 it fell to my lot to make a voyage by plane to Europe. Let me translate those lines, feeble though my translation may be, वैदेहि पश्य etc., they were just passing over those places between Tuticorin and Ceylon from the *Malaya Parvata* which stretches to the sea, foam-flecked and broken in its line by the bridge. What does it remind one of? "It reminds me" says Rāma, of that *śarat* sky—late spring and early summer—of India, broken only by the milky way from one end to the other, by a few flecks of foam ; the rest is clear. When travelling by aeroplane looking down from a mile above the sea you see only those ripples of foam.

Why do I recite those words now? It requires a tremendous amount of intuition, of comprehension, and of placing oneself in new surroundings. I was quoting from *Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṁśa*. The implication is that what science has demonstrated, our ancients were able to cognise, foresee and interpret a long time ago. And that I ascribe, as greater men than I have ascribed, to that great faculty of intuition of great men, poets, seers, scholars and thinkers, in inspired moments.

Let me now turn from that to another subject. We have heard of the *Daśāvatāra*—the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. It occurs to me that perhaps it may not be too fanciful an analogy, too far-fetched a figure, to think of that as typifying, or at all events partly symbolising, the growth of

humanity from the pristine stages of created life. Let us analyse it. The world started with the *Matsya Avatāra*. Viṣṇu incarnated as a fish in the waters; and then there came the tortoise; and from the tortoise there emerged the beginnings of warm-blooded life; and then came the half-man; then the warrior; then the great monarch; then the perfect man who was the author of the "*Gītā*"; then the Buddha; and, finally, the end of all things. It is possible to say that the incarnations of Viṣṇu are merely symbolical. But are they not something more than that? Are they not the conscious embodiment of the intuition of the seer who wanted to typify in that manner the progress from less to more of humanity, the progress from the waste of waters to the highest attainment of man?

Now, these are aspects of the matter which need a certain amount of study and collaboration. A great deal of work has been done. No man, standing on a platform like this, can speak without advertence to the wonderful work of Fraser in *The Golden Bough*, of anthropologists and others who have elucidated many dark things concerning mythology, history and lore sacred and profane. At the same time, it appears to me that what has been attempted in this direction by orientalists has been of the meticulous, of the scientific of the elaborative, and the technical kind. What is wanted is a welding of the technical equipment and the scientific approach with that comprehension, with that humanity, which deals with religions and cultures as "moving in dim worlds half realised" rather than as things scientifically labelled and collated. (*Applause.*)

Speaking in that way, these are many things which I might just bring to your notice. Take, for instance, one of the glories of modern science. We do not know where we are in modern science. We once spoke of a finite world. And then we spoke of the infinite world. We do not know where we are either in regard to space or time. Until a few years ago we were glorying in that doctrine called the

nebular hypothesis which it was the glory of Laplace to elucidate. In relation to that theory, a certain verse from the Upaniṣads comes to my mind :

"एतस्मिन्नु खल्वक्षरे
गार्ग्याकाश ओतश्च प्रोतश्चेति ।"

Bṛhadâraṇyakopaniṣad, Chapter III,
Brâhmaṇa VIII.

"This Being is inter-meshed, woven and inter-woven with ether, and that is life, and that is the essence of life", says the Upaniṣad Kartâ.

It appears to me that no more accurate, no more thorough definition could be given of the doctrine of that nebular theory of the way in which the world came into being from the mists which came out from ether and which resolved themselves into constellations, worlds and suns—

तदेतत्सत्यं यथा सुदीप्तात् पावकाद्विस्फुलिङ्गाः सहस्रशः प्रभवन्ते सरूपाः ।
तथाक्षराद्विविधाः सोम्य भावाः प्रजायन्ते तत्र चैवापि यन्ति ॥

If we read the last two books of Sir James Jeans, we shall realise the truth, the intuitive truth, of that saying. And what the saying means I shall venture to translate.

"This is the truth : As from a blazing fire, in a thousand ways similar sparks proceed, so, O Beloved, are produced living souls of various kinds from the Indestructible (Brahman) and they also return to Him."

And in that direction other men in other countries have also thought and given expression to such thinking. Many years ago, when the thoughts of a great English poet were moving towards pantheism he came across an inscription in Crete and put into verse as follows :

"The God I know of, I shall ne'er
Know, though he dwells exceeding nigh.
Raise thou the stone and find me there,
Cleave thou the wood and there am I.
Yea, in my flesh his spirit doth flow,
Too near, too far, for me to know."

Thus, therefore, in dealing with some of the great problems of the universe, in dealing with things like pantheism, the doctrine of *Karma* and the doctrine of transmigration, which may be said to be the three beliefs which have originated, or at all events could very well be said to have originated in the East and to have travelled elsewhere, you find that many doctrines which are now considered to be modern were contemplated long ago. And it ought to be the function of every Indian, and of every Orientalist, sooner or later, to compile a natural history of ideas, a natural history of intuition, so that it might be possible, when one finds one inscription here and another inscription there, not only to collate such inscriptions and old manuscripts, and to edit a full text of them but to assimilate the spirit of them all and by a comparative study, to realise how the human soul, in its search after truth has wandered from place to place, and tried, wherever it went, to start questionings, promptings and answers. It appears to me that there is enough material in our country, in our scriptures and in our writings for a treatise of the kind which I have ventured to call "A Natural History of Ideas." Lord Acton attempted to do something of the kind with regard to one branch of ideas, namely, the idea of freedom. His "*History of Freedom*" is well known to historical scholars. I would that such a conference as this, so well equipped for that purpose would take upon itself the study of any one of those great ideas—*Karma*, and what it means and Transmigration and what it has been in several countries. Quests, searches on such lines, will yield valuable results.

When I was a student of the Bible some years ago, I came across that memorable saying in St. John, when a blind person—one who was born blind—was led to Jesus Christ by his disciples. His disciples gathered round Jesus Christ and asked him "Did this man or his parents sin, that he was born blind?": and Jesus answered "Neither did this man sin nor his parents sin; but that the works of God

should be made manifest in him." And the blind man got his sight restored. As I was reading this verse in the Holy Bible, it struck me that the idea of transmigration, the idea of *Karma*, the inheritance of curses through long generations, which we find in the Hebrew and Greek cultures and religion and literature, India knew ages ago and that India is not far away from Palestine of old. If you go into this matter more and more deeply, you will find that many of these ideas have survived civilizations.

Another important contribution that, I venture to submit, the East has made to the sum total of human thought and human action in the world is what I call symbolism in art, the idea that art is not mere photographic reproduction of nature, but an endeavour to demonstrate the inner spirit of things, to present ideas as far as possible. The ideal of Greek art, of the perfect man and the perfect woman is well known. Every limb is perfectly proportioned ; the nose is perfectly straight, and the eyes are set at the right mathematical angle. But an irreverent man might say that there is something cold about Greek statuary, something wanting, something which does not satisfy the yearning of the human soul. Take, on the other hand, eastern sculpture ; absurd from the physiological point of view ; twenty, thirty, even a thousand arms and legs ; apt to rouse the laughter of ridicule in Macaulay-like minds. As a matter of fact Macaulay did speak of Indian shrines and of Gods and Goddesses in slightly disparaging terms. But the idea underlying Indian sculpture is very different from and far higher than common physiology. *Naṭarāja*, *Kālī*, these do not satisfy the ideals of the photographer. No, the idea of *Naṭarāja* is that of a whirling, dynamic force, dancing through destruction to life ; and the idea of *Kālī* is that of infinite energy symbolised by the numerous heads and the thousand hands ; and the accompaniments symbolise the gentleness of *Umā* whose also is the same spirit as that of *Kālī*. The ideal of Indian architecture is, as I have already stated, not photographic

accuracy but symbolic representation, successful in some case and only partially successful in others and beyond ordinary visual and auditory comprehension.

That is the meaning of Indian music ; that is the meaning of Indian architecture ; that is the significance of Indian sculpture. These ideals were at one time derided ; but it is very curious to notice that the world has rebelled against what has been called by a Victorian critic "the Fleshly School." And the glory of those ideals is slowly coming back, sometimes under difficult auspices, sometimes in more comprehensive ways. Recently, I saw a photograph of Epstein's great statue of Jesus Christ. But the only thing I saw was the enormous pair of legs and feet : very little beyond that. But the idea is that, in proper perspective, you would see a shroud and nothing but the shroud. Jesus Christ really is in the distance, and what you see is the earthliness of that particular moment. I saw again in Kensington Galleries his Christ's mother. If it was not beautiful, it was symbolic. But I venture to say that our symbols are at least as expressive as those symbols. In any case, it is worthy of note that, as very often happens, the wheel of life turns high and low, and these ideas spread from world's end to world's end ; and they produce repurcussions and results wherever they go. Symbolism in art again, is one of the contributions which the eastern life and eastern art have made to the world.

Another notable contribution is the system of teaching religion and ethics by means of parables and stories. Consider what that means. It started with the Buddhist *Jātakas*, and the stories of the "*Hitopadesa*" and "*Pancatantra*". From them and from Chinese and Arabian sources, the system went to Spain ; it came to Italy. That led to the "Chouson de Roland", to Boccaccio's "Decameron" and Spenser's "Faery Queen". That method of conveying moral, ethical and religious maxims by means of stories was essentially an eastern art, and the parable and story, an essentially eastern institution.

It may be worth while for a conference like this to concentrate its attention for a while upon the growth of such works as have been attempted most successfully in Germany and France in recent times in respect of folklore. The evolution of these eastern ethics and parables has not yet been adequately studied and it appears to me that is a profitable field in which those concerned in this conference might labour.

My friends, there is a great deal that is now and then written in journals, in censorious publications, about the horrid things that confront one in our temples and other institutions. People raise their hands in holy horror. They say the obscenity is absolutely beyond contemplation These are things that Miss Mayo wrote about. Others too have written about them. Among them is a Frenchman, one of the three-months travellers. But I do not know if that Frenchman ever looked at the Notre Dame de Paris. If these critics had only looked at the gargoyles and phallic emblems there, they would have tried to realise that perhaps the Indian artists who produced those temples and those wonderful images and those evocations of the sublime, must have had some purpose and some object in producing them. If they will only pause to consider that nature, unadorned nature, nature in its unlovely aspects, is one of the inseparable realities, the shrouding of which is not essential for a proper and reverential attitude, they will find the truth of the saying *Humanus sum* (I am a man). It may be that in that spirit these things ought to be investigated. If you go into Mahābalipuram, if you go into Kāñjīpuram or into the great temples here, or the great cathedrals of Europe, if you see the temples of Greece, of the Eleusinian mysteries and the worship of certain phallic emblems, then perhaps you will see that humanity has been consistent and that humanity's consistency for 2000 years is not wrong headed (*Applause*). Some explanation and some rationality is possible. These are some of the things which, though perhaps

inconsequential, appealed to me. Speaking to an audience like this I feel very nervous. It seems to me that there are many things on which you might ponder and many conquests you might make. I wish you Godspeed and thank you for the patience with which you have listened to me. Let me end by saying that now as ever the world is waiting for perfection, yearning, aspiring, dreaming, suffering ; and every person who does his best, who gives of his best to his Motherland and humanity, is doing an inestimable work. The work of the scholar and the savant, remote as it might appear to labourers of the market-place, is more essential and more and more full of potentialities for the future than the work of those who deal with transient phenomena, who labour in the things that matter not. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

The function was brought to a close by the General President with the following concluding remarks —

'Ladies and Gentlemen,

You are now in a position to judge whether I was right in referring to the address of the Sachivottama as the outstanding item in our today's agenda. For my part I feel that all the support, official and personal, for which the Conference is indebted to him, attains a climax in the inspiring reflections which his communication has kindled in our minds. As to his claim to amateur status in these matters, I may mention that, having been privileged to sit beside him and benefit by his explanations both at a meeting of the *Sanskrit Parishat* engaged in discussion of deep *Śastraic* matters and at a *Kathakali* performance with rapid dialogue in Malayāḷam, I am not able to endorse his modest profession. Even were it otherwise, all here are by their own experience aware that the innocence of the enlightened amateur, who is free to employ his unclouded intelligence, is as nothing in comparison with the incapacity of a specialist confronted with the matters of a different specialism.

To conclude the proceedings of this Ninth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, I can without hesitation congratulate you upon the marked success of our gathering. Having been able to attend the delivery of several of the Presidential Addresses in the Sections, I am impressed by their scientific outlook and up-to-date information. The papers in my own Section, most of which I had perused, are similar in spirit and precision to those presented to the International Orientalist Congress, and I do not doubt that in general the like may be stated in regard to the other sections where my information was cursory. Having inspected also the extensive volumes representing the former Sessions of the Conference, I am convinced that our organization has made itself secure on a high level of competence. The generation of young scholars, some of whom have been coming to European Universities, since the early years of the present century, for indoctrination in modern methods of study and research, has grown to maturity and may be encouraged to contrast its work in a spirit of independence and responsibility."

Dr. S. K. Aiyangar thereupon proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. F. W. Thomas for having ably brought the work of the session to a successful conclusion. This was also carried amidst acclamations.

4·15 P. M.—A group photograph of the members and delegates was taken in the quadrangle of H. H. The Maharaja's College of Science.

5 to 5·30 P. M.—The Princep's Centenary function was held in the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall, when Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, Government Epigraphist for India, read a memoir on "James Princep." Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Dr. M. H. Krishna, Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharulu and Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar also spoke on the occasion.

5·30 to 5·55 P. M.—Rev. Fr. H. Heras gave a lecture on "Proto-Indian Script and Culture" with illustrations: He said that,

"The inscriptions of Mohenjo-daro propose three great problems the solution of which will disclose the truth about those cryptic writings.

First problem: Who were the authors of the inscriptions? Certainly they were not Aryans as Sir John Marshall proves. Very likely they were Dravidians who inhabited the whole of India before the Aryans came in. Of the existence of the Dravidians in Northern India we have ethnographical, linguistic and historical proofs.

Second Problem: What was the language they spoke? Most probably a Dravidian language. The existence of Brahui—a Dravidian language spoken by the Baluchis who are not Dravidian racially—so near the borders of Sind confirms our supposition. That Dravidian language was none of the Dravidian languages spoken at present in India. It was most likely the parent language of all the modern Dravidian languages. Happily Dravidian languages in India have not changed much owing to their agglutinative character.

Third problem: What sort of script was their script? The Indus valley script is a picto-phonographic script. Many of its signs are pictographs the meaning of which is not difficult to ascertain. As regards the signs which are not pictographs, which are merely phonetic, they were compared with the signs of other ancient scripts: Sumerian, Egyptian, Hittite and early Chinese. The majority of all the phonetic signs of Mohenjo-daro have similar signs in one of these scripts. Accordingly the meaning of these signs was transferred to our Indian signs. After the meaning of all our signs was settled, the greatest problem was how to read them. What was their phonetic value? For this all the Dravidian words having the same meaning

were studied, modern suffixes or affixes were dropped, the probable oldest word was selected and thus the readings of the signs were settled. The script is boustrophedon : odd lines read from right to left : even lines from left to right. The inscriptions do not contain names of chiefs, officers or merchants. They are most varied in their subject, religious, political, social, etc. Practically all long inscriptions are fragments of verses."

Dr. C. Meenakshi then spoke on the "Coronations of Pallava Kings" as follows :—

Kāñcī is a store-house of the monumental art of the Pallavas. And magnificent sculptures of Śiva in his various aspects are housed in the Śiva temples. Of the Viṣṇu temples of the Pallava period the most important is the Vaikuṇṭhapperumāḷ which is unique for its historical value and sculptural treasure. On the walls of the verandah running round the central shrine are seen a series of panels over 200 in number which were sketched by Alexander Rea in his Pallava Architecture and interpreted as relating to Paurāṇic scenes. It was Professor Jouveau Dubreil who threw the suggestion that the first few of them may be historical.

Stimulated by this I visited this temple every week for nearly two years and made a very exhaustive study of them and discovered that they were a pictorial history of the Pallavas of Kāñcī. The results of my research are embodied, in a monograph entitled, '*The Historical Sculptures of the Vaikuṇṭhapperumāḷ temple, Kāñcī*' which constituted one of my three books submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Madras.

On the verandah of the Vaikuṇṭhapperumāḷ temple one meets with a series of Coronations or Royal *Abhishekas*

among the sculptures which offer at once the solution to the establishment of the historical nature of the panels. Unfortunately they are all thickly white-washed so much so that some of the minutest details are obscured. A thorough washing of these chemically or otherwise is a desideratum.

What strikes one on a superficial survey of these Coronation scenes is that the form of representation and the style are almost identical with one another though other minor or minute details may differ.

The kings who are the chief interest in these *Abhiṣeka* panels are all portrayed big in size and appear seated majestically on a throne (*āsandī*) with their legs hanging down and their two hands leaning on their thighs.

Across their breasts they wear a cross band which may be identified as the jewel known as *Channavīra* which was indeed a *sine qua non* of the Pallava Kings at the time of their coronations.

Usually this ornament is described as a sort of double *Yajñopavītas* and is said to pass over either of the shoulders crosswise and fastened in the middle of the breast and back. And the same ornament worn by the Pallava Kings in the *Abhiṣeka* panels differs in that it passes over their arms also.

Other jewels such as *Kuṇḍalas*, *Keyūras*, *Upagrīvas* and *Hāras* also appear on the person of the king. The actual ceremony is performed by two men apparently Brahmins standing one on either side of the king in the act of either placing the crown on the head of the king or pouring the sacred water from shanks or pots. The paraphernalia of the kings consisting of ministers and officials, elephants and horses are also depicted in certain panels while in others there are two or three riders on the backs of elephants holding in their hands *Kumbhas* of sacred water. Yet in a few others there are enthusiastic spectators watching the ceremony from the balcony of certain buildings.

There is a sculpture of Royal *Abhiṣeka* from Cambodia which has been described by Dr. Bosch in the B. E. F. E. O. Vol. 1931, which approximates in form to the *Vaikuṇṭhapperumāḷ* sculptures. The relationship that existed between the Pallava Kingdom and Cambodia is amply borne out by the presence in Cambodia of Pallava form of writing, their legends and their style of architecture. The royal *Abhiṣeka* sculpture from Cambodia is one more evidence of the cultural contact that prevailed then between these two countries.

The last lecture was on "Jaipur Excavations" by Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, M. A., C. I. E., Director of Archaeology, Jaipur, illustrated by lantern slides.

The Speaker said that the Government of His Highness the Mahārāja of Jaipur had, like other premier States of India, won the gratitude of lovers of archaeology by forming a small Archaeological Department of their own. During the two years' existence of this department, the Director received unstinted support in all his undertakings from Rai Bahadur Paṇḍit Amar Nath Atal, Finance Minister of the State. One of these tasks was the exploration of an ancient Buddhist site situated at a distance of about two miles from the modern town of *Bairāṭ* in which tradition recognizes the capital of *Virāṭa* in whose court the Pāṇḍava heroes had passed their thirteenth year of their exile. *Bairāṭ* was already known to archaeologists from an Aśokan rock edict still in *situ* which had been made known by Mr. Carlleyle, First Assistant to Sir Alexander Cunningham. Another edict of the same emperor was removed from *Bairāṭ* to the *Asiatic Society of Bengal* by Captain Burt in 1840. The ancient remains which have now been explored are situated on the top of a low hill and revealed a Buddhist monastery, and important circular temple and the remains of two Aśoka

pillars, all of which had been burnt and destroyed by the Huns in the 5th or 6th century A. D. The monastery yielded a hoard of 36 silver coins including eight of the punch-marked type and 28 of the Greek and Indo-Greek kings, the earliest among them being one of Heliokles (circa 140 B. C.) the last Greek king of Bactria and the latest of Hermaios (circa 20—45 A. D.) The eight punch-marked coins were wrapped in a piece of true cotton cloth. The circular temple was built of sections of large wedge-shaped bricks alternating with octagonal wooden columns and was surrounded by a broad *Pradakṣiṇa-patha*. This is the oldest structural temple of the historical period found anywhere in India and one of those which furnished models for the rock-cut cave temples of the type represented by the *Caitya* cave of the 1st century B. C. at Junnar. The object of worship in this temple was a *stūpa* which had been cut away in a previous excavation many years ago. The building, however yielded fragments of an Aśokan umbrella of polished Chunār sandstone which crowned the *stūpa* referred to and several fragments of a bowl of the same kind of polished stone which probably contained the reliquary. The Aśoka pillars had been completely destroyed but thousands of pieces from the polished surface and the core were found. This discovery is interesting as it increases the number of known Aśoka pillars to sixteen. The portable antiquities included a large variety of objects but no representations of the Buddha in any form. This circumstance provides incontrovertible evidence of the Buddha image not having been evolved until about the middle of 1st century A. D.

Another site in the Jaipur State which is being explored is the ancient mound near the well-known salt lake of Sâmbhar. This city must have been deserted in the late medieval period when the modern town of Sâmbhar was founded. The recent excavations in this mound have revealed the existence of the remains of three successive cities built one upon the foundations of another. The intermediate level dates from the early Gupta or late Kushān

period and one of the houses yielded a silver coin of the Indo-Greek king Hermaios and a copper coin of Huvishka. Other portable antiquities recovered from this level included many finely decorated bowls of fine light clay ; a water jar of the same material, the neck and handle of which were so designed as to represent the descent of the river Ganges from the matted hair of Śiva. Mention should also be made of several scores of bone spikes with sharp pointed ends which must have been used for scratching letters or patterns into the surface of the pottery vessels ; and a pottery model of a house complete with its lattice and open windows, gabled roof and pinnacles. A sealing of the same material but of an earlier date bears representations of a *yūpa* with the usual curved top and surrounded by a railing. Among terracotta plaques was a part of one showing a man playing on a lyre in the same way as the effigy of the Gupta king Samudragupta on his coins of the 'lyrist type'. Other pottery plaques stamped with a variety of mythological subjects appear to have been amulets of some kind. Other objects deserving notice are a buffalo-headed and two-armed male figure of terracotta and another figure of a pot-bellied Brāhmaṇa with a *śikhā* and a thick *yajñopavīta*. The lowest stratum dates back to the 1st or 2nd century B. C.

Many other ancient sites await exploration in the Jaipur State. At one of them at the village of Nagar in the Uniāra Thikāna Mr. Carlleyle collected over 6000 copper coins of a local Mālava tribe which included some of the smallest and lightest coins anywhere to be found. Another ancient mound in the Dausa Tahsil, yielded five years ago, a hoard of well preserved gold coins of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. The town of Lālsoṭ 58 miles from the city of Jaipur possessed a Buddhist *stūpa* of considerable antiquity and six pillars belonging to its railing have survived. One of these like one or two *stūpa* pillars at Sāñcī, bears an interesting relief representing the *stūpa* with its *toraṇa* etc. A temple of Śiva of the 10th century A. D. near the town of

Sīkar was, according to an inscription found in it, decorated with numerous stone sculptures including statues of the five Pāṇḍava brothers and Draupadī. The town of Chāṭsu (ancient Chaṁpāvatī) possessed a temple of Murári of the 11th century A. D The Jaipur State also boasts of the only well preserved temple of the reign of the Cháhamána (Chauhán) kings. It is situated at Bīsālpur, which according to a well preserved inscription of the time of Pṛthvīrája was also called *Vigrahapura*.

The Kachhwáhá rulers of the Jaipur State trace their origin from the god Sun and are believed to have been settled successively at Rohtas on the river Son, Dausa, Amber and Rámgarh before they established their capital at the present city of Jaipur. Among the numerous monuments built by these Princes are the well known palaces of Amber their astronomical observatories, magnificent step wells for the storage of rain water and other kinds of edifices. The earliest epigraphical reference to this dynasty occurs in an inscription of *Vikrama Saṁvat* 1345 (A. D. 1288) in the reign of the Chauhán king Hammīra of Raṇthambhor. Numerous other inscriptions relating to the reigns of Mahárája Bháramalla and his successors have been found and arrangements are in hand for the publication of these and other inscriptions found in the State.

9 P. M.—The members were entertained at the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall with *Tiruvātirakaḷi* and music at which select songs of Svāti Tiruṇāl Mahārājā of Travancore were sung.

Thursday : 23rd December 1937.

7 A. M.—An excursion was arranged to Padmanābhapuram, the ancient capital of Travancore, Suchīndram and Cape Comorin ; and about a hundred members and delegates took part in the same.

EXHIBITION.

On all days of the Conference, an Exhibition of Oriental Manuscripts was open to the members and delegates. Admission was also free to the Śrī Chitrālayaṁ, the State Museum and the Raṅgavilās Palace Gallery where specimens of old State Jewellery and rare coins were exhibited on all the days of the Conference.

MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

The Numismatic Society and the Linguistic Society of India held their Annual Meetings during the days of the Conference. The Princep Centenary was also celebrated on the closing day of the Conference.

R. V. PODUVAL,

Local Secretary.

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REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE VARIOUS SECTIONAL MEETINGS.

SECTION I. VEDAS AND INDO-ĀRYAN ORIGINS.

Tuesday, 21st December 1937.

The proceedings commenced at 8 A. M., when the President began reading his Address. The time at his disposal being very brief, he left out certain portions of the Address. He could not still finish it when he left for hearing the Address of the President of the Classical Sanskrit Section at 8.30 A. M. After returning to his own section at about 9 A. M. he read out, with omissions, the rest of the Address.

After the Address was concluded, Dr. Lakshman Sarup asked if the President would allow questions on some points raised in the Address. On the President expressing his willingness, Dr. Sarup offered the following comments.—

(1) Commenting on the President's contention that the practical absence of horses in the Indus basin civilization made it non Āryan, he said that too much had been made of the importance of the horse in the life of the ancient Āryans. It was an animal important for only the warriors and it could not have greater importance in the eyes of the other sections of the people than in the present day. Dr. Sarup said that he attended a marriage ceremony in U. P., and there was no horse used in it and in his journey from Lahore to South India he saw very few horses.

(2) Regarding the other objection of the President against the Vedic character of the Indus civilization, *viz.* its iconism as against the aniconism of the Vedas, Dr. Sarup wanted to draw his attention to a passage in the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* which spoke of purchasing Indra for ten cows. He contended that this referred to an image of Indra.

(3) Referring to the President's suggestion that Harisvāmin, the pupil of Skandasvāmin, could be assigned to the seventh century A. D., as given in the Benares manuscript of his commentary on the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, Dr. Sarup said that it was impossible to have a Vikramāditya in Ujjayinī as Harisvāmin's patron in the seventh century, when Harṣavardhana was the undisputed master of North India. The title Vikramāditya borne by Harisvāmin's patron showed that he must have been a very important king and not a petty local ruler.

The President gave the following reply —

(1) The horse did play a very important part in the life of the Āryans of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā*, in which the animal is referred to very frequently and even priests are described as receiving large gifts of horses. Even in the present day the religious and social importance of the horse has not died out among the Hindus. He cited the instance of the lustration of a horse got performed by His Holiness the Śaṅkarācārya of Kāñcī before sending the daily offerings of Puja to the sacred Ganges while staying at Prayāga. In orthodox marriage ceremonies in U. P. the bridegroom usually goes to the bride's place on horse-back. Mr. Saraswati Prasad Chaturvedi, a native of U. P., corroborated the last statement.

(2) The President said that he was aware of the passage in the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* referring to the bartering of Indra for ten cows, IV. 24-10, as also of VIII. 1-5, in which the poet asserted that he would not give away Indra for even the highest price and he had already referred to both the passages in his Address. He understood them to mean bartering of Indra's *favour* and not his *image*. Mr. Chaturvedi also agreed to this interpretation. When, however, he suggested that if the image of Indra were meant in those passages, the word used would have been *indraka* and not *indra*, according to Pāṇini V. 3 99, both Dr. Lakshman Sarup and the President said that they could not expect Pāṇinean usage in the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā*.

(3) As regards the alleged impossibility of a Vikramāditya, king of Ujjayinī, in the reign of Harṣavardhana, the President asserted again that Yuan Chwang did mention a distinct king of Ujjayinī in Harṣa's time. A king bearing the title of Vikramāditya need not necessarily be a mighty emperor as contended by Dr. Sarup. The first king of Ujjayinī who bore the title of Vikramāditya was the king named in Kālakācārya's story and he seems to have been a merely local ruler. A tendency to assume the title seems to have persisted in Ujjayinī, which led the Gupta emperor Candragupta II to assume this title after he conquered Ujjayinī. It may have been thus more of an Ujjayinī title than a title indicating imperial rule. In any case, instances of petty rulers laying vain claims to great power and extensive conquests are too many to make us feel any difficulty in taking Harisvāmin's patron as a contemporary of Harṣa. There remains also the possibility of that king being independent of Harṣa's suzerainty. Harṣa's power may not have been so great as is commonly assumed. The President pointed out the blots on Harṣa's escutcheon, among them his failure to punish his chief enemy Śaśāṅka of Bengal who was the suzerain of a king of Kaliṅga in 619 A. D., seven years after Harṣa finished his *digvijaya*. He also briefly pointed out the flaws in Hoernle's theory making Yesodharman a Vikramāditya.

After this the discussion of the papers was taken up. The following papers were placed before the section —

1. Etymological Speculations in the Brāhmaṇas by Mr. M. A. Krishnaswamy.
2. The Interpretation of some of the obscure Vedic words and hymns by Dr. N. N, Chaudhuri.
3. Viṣṇu's Incarnations by Dr. R. Shama Sastry.
4. Visnu's Strides by Do.

5. The Vedic cycle of Thirty-three years by Dr. R. Shama Sastry.
6. The Evolution of Animal Offering by Mr. N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu.
7. The Mystic Significance of the Praṇava by Do.
8. The Place of the Atharva Veda in Vedic Literature by Do.
9. Comparative Sphageaology by Mr. K. Chidambara Vadhyar.
10. The Kauṣītakins and the Śāṅkhāyanas by Dr. T. R. Chintamani.
11. Who were the Arurmaghas? by Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Lachmidhar Sastri.
12. Vedic Lores by Mr. Hiralal Amritlal Shah.
13. Taittirīyas by Mr. M. R. Jambunathan.
14. Vaidikayajñāhimsātmakatvam (*in Sanskrit*) by Mr. Dharmadeva Siddhantalankara.
15. Problem of the textual criticism of the Nirukta by Dr. Lakshman Sarup.
16. A Study of Ṛgveda X. 71 by Dr. Manilal Patel.
17. Comparative Study of the Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya and the Vyāsasikṣā by Mr. N. Mallikarjuna Sastry.

Papers No. 3—8, 11, 13, and 17 were taken as read in the absence of the writers and No. 16 at the request of the writer himself. The writers of the other papers briefly explained their points after which there were discussions.

In connexion with No. 1, Dr. Lakshman Sarup expressed some doubt about the value of the etymological speculations in the Brahmanas. The President also agreed on this point but added that a systematic study of these etymologies properly conducted might lead to valuable

results. In connexion with No. 2, the President pointed out (1) the far-fetched character of the writer's explanation of *Nāsatyau* as *nāka-sattyau*, (2) the whole position of the problem of *parvata* which is responsible for Hillebrandt's well-known glacial explanation of the Vṛtra myth and (3) the unlikelihood of the word *go* ever meaning 'rays'—*gavākṣa*, window, literally meaning 'bull's eye' and not 'a hole of rays.' He emphasized the language of *rūpaka* often used by the Vedic poets. Objection was taken by one member to the practical suggestions for reforms in social customs made by the writer of paper No. 9 as outside the scope of this conference. Paper 10 roused considerable interest as the author tried to make out a case for distinguishing the Kauṣītakins from the Śāṅkhāyanas. Dr. Lakshman Sarup asked if the differences of arrangement pointed out by the writer could not be explained through difference of recension. The President suggested that difference of recension would be sufficient warrant for distinguishing *Śākhās*. He, however wanted to hold his judgment in reserve till the publication of what Dr. Chintamani called the real Kauṣītakin texts and suggested their early publication. Regarding paper No. 12, the President pointed out that there was nothing to show that the Aśvins of the Vedas had anything to do with the *nakṣatra* Aśvinī; they were clearly the harbingers of the morning light. About paper No. 14 he remarked that in view of the continuous tradition about the slaughter of animals in the Vedic sacrifice through the Brāhmaṇas, the Śrauta-sūtras and the later literature, we could not doubt that animals were killed in Vedic sacrifices. The texts, quoted by the writer from the Vedas about the protection of animals, referred to the protection of the *yajamāna's* cattle and not to non-killing of animals in the sacrifice. Regarding the texts quoted from the *Mahābhārata* and other sources against animal sacrifice, he said that they represented the views of some reformers and confirmed the prevalence of the practice they denounced. The President expressed considerable surprise that Mr Siddhantalankara had quoted

the *Praṇavavāda* of the so-called Ṛṣi Gārgyāyaṇa which was a modern forgery and he gave the story of its actual origin as he had heard it from Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Ganganatha Jha who wrote out the major portion of the book to the dictation of Paṇḍit Dhanaraja. He wondered how greed could be made responsible for the invention of animal sacrifice. Paper No. 15 was not actually ready. Dr. Lakshman Sarup read out some portions of the *Nirukṣa* and tried to show that they were later additions. The President said that no scholar knew the text of the *Nirukta* so well as Dr. Lakshman Sarup and his views commanded respect. In this case, however he would not form a judgment till Dr. Sarup placed the whole material in written form. He pointed out, however, that mere logical inconsistency need not make any passages suspect.

The meeting terminated at 12-30 P. M. with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

K. CHATTOPADHYAYA,
President.

SECTION II. IRANIAN.

The following papers were considered by the Subjects Committee, and approved for being read at the Conference:

1 "Iran and India," a Paper by Mr. Sohrab J. Bulsara, M. A.

2 "Ideals of Life in the Zoroastrian Religion" by Mr. Jehangir B. Vakil, B. A.

3 "Zarathushtra on the Doctrine of Evil," by Prof. Dr. Manilal Patel, Ph. D. (Marburg).

4 "References to Eagle and Other Mysterious Birds in Ancient Literature," by Mr. Kaikhosrow Ardeshir Fitter.

Tuesday, 21st December, 1937: 9-30 A. M.

Meeting at the Sectional Committee room where the Papers mentioned above were read and discussed.

Tuesday, 21st December, 1937: 3 P. M.

The Presidential Address was delivered by Mr. Bulsara, before an interested audience which included

Dr. F. W. Thomas, the President of the Conference;

Miss Martha L. Root of "The World Order," New York;

Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyaya, President, Vedic Section;

Dr. Manilal Patel, PH. D. of Viśva-Bhāratī;

Mr. Jehangir B. Vakil, B. A;

Mr. Aspandiar K. B. Bakhtiari;

and Others.

At the close of the President's Address, Mr. Bakhtiari recited in a sonorous tone a Persian "Setayesh" or "Divine Praise," of his own composition, which was greatly appreciated by the audience.

The President and Members of the Iranian Section beg to place on record here their deep sense of gratitude to H. H. the Maharajah and his officers for the magnificent hospitality they received during their stay in Trivandrum from this enlightened State.

The President and Members also take this opportunity to thank again the Local Secretary Mr. Poduval and his co-workers and volunteers for the great concern they invariably showed for their comfort and the help they ungrudgingly gave for facilitating their work.

SOHRAB J. BULSARA,
President

SECTION III. ISLAMIC CULTURE AND RELIGION.

The Sectional business of the Islamic Section opened at 8 A. M. on Tuesday the 21st December, 1937, when Professor Mohammad Shafi M. A., presided.

Papers were read as shown below—

1.	Syriac in Malankara.	Rev. Paul Curien, Kaniamparampil.
2.	More about the Art of Waraqat.	Kazi Ahmad Mian Akhta-Junagadh.
3.	Some libraries of Istambul	M. Abdul Aziz al-Maiman
4.	The relation of Philosophy with Religion.	K. H. Wajâhkutbuddin Quari, B. A., M. A. (Egypt.).
5.	Talbiyàt al-Jàhilîya.	Dr. S. M. Husain, M. A., D. phil. (Oxon).
6.	Modernising forces in Irân.	Dr. M. Nizam-ud-Din, Ph. D. (Cantab).
7.	The Khàrjite Poetry.	Dr. Abdul Haq. D. Phil. (Oxon)

Dr. Hadi Hasan M. A., Ph. D., addressed the section on "Poetry as a Profession."

Discussion followed on the first five papers, in which a number of those present took part.

The Presidential Address was delivered at 10-30 A. M.

The second sitting commenced at 2 P. M.

The following papers were read –

1.	Dr. Taha Hussan and Pre-Islamic Arabic Poetry.	K. Muhammad, M. A.

2. City State of Mecca. — Dr. Hamid Ullah, M. A., D. Litt.

3. Al-Fārabi's Political Theories. — Prof. H. K. Sherwani.

Other papers were taken as read.

At this stage the House was addressed for a few minutes by Aqà-i-Bakhtiari and a Bahài lady.

The proceedings terminated at 4 P. M.

MOHAMED SHAFI,
President.

SECTION IV. CLASSICAL SANSKRIT.

The Classical Sanskrit Section met at 8-30 A. M. on Tuesday the 21st December 1937, when Dr. F. W. Thomas delivered the Presidential Address to a large and distinguished audience. 22 papers were read and discussed.

N. GOPALA PILLAI,
Secretary.

SECTION V. PHILOSOPHY & RELIGION.

The Philosophy Section of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum 1937, began its proceedings at 8-30 A. M. on 21-12-1937. Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, M. A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law, Department of Philosophy, University of Madras, presided; and Mahopādhyāya Paṇḍit V. Venkatarama Sharma, Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Lecturer in Sanskrit College of Arts, Trivandrum, acted as the Sectional Secretary.

The deliberations continued for two days. Twenty-seven papers were considered at the meeting. Out of these 15 were actually read and passed. The Presidential Address

was very illuminating in spite of the fact that the esteemed Chairman had not sufficient time to prepare the same. The meetings were well attended and the various problems raised by the readers of the papers were well discussed and evoked great interest. On the whole, the proceedings were very instructive, and, it is hoped, will be a valuable contribution to the philosophical thought of modern times.

V. VENKATARAMA SHARMA,
Secretary.

SECTION VI. ARDHAMĀGADHĪ, PALI AND PRĀKṚTS.

The number of papers submitted was very few but their quality was good. Only four papers were presented and read in this section.

1. "Itihāsa, Purāṇa and Jātaka" by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji.
2. "Mystic Elements in Jainism" by Prof. A. N. Upadhye, M. A.
3. "References to Syādvada in the Ardha-Māgadhī Canon" by Prof. A. N. Upadhye, M. A.
4. "A Plea for a study of Prākṛta Dialects" by K. S. Kameswara Rao, Oriental Department, P. R. College, Cocanada.

Of these, No. 1. was taken by Dr. Chatterji with a view to publishing elsewhere. Nos. 2–3 have been accepted and may be published in the Proceedings. No. 4 may be rejected as it does not contain anything of importance and is not worth publishing.

N. P. Chakravarti,
President.

SECTION VII. HISTORY

21-12-1937.

The President Dr. R. C. Majumdar requested Professor Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari of the Annamalai University, to act as Secretary to the session.

Morning Session : 8 A. M. to 11 A. M.

The following papers were explained in their feature by their respective authors.

1. "A forgotten chapter in South Indian History—The Aayi country and its kings" by Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, followed by a discussion in which the President and Mr. C. S. Srinivasachari took part.
2. "The character and personality of Abul Hasan Qutub Shah, the last king of Golconda" by Mr. Abdul Majid Siddique, followed by a discussion.
3. "Viṣṇukuṇḍin Chronology" by Dr. K. Gopala Achari.
4. "New light on the History of Bengal" by Dr. H. C. Ray, followed by a remark from the President on the viscissitudes of Pāla fortunes.
5. "Foreign contact with Āndhradeśa in the early centuries of the Christian era" by Dr. K. R. Subrahmanyam—followed by a discussion.
6. "The founders of Vijayanagara before the foundation of the city" by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.
7. "King Śātakarṇi of the Sāñcī Inscription" by Dr. D. C. Sircar, followed by a discussion.
8. "Urban refinement in ancient India" by Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastriar.

At 9-30 A. M.—The President delivered his Presidential Address, after which the reading of papers was ressumed.

9. "The troubles of India : a hitherto neglected source of Aurangzib's history" by Kazi Ahmad Mian Akhtar.

10. "A letter of Mahārājā Ajit Singh" by Paṇdit Bisheshwarnath Reu.

11. "The religious policy of Nandivarman Pallavamalla by Dr. C. Minakshi, followed by remarks.

12. "St. Thomas in South India" by Father Placid, T. O. C. D.

13. "The rise of the Kākatīyas" by Dr. M. Rama Rao.

14. "Historical Glimpses of untouchables and untouchability" by H. A. Shah.

15. "The Gāndhāra origin of the Maurya dynasty and the identification of Chandragupta and Śaśigupta ; and the identification of Parvataka and Porus" by Dr. H. C. Seth.

16. "Ebbs and Tides of culture in Indian History" by Śrīmati M. Sharadamma.

17. "The epoch of the Kalachuri, Chedi era" by Prof. V. V. Mirashi.

It was now 11 A. M. ; and the session was postponed to 1-30 P. M. in the afternoon.

The session was resumed at 1-30 P. M. with the President in the Chair.

18 "A Note on cultural relations between South India and Java" followed by a discussion in which Prof. U. N. Ghoshal, the President, Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri and Prof. V. Rangacharya took part.

19 "Saṅgrāmadhīra, Kulaśekhara Deva Ravivarma" by Vidvān A. M. Satakoparamanujacharya.

20. "Audvijja, as a dynastic designation in Ancient India" by Prof. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri.

21. "Kṛiṣṇadeva Raya's economic policy" by Mr. Y. Venkataramana.

22. "Contribution of the Āndhras to Indian Culture" by Vidvān K. S. Kameswara Rao.

23. "Shahji and his achievement in the Carnatic" by Rao Sahib Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari.

The other papers in the section were not read as their authors were not present at the session.

The President thanked Rao Sahib Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari for having helped him as the Secretary to the Section.

Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar proposed a vote of thanks to the President for having presided over the section and conducted the session successfully—carried with acclamation.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI,
Secretary.

R. C. MAJUMDAR,
President.

SECTION VIII. ARCHAEOLOGY.

The business of the section commenced on 21-12-1937, and was continued on the following day. Fifteen papers in all were received in the section. Some select papers were read while the others were taken as read. At 10 A. M. on 21-12-1937 the Presidential address was delivered before a learned and distinguished gathering including Dr. F. W. Thomas, the General President of the Conference, and the Director-General of Archaeology in India. The President

dwelt at length on the possibility and scope of future research in Archaeology in India and scope on the desirability of instituting an Archaeological Commission with a view to effect co-ordination of archaeological research in India.

After his address the following resolution was moved from the Chair—

> "The Archaeological Section of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference mourns the death of Mr. V.R. Karandikar, Secretary, Narmada Valley Research Board, and places on record its appreciation of the valuable work he did in the exploration of the Narmada Valley."

The whole gathering stood up and the resolution was passed unanimously.

At 10-30 A. M. Mr. Yusuf of Hyderabad described the excavations at Paithan. A discussion followed in which Rev. Heras, Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni and the President took part.

On 22-12-1937 Mr. A. N. Upadhye read at 8 A. M. his paper on the "Jain-Maṅgaḷa śloka of Kannaḍa inscriptions". At 8-10 A. M. Mr. K. R. Venkataraman of the Pudukkoṭṭa College read his paper on "the Jain Vestiges in Pudukoṭṭa". He said that Viśākhācārya, a pupil of Bhadrabāhu introduced Jainism there and that Mahendravarman's cave temple, which is the earliest monument, has paintings of the type met with at Śittannavāśal. Rev. Heras and the President took part in the discussion that followed.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Lakshmidhar Sastri of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, read his paper on "the Trefoil pattern in Mohenjo daro." Rev. Heras took part in the discussion that followed and then read his paper (in part only, for want of time) on the Tirayars of Mohenjo-daro. His views were discussed at length by Prof. Ghoshal of Calcutta, Prof. Srinivasachari of Annamalai, Mr. Krishnamacharlu of Madras, Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni of Jaipur Mr. Khaja

Mahomed and Mr. Yazdani of Hyderabad. The President also took part in the discussion and Rev. Heras gave his replies. All, however, unanimously agreed in saying that Heras' ingenious reading of the pictographs could only be tentative and at present could not be accepted and that we should wait for the discovery of a bilingual inscription in this regard to support his readings.

Mr. Yazdani, Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, exhibited the antiquities unearthed in his excavations at Maski and gave a discourse on them mentioning the art of gold-smelting as the chief industry so far as gathered from the excavations. The audience took a keen interest in the subject and the President drew interesting parallels from his discovery of antiquities at Chandravalli.

The following is a list of papers received in the section—

Mr. G. R. Krishnamacharlu, Madras.	A new Dynasty of the West Coast.
Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M. A., Ph. D., L. T., Anantapur.	The Brāhmī Inscriptions of Southern India.
Dr. M. Rama Rao, M. A., Ph. D., B. Ed.	The Sarpavaram Inscription of Kumāragiri Reḍḍi.
Mr. L. P. Pandeya Sarma, Balpur (Dist. Bilaspur).	The Title "Trikalingādhipati."
do.	The Gajalakṣmī seals of the Rulers of Mahākosala.
Mr. A. S. Garde, Baroda.	Two unpublished Baroda Museum Copper Plate Grants.

Mr. R. Subramonyam, B. A.	A note on the Kommuchikkala plates of Anavōtareḍḍi.
Prof. A. N. Upadhye, M. A.	On the authorship of a Maṅgala Verse in Inscriptions.
Dr. Surendra Kishore Chakravarti Mymensingh.	Foreign Denominations of Ancient Indian Coins.
Dr. K. Gopalachari, M. A., ph. D., Palamkottah.	A New Śātavāhana Coin.
Mr. Lachmidhar Sastri, Delhi,	The Trefoil pattern in Mohenjo-Daro.
Rev. H. Heras, S. J., Bombay.	The Tirayars in Mohenjodaro.
Mr. K. R. Venkataraman, Pudukkottai.	The Jains in Pudukkoṭṭai.
Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M. A., ph. D., Calcutta.	Khaṇḍapāla, Khola and Mahākaṭuka.
Paṇḍit Raguvara Mitthulal Sastri, M. A., M. O. L., Allahabad.	Mandasor Inscription of Vatsabhaṭṭi.

With the co-operation of the section, James Princep's Centenary was celebrated during the sessions. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Dr. M. H. Krishna, Dr. S. K. Chatterji Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu and Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar spoke on the occasion. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, submitted a memoir on James Princep which has been included among the papers published for the section.

M. H. Krishna,
President.

SECTION IX. ETHNOLOGY & FOLK-LORE.

The meeting of the Section for Ethnology and Folklore was held between 9-30 A. M., and 1 P. M., on Wednesday the 22nd December 1937, when Dr. G. S. Ghurye of the University of Bombay, presided. After the presidential address 15 papers were read and discussed. There was a good attendance; and the papers contributed were of a fairly high order of excellence.

R. V. PODUVAL.

SECTION X. FINE ARTS.

The meeting of the Fine Arts Section was held on Wednesday the 22nd December 1937, when Dr. Stella Kramrisch delivered her presidential Address to a well attended audience. The papers that were read were 'Laṅka's Contribution to the Art of the Word" and "Rāgas in South Indian Music—their Origin and Evolution."

R. V. PODUVAL.

SECTION X a. KERALA ART AND CULTURE.

"The Kerala Art and Culture" Section of the Conferance opened at 1-30 P. M. on 21-12-37. Mr. A. Gopala Menon delivered the Presidential address. The following papers were read and discussed on the first day.

1. "Kathakali—the indigenous drama of Malabar," by Mrs. Emily Gilchriest Hatch.
2. "Old Songs and Ballads," by Mr. C. I. Gopala Pillai, M. A.

The session continued on the following day. The following papers were read and discussed.

1. "Architecture of Travancore Temples," by Mr. M. S. Doraisami Iyengar, B. A. B. E.

"Kotamaṅgalam and its Churches" by Rev. Fr. C. T. Kuriakose, B. A., B. T.

3. "Tiruvonam and the Quilon Era," by Mr. P. Krishnan Nair.
4. "Kerala's Contribution to Astronomy and Astrology," by Mr. K. Sundaram Iyer, M. A., L. T.
5. "Mahārājā Svāti Thirunal's Contributions to the Literature and Art of Kerala," by Mr. V. Sankara Iyer, M. A., L. T. and Mahopādhyāya Paṇḍit V. Venkatarama Sharma Vidyābhūṣaṇa.
6. "Church Paintings in Kerala," by Dr. P. V. Ulahannan M. A.
7. "Contribution of Kerala to Indian Culture," by Mr. K. Sivaramakrishna Sastri.

Mr. V. Krishnan Tampi spoke on "the adaptation of art to culture." The Proceedings were brought to a close at 1½ noon.

A. GOPALA MENON,
President.

SECTION XI. ĀYURVEDA AND TECHNICAL SCIENCES.

The Āyurvedic section met at 8-30 A. M. on the 21st. Only a few of the delegates were present. Two from Āndhras whose papers were not included in the original programme prayed for admission of their papers. This was granted, as all present agreed to admit them. As all the delegates were not present and as some of those who were present wanted to attend certain other sections the session was adjourned to the next day in deference to the general wish of the members.

On the 22nd the section met punctually at 8 A. M Unlike the previous day there was good audience numbering over some 50 mostly made up of Āyurvedics. It is noteworthy that the Western system was also represented. Durbar Physician Dr. James Simpson, Dr. C. O. Karunakaran and one European Lady doctor were some of those who represented the Western system. Most of the Āyurvedics of the Town were present.

The session began with the papers on Astronomy by Dr. H. Subramania Iyer. These were the only papers on subjects outside Āyurveda. There was no discussion though a few questions were put by some delegates to elucidate certain points and these were fully and clearly explained by the learned author of the papers.

Āyurvedic papers began with that of Mr. Madhava Menon, which was in Sanskrit. All the papers admitted were gone through and some of the points raised led to short but interesting discussion. The Presidential address was delivered at the scheduled time. After all the papers were finished two resolutions were passed :

(1) Thanking those responsible, for including Āyurveda as one of the sections for the Conference;

(2) Thanking His Highness the Maharaja's Government for the valuable help it accords for the development of Āyurveda and expressing the sincere hope of Āyurvedics that the Government will find a place in their new University for Āyurveda equipped for intensive and extensive research on the subject besides including it as one of the subject for degrees or diplomas.

Both the resolutions were passed unanimously and the sessions came to a close with a few words from the chair touching some of the points raised in the papers and generally exhorting the Āyurvedics to re-establish the golden days of that science by a reorientation of the system to bring it in tune with the established tenets of modern sciences.

With Cheers to The Maharaja the session terminated at 12-15 noon.

The undernoted papers were read before the Āyurvedic section of the Oriental Conference. The paper by Āyurvedācārya N. Madhava Menon, A. M. A. C. entitled "Tridoṣa Theory" and the two papers on Astronomy by

Dr. H. Subramania Iyer, M. A., Ph. D., were not handed over to the President; they have promised to send them to the Local Secretary direct.

List of papers sent:

1. "Śodhana-Karmas," by Vaidya-bhūṣaṇa, Bhiṣañ-maṇi, Dr. T. Jiyyar Doss, Guntur District.
2. "Ayurvedic Dietology", by Āyurvedācārya, Prof. D. Rangacharyalu. N. D., D. MC., Ph. N. D., (America), Guntur.
3. "Dietetics in Āyurveda," by Dr. V. Narayana-swami, L. I. M., Government Indian Medical School, Madras.
4. "Āyurveda Reethya 'Blood-Pressure' Vicāraḥ" by P. S. Rama Sarma, Karur, (In Sanskrit).
5. "Diseases of the heart and its Āyurvedic Treatment," by Dr. Pandit, P. Venketeswara Sastrigal, Trivandrum, (In Sanskrit).
6. Presidential Address, by L. A. Ravi Varma.

The following papers also were read at the meeting but are remaining with the authors who have promised to send them on to the Local Secretary direct.

1. "Lunar Position in Ancient Hindu Ascronomy according to *Dṛk* and *Parahita* systems of calculation," by Dr. H. Subramania Iyer, M. A., Ph. D.
2. "Principle by which *Dhruva* or Longitude of the Apse-line of the Lunar orbit is determined in *Dṛk* and *Parahita* systems of calculation in Ancient Hindu Astronomy," by Dr. H. Subramania Iyer, M. A., Ph. D.
3. "Tridoṣa Theory," by Āyurvedācārya Dr. N. Madhava Menon A. M., A. C. (In Sanskrit).

L. A. RAVI VARMA,
President.

SECTION XII. PHILOLOGY AND INDIAN LINGUISTICS.

Tuesday, 21st December 1937.

At 9-30 A. M. the Philology Section met to discuss Dr. Goda Varma's paper on "the Phonological Observations on Sanskrit *ē*. *ō*, and, *āi*. and *āu* and Middle Indian *ē* and *ō*." The paper which was lengthy was reduced, at the request of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, to a statement of the examples and the conclusions drawn therefrom, and in the discussion which took place Dr. Chatterji and Dr. Emeneau took an active part.

Dr. Chatterji talked on the utility of the two Chinese-Sanskrit Lexicons edited by Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi for the Calcutta University for a study of Middle Indo-Āryan and Sanskrit Philology. It was an interesting talk and well attended.

At 3 P. M. the Section again met to discuss Prof. S. P. Chaturvedi's paper on "*Technical Terms of the Aṣṭādhyāyī* ;" Dr. Chatterji offered a few remarks at the end on the importance of studying the orthodox systems of grammar from a modern critical standpoint and presenting such results to modern Linguists.

At 3-30 P. M. the Presidential address was read.

Wednesday, 22nd December 1937.

The Session met again in a joint symposium with the Modern Indian Languages Section for considering the problem of India's national language. An interesting discussion took place and a large number of scholars joined in the deliberations. For the resolutions passed see separate report.

With this joint symposium the Philological Section finished its deliberations.

S. M. Katre,
President.

SECTION XIII. MODERN LANGUAGES— MALAYALAM AND OTHER DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES.

The above Section commenced its transactions precisely at 8 A M. on the 21st December. It worked up to 12 noon, then rose for breakfast and again met at 1 P. M. It dispersed at 3 in the afternoon so as to afford sufficient convenience to the delegates to attend the Garden Party at the Kaudiar Palace in the evening.

The Section continued its sitting the next day namely the 22nd December also, from 8 A. M. and dispersed at 9 A.M. since there were no more papers to be read.

15 papers on the whole were to be read in this Section, as per the list given in the "Summaries of Papers with Supplement" furnished to the delegates. Rao Sahib C. M. Ramachandra Chettiar and Dr. A. N. Narasimhiah were absent and their papers (numbers 120 and 125 respectively in the printed list) could not be read. On the other hand, two new papers, namely, "Jainism in the Kannada country" by Mr. M. Chennakeśava Aiyangar of Bangalore and "Telugu Literature—Past and Present" by Mr. N. Kuppuswamayya of Tirupati, were received and read by the writers themselves. Although Paṇḍit N. Chengalvarayan was absent, his paper (116 in the printed list) had been received and was included in the list of papers read. Mr. G. J. Somayaji said that he did not wish to read his paper number 122 in the printed list. In the result the following papers alone were read :

21ST DECEMBER 1937 FORENOON.

1. Mr. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai's paper on "Tolkappiyar's Progressive View of Language."
2. Mr. K. Ramakrishniah's paper on "The Primitive Dravidian Mother Tongue."

3. Mr. R. P. Sethu Pillai's paper on "The Standard Language of South India."
4. Mr. Y. Venkataramana's paper on "The Early Telugu Dramas."
5. Mr. P. Anantan Pillai's paper on "The Great Transition Period of Malayālam."
6. Mr. C. J. Somayaji's paper on "Some words expressing relationship in the Dravidian Languages."
7. Mr. A. C. Chettiar's paper on "Passive Voice in Tamil."
8. Mr. A. S. Muthiah Mudaliar's paper on "Tamil in Cera country."
9. Mr. H. Chennakesava Aiyangar's paper on "Jainism in Kannada Literature."

AFTERNOON.

10. Mr. V. Narayanan's paper on "Changes of meaning of some Sanskrit words in Tamil."
11. Vadakkumkūr Rajarajavarma Raja's paper on "Samskṛta Mahākāvyas in Kerala."
12. Mr. N. Kuppuswamayya's paper on "Telugu Literature—Past and Present."

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13. Mr. V. P. Karunakaran Nair's paper on "The Early life and works of Kuñjan Nambiar."
14. Mr. V. Narayanan's paper on "Takaṭūr Yāttirai, a Tamil Purāṇa Reconstructed."
 The following paper was taken as read—
15. "Education and Educational Institutions of the ancient Tamils as obtained in the Tamil classics" by Paṇḍit N. Chengalvarayan.

The total number of papers was thus fifteen. Of these papers, only Mr. Somayaji and Mr. Kuppuswamayya handed over their papers. In regard to the other papers, the gentlemen concerned stated that they would recopy them

and forward them to Mr. R. Vasudeva Poduval, the local Secretary. The papers in question may be called for from them in due course.

The President delivered the Presidential Address from 1 P. M. to 2 P. M. on the 21st December 1937. It was a lengthy Address and in deference to the wishes of several learned men constituting the audience the President was obliged to read it in full.

Questions were asked as the delegates were reading their papers and at times there were lively discussions. The attendance was also comparatively appreciable. At the close of Session, Mr. Vaiyapuri Pillai, Reader in Tamil, University Research Institute, Madras, thanked the President on behalf of all those who attended the Section and the President made a suitable reply.

S. PARAMESVARA AIYAR,

President.

SECTION XIV. MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES OTHER THAN DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES.

The Section met in H. H. the Maharaja's College of Science between 10 A. M. and 1 P. M., on Wednesday the 22nd December 1937. Prof. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar of the Maharaja's College, Ernakulam, presided. Prof. Priyaranjan Sen of the Calcutta University read a paper on "Hindustāni publications in the College of Fort William."

Under the auspices of this Section a meeting of the Indian Linguistic Society was held with Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee in the Chair The following members and sympathisers were present—

Messrs L. Sukul, Calcutta University.
Manilal Patel, Viśvabhāratī, Śāntiniketan.
Priyaranjan Sen, Calcutta University.
Julius de Lanerolle, Colombo Museum, Colombo.
K. Goda Varma, Principal, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum.
M. R. Balakrishna Warrier, Asst. Professor, Science College, Trivandrum.
S. P. Chaturvedi, Lecturer in Sanskrit, Morris College, Nagapur. (C. P.)
M. B Emeneau, Yale University.
S. M. Ali, Head of the Seminar for Comparative Religion, Baroda.
Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Calcutta University.
L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar, Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.
K. Chattopadhyaya, Lecturer, Allahabad University.
S. M. Katre, Deccan Gymkhana, P. O. Poona 4.

L. V. RAMASWAMI IYER,
President.

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF INDIA.

A meeting of the Indian Linguistic Society was held at 11 A. M. on Wednesday, the 22nd December, 1937, with Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji in the Chair.

The following members and sympathisers were present—

Messrs. L. Sukul, Calcutta University.
Manilal Patel, Viśvabhāratī, Śāntiniketan.
Priyaranjan Sen, Calcutta University.
Julius de Lanerolle, Colombo Museum, Colombo.
K. Goda Varma, Principal, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum.
M. R. Balakrishna Warrier, Asst. Professor, Science College, Trivandrum.
S. P. Chaturvedi, Lecturer in Sanskrit, Morris College, Nagpur (C. P.)
M. B. Emeneau, Yale University.
S. M. Ali, Head of the Seminar for Comparative Religion, Baroda.
Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Calcutta University.
L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar, Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.
K. Chattopadhyaya, Lecturer, Allahabad University.
S. M. Katre, Deccan Gymkhana, P. O. Poona 4.

A communication from Paṇḍit Gauri Shanker (the Secretary to the Executive Committee), making suggestions regarding the future working of the Society, was read.

THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF INDIA.

Report for 1935—37.

During 1935-37, the only new publication which the Linguistic Society of India could bring out was the "Memorial Number" in memory of the late Dr. Woolner. The accounts at present stand as follows :—

		Rs.	As.
Balance from the year 1936	...	430	2
Income during 1937	...	145	0
Expenses on the "Memorial Number" and binding of 100 copies of the Grierson Volume.		231	13
Balance in hand	...	343	5

The financial position of the Society is now extremely critical. Many subscribers—even founders—have not paid the subscription for years. But the real cause of the dangerous situation is the death of Dr. Woolner. It was he who could secure for the Society more than Rs. 500 every year from the Punjab University funds. The financial existence of the Society, in fact, depended upon him. With his death, however, the whole situation has entirely changed. We had some rays of hope after his death, but the last ray of hope has now vanished, for no man of authority in the Punjab University has any interest for Linguistics.

Under the present circumstances, some of the following alternatives may perhaps be considered by the members of the Executive Committee—

(1) The headquarters of the Society may be transferred to a centre where the educational authorities have some interest for Linguistics and can manage to secure financial aid to the Society.

(2) If the forthcoming financial aid be not copious, either to (a) continue the work by publishing an annual journal or (b) to resume linguistic circulars (cyclostyled) which Prof. Jules Bloch particularly appreciated.

(3) With "Provincial autonomy" the cause of Indian Linguistics has particularly suffered. Educational authorities in various provinces tend to think that Linguistics does not concern their own province. It is, therefore, very desirable to approach the Government of India for some financial assistance and to draw the attention of the present Viceroy to the value of the work done by the Society. In 1931 we approached the then Vicerory, Lord Willingdon, and sent him our journal and reports. We received the following reply—

Viceregal Lodge,
Simla, 4th September, 1931.

Dear Sir,

I am desired to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of the Journal of the Linguistic Society of India, together with Reports of its work, forwarded with your letter of the 28th August. The Journal was laid before His Excellency the Viceroy who was most interested in it.

(Sd.) A. D. KING,
Asst. Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

We think that if Sir George Grierson and Prof. Turner help us, the attitude of the Government of India may become favourable to the Society.

We are prepared to say that in the Punjab we have secured a number of sincere young men willing to work for Linguistics, but we despair of any sympathy from educational authorities here.

We hope members will kindly suggest some other alternatives as well.

(Sd.) Siddheshwar Varma,
(Sd.) Gauri Shanker.

Government College,
Lahore,
Dated 30-11-1937.

A discussion ensued, and the following Resolutions were adopted unanimously—

1. Resolved that the Headquarters of the Society be transferred from Lahore to Calcutta and that the Executive Committee be reconstituted as shown hereunder :

President—Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M. A. (Cal.), D. Lit. (London)
Vice President—Dr. Siddhesvar Varma, M. A. (Punjab), Lit. (London)
Secretary—Dr. Sukumar Sen, M. A., Ph. D. (Calcutta)
Treasurer—Dr. P. C. Bagchi, M. D., D. Lit. (Paris)
Members—Pandit Gauri Shankar, M. A., B. Lit.
Dr. Baburam Saxena, M. A. (Allahabad), D. Lit. (London)
Dr. A. S. Siddiqui, M. A., Ph. D.
Dr. S. M. Katre, M. A., Ph. D. (London)
Dr. A. N. Narasimhia, M. A., Ph. D. (London)
Dr. L. J. A. Trarporewala, Ph. D. (Wurzburg)
L. V. Ramaswami Iyer, M. A., B. L.

2. Resolved that steps might be taken to approach the Calcutta University for help in the publication of *Indian Linguistics*, the organ of the Society.

3. Resolved to place on record our grateful appreciation of the work carried on for years by the Lahore Committee despite numerous difficulties and handicaps.

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

HELD AT 9 A. M.

ON

20-12-1937

AT THE

GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL ASSEMBLY HALL, TRIVANDRUM.

Members present :

1. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (*Chairman*).
2. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar.
3. Dr. M. H. Krishna.
4. Dr. S. K. De.
5. Dr. Hari Chand.
6. Rao Bahadur, K. N. Dikshit.
7. Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
8. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar.
9. Dr. L. Sarup.
10. Prof. P. P. S. Shastri.
11. Dr. H. R. Divekar.
12. Mr. G. Yazdani.
13. Prof. Shafi.
14. Mr. R. V. Poduva.

Resolutions passed—

(1) That the following resolution passed by circular in August 1937 be recorded :

"The President and members of the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference have heard of the premature death of Mr. Jayaswal with deep grief. He was a scholar of all-India eminence and an ex-President of the Oriental Conference, whose enthusiasm for research and whose geniality and loving disposition had endeared him to everyone who had the privilege of

coming into intimate contact with him. The committee desires to convey its sincere condolence to Mrs. Jayaswal and other members of the bereaved family".

(2) "That to the vacancies caused by resignation as Section Presidents of the following scholars, the persons named below be elected as Section Presidents —

(i) Fine Arts : Dr. Stella Kramrisch, in place of Mr. Nandalal Bose.

(ii) Philosophy Section : Prof. Suryanarayana Sastri for Prof. R. D. Ranade.

(iii) Āyurveda and Technical Sciences : Dr. L. A. Ravi Varma for Capt. G. Srinivasamurthi.

(iv) Paṇḍita Pariṣat : Mahāmahopādhyāya Dandapani Swami Dikshitar for Mahāmahopādhyāya Pramathanath Tarkabhushan."

(3) That the following two resolutions of condolence be recommended for being moved from the Chair at the opening session of the Conference.

(i) That the Ninth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum wishes to place on record its sense of deep grief at the demise of—

(*a*) Dr. A. C. Woolner, the late Honorary Treasurer of the All-India Oriental Conference, who had been intimately associated with its work from its very inception;

(*b*) Mahāmahopādhyāya R. Narasimhacharya, who served as the Sectional President of the All-India Oriental Conference on several occasions ; and

(*c*) Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, the President of the Seventh session of the All-India Oriental Conference.

The death of these scholars has caused an irreparable loss to the world of Oriental Scholarship in general and to the work of the All-India Oriental Conference in particular. Resolved further that copies of this resolution be respectively communicated to members of the bereaved families.

(ii) That the Ninth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum wishes to place on record its sense of deep grief at the demise of

(*a*) Dr. M. Winternitz;
(*b*) Prof. E. J. Rapson;
(*c*) Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Jacobi; and
(*d*) Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson.

which has caused an irreparable loss to the world of Oriental Scholarship. Resolved further that copies of this resolution be communicated respectively to members of the bereaved families.

(4) That the price of the volume of Transactions and Proceedings of the 8th or Mysore Session of the All-India Oriental Conference be fixed at Rs. 10 per copy.

(5) That the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference records its appreciation of the arduous labours of Dr. M. H. Krishna, Local Secretary, Mysore, and of his staff of capable assistants in the printing and publication of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Mysore.

(6) The Executive Committee of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference offers its most sincere thanks to the Government of H. H. the Maharaja of

Mysore for all their kind patronage of the Conference and for permitting most of the printing work of the Conference Report to be done at the Government Press. They pray that, in view of the heavy deficit in the printing account, the bills of the Government Press may kindly be written off.

(7) Considered the letter dated 3-12-1937 from the Viśveśvarānand Vedic Research Institute: Resolved that the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference welcomes the publication of the first fascicule of "A complete Etymological Dictionary of the Vedic Language" by Shri Vishva Bandhu Shastri under the auspices of the Viśveśvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Lahore.

(8) Considered the letter dated 17-11-1937 from Dr. L. Sarup of Lahore. Resolved that the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference welcomes the projected publication of "A Concordance to the entire Sūtra-literature" by Dr. Lakshman Sarup of the Punjab University, Lahore.

(9) Considered letter dated 8-12-37 from Mr. Gaurishankar regarding Linguistic Society meeting: Resolved that the same be transferred to the Local Secretary, Trivandrum, for necessary action: The Society may hold its meetings concurrently with the Numismatic Society.

(10) In regard to the statement of Accounts of the Conference it was resolved—

(*a*) That as statements about the General Fund of the Conference, about the sale-proceeds of the Conference Reports, and the General Secretary's imprest, brought up to 15th June 1937

were already passed by the Executive Committee, the statements for the next half year when completed up to the end of the present session be circulated for approval later.

(*b*) That the statement of accounts of the Mysore Conference brought up to 15th December 1937, be submitted to the Executive Committee meeting of the 22nd instant.

(11) Read letter from Sir Akbar Hydari and telegram from the Education member, Hyderabad inviting the Conference to hold its next session at Hyderabad: Resolved,

(*a*) That the invitation of the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam to hold the next or the Tenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Hyderabad (Deccan) be accepted with best thanks.

(*b*) That Dr. Nizammuddin, Professor and Head of the Department of Persian at the Osmania University, be appointed the Local Secretary of the Conference at Hyderabad.

(*c*) That a suitable reply be sent to Sir Akbar and to the Educational member informing them of the acceptance of the invitation and the appointment of the Hyderabad local Secretary.

(12) That the donations of Rs. 500 from the Baroda Government and of Rs. 500 from the Osmania University be transferred to the general account of the Conference.

(13) That the best thanks of the Executive Committee be offered to Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, the retiring President of the Executive Committee, for his zealous and devoted work in the cause of the All-India Oriental Conference.

NINTH SESSION.

TRIVANDRUM.

OPENING SESSION (JUBILEE TOWN HALL).

4 P. M. ON 20-12-37.

The business part of the plenary session began after the departure of Their Highnesses.

1. The condolence resolutions as approved by the Executive Committee in their Resolution No. 3 dated 20-12-37 were put from the Chair and adopted, all standing.

2. A copy of the Proceedings and Transactions of the 8th or Mysore Session of the Conference was submitted to the General Body by Dr. M. H. Krishna, the Mysore Local Secretary.

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

HELD AT 10 A. M. ON 22-12-37

AT THE

GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL ASSEMBLY HALL, TRIVANDRUM.

Members present :

Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit
Dr. V. S. Sukthankar.
Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
Dr. H. R. Divekar.
Dr. S. K. De.
Mr. G. Yazdani.
Dr. L. Sarup.

Mr. R. V. Poduval.
Dr. M. H. Krishna.
Prof. Shafi.
Prof. P. P. S. Sastri.
Dr. S. K. Belvalkar.

Prof. F. W. Thomas, the President, wrote to say that he would come about half an hour late. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit was voted to the Chair during the interval. He vacated the Chair upon the arrival of Dr. Thomas.

(1) The minutes of the Executive Committee meeting held on 20-12-37 were read and adopted.

(2) The names of 10 persons recommended by the Local Committee for co-option on the Council were communicated by the Local Secretary and recorded.

(3) Dr. Thomas placed before the meeting the copy of a resolution of the General Body of the Indian Philosophical Congress adopted on 17-12-1937. It was resolved to recommend the Council to adopt a resolution to be forwarded for necessary action to the next Executive Committee:

> "That the All-India Oriental Conference favours the early formation of an Indian Academy of Arts and Letters on the lines similar to those of the British Academy, and requests the Executive Committee of the Conference to communicate with other Societies and institutions interested in the project with a view to explore the possibilities of its realisation at a very early date."

(4) Resolved that it be recommended that the Council adopt a resolution conveying a message of cordial greetings on behalf of the All-India Oriental Conference to the Orientalists' Conference meeting at Brussels.

(5) Considered the statement of accounts of the Mysore Session as they stood on 15-12-1937 together with another statement of bills due and of expenditure yet to be incurred, showing that, in spite of the special donation of Rs. 8,000 made by the Executive Committee towards the publication of the Mysore Report, there is anticipated further deficit of some 2,000 rupees: Resolved

(*a*) That an audited statement of accounts of the Mysore Conference be circulated to the Executive Committee in due course for its approval.

(*b*) That in the meantime, with the kind co-operation of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar efforts be made to secure the assent of the Government of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore to the request embodied in resolution No. 6 of the Executive Committee meeting held on 20-12-1937.

(6) It was proposed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and seconded by Dr. S. K. De that at the end of each session the newly elected Executive Committee do elect the General President and the Sectional Presidents of the next session of the Conference.

Resolved that the proposal be placed for discussion before the meeting of the Council in the first instance and then, if necessary, of the General Body of the Conference at the concluding plenary session.

(7) Regarding the publication of papers in the Report it was recommended that steps be taken to have the papers properly scrutinized so as not to permit the publication of second-rate material, and to severely keep down the costs of publication. The meeting terminated at about 11-30 A. M.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL

HELD AT 12-30 A. M.

ON

22-12-1937

AT THE

GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL ASSEMBLY HALL, TRIVANDRUM.

Members present :

Thirty persons entitled to form the Council were present including some of the newly co-opted members.

Dr. F. W. Thomas was in the Chair.

(1) Resolved to accept the recommendation of the Executive Committee regarding Hyderabad (Deccan) as the next venue of the Conference and the election of Dr. Nizamuddin as the local Secretary.

(2) Resolved to accept the recommendation of the Executive Committee made in their resolutions Nos. 3 and 4 of 22-12-37 concerning the establishment of an Indian Academy of Arts and Letters and the conveyance of the message of greetings to the next Orientalists' Congress at Brussels.

(3) With reference to Resolution 6 of the Executive Committee meeting held at 10 A. M. on 22-12-37 after considerable discussion, it was resolved,

(i) That at the end of each session of the Conference the newly constituted Executive Committee shall elect the General President of the next session of the Conference.

(ii) That the electoral roll for electing the General President shall consist of the Executive Committee and such former General Presidents of the Conference as may be present at the session.

(iii) That at the end of each session of the Conference the newly constituted Executive Committee shall elect the Sectional Presidents for the next session of the Conference.

(iv) That the electoral roll for electing the Section Presidents shall consist of the Executive Committee, the Sectional Presidents of the session concluding, and such Sectional Presidents of the former sessions as may be present.

(v) That the elections of the General President and the Sectional Presidents for the Eleventh session, or the session following the next session at Hyderabad, be carried out at Hyderabad under these rules, and intimation be given to members, along with the invitation for the Hyderabad Session, that the elections will so take place.

(vi) That the election of the General President and the sectional Presidents of the Tenth or Hyderabad Session be in the meantime carried out under the existing rules.

(4) The Council then proceeded to the election of 14 members of the new Executive Committee. 31 names were duly proposed and seconded and voted upon by ballot. Dr. Hari Chand and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti were appointed as scrutinizers. As a result the following were declared duly elected—

1. Mr. G. Yazdani
2. Dr. S. K. De.
3. Prof. N. Shafi.
4. Rev. H. Heras.
5. Dr. L. Sarup.
6. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar.
7. Dr. M. H. Krishna.

8. Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
9. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar.
10. Prof. C. K. Ray Chaudhuri.
11. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit.
12. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar.
13. Mr. V. R. Dikshitar.
14. Mr. P. V. Kane.

The next three persons in order of votes secured were—

Prof. P. P. S Sastri,
Mr. C. K. Raja,
Mr. R. V. Poduval,

all the three getting the same number of votes.

(5) A vote of thanks was passed in favour of the scrutinizers. A vote of thanks was also recorded in favour of the outgoing members of the Executive Committee, who were not re-elected, for their valuable co-operation.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE NEWLY CONSTITUTED EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

HELD AT 2-30 P. M.

ON

22-12-1937.

IN THE

GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL ASSEMBLY HALL, TRIVANDRUM.

Members present :—

1. Dr. F. W. Thomas (President.)
2. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar.
3. Dr. L. Sarup.
4. Dr. S. K. De.
5. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit.

6. Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
7. Mr. G. Yazdani.
8. Rev. H. Heras.
9. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar.
10. Dr. M. H. Krishna.
11. Dr. Nizamuddin.
12. Mr. P. V. Kane.

Mr. R. V. Poduval took part in the proceedings after his election as stated below.

It was resolved

(1) That Dr. A. B. Dhruva of Ahmedabad be re-elected Honourable Treasurer of the Conference for the next (tenth) session.

(2) That Dr. M. H. Krishna, Mysore, and Dr. S. K. De, Dacca, be elected Honorary General Secretaries of the Conference for the next (tenth) session.

(3) That to the vacancies caused in the Executive Committee by the election of the two Honorary General Secretaries, Mr. R. V. Poduval and Prof. P. P. S. Sastri be elected members.

(4) That during the absence out of India of Dr. F. W. Thomas, the General President of the Conference, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar be elected to serve as Deputy-President.

It was then proposed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, seconded by Dr. S. K. De and carried, that

(5) The Committee places on record its hearty appreciation of the services rendered by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar as the Honorary General-Secretary of the Conference and also in various other capacities since the inception of the Conference.

(6) Read a complaint signed by 6 members of the Council, addressed to the General President of the Conference, regarding the change in the time for the meeting of the Council. The Honorary Secretary explained how a function which several

Council members had to attend and which was fixed almost at the eleventh hour left no choice for him but to change the time. The change was duly notified by typed notices and oral messages and it caused as much inconvenience to the office as to the members whom the notice may have unfortunately failed to reach. It was resolved that the complaint be recorded.

The meeting terminated after fixing the agenda for the concluding plenary session of the Conference.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONCLUDING PLENARY SESSION OF THE NINTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

HELD AT 3-15.

ON

22-12-1937.

IN THE

VICTORIA JUBILEE TOWN HALL, TRIVANDRUM.

In the course of his closing Presidential address Dr. F. W. Thomas reported—

(*a*) That the next or tenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference is to be held at Hyderabad.

(*b*) That Dr. Nizamuddin has been elected by the Executive Committee as the Local Secretary at Hyderabad.

(*c*) That Dr. M. H. Krishna and Dr. S. K. De have been elected as the Honorary General Secretaries of the Conference.

(*d*) That Dr. A. B. Dhruva has been re-elected Honorary Treasurer of the Conference.

(*e*) That it was resolved to convey a message of greetings of the present session of the All-India Oriental Conference to the next Orientalists' Congress to be held at Brussels.

(*f*) That the following resolution was adopted by the Council upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee of the Conference —

"That the All-India Oriental Conference favours the early formation of an Indian Academy of Arts and Letters on the lines similar to those of the British Academy, and requests the Executive Committee of the Conference to communicate with other Societies and Institutions interested in the project with a view to explore the possibilities of its realisation at a very early date."

To save time the President, as recommended by the Executive Committee, put the following resolutions of thanks from the Chair —

That this session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum conveys its heart-felt thanks to —

(*a*) The Reception Committee under the lead of Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan and the various other committees and sub-committees who looked to the comforts of the delegates and visitors during their stay at Travancore.

(*b*) The cheerful Army of Volunteers who joyfully did all kinds of errands for the visitors and who made them feel quite at home in this distant land of *Anantaśayana*.

(*c*) The artists and singers who treated the visitors to such excellent music, dance and *abhinaya*, which to many of the visitors have been both

entertaining and instructive. And, what should have come first, but is purposely put at the end.

(*d*) To their Highnesses, the Resident, the Dewan and the other Officers of the State of Travancore for their distinguished patronage.

The vote was carried amidst loud and prolonged cheers.

Dr. S. K. Aiyangar thereupon proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. F. W. Thomas for having ably brought the work of the session to a successful conclusion. This was also carried amidst acclamations.

F. W. THOMAS,
President.

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31	23	Indo Iranian	Indo-Iranian
34	1	*krātu*	*krátu*
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SECTION I.

VEDAS AND INDO-ARYAN ORIGINS.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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गङ्गानाथोऽद्वितीयो हिमगिरितनयासङ्गितां नित्यमाप्तो
विद्यां मुक्तेः प्रदात्रीं सततमुपदिशन् यो हृदब्जे चकास्ति ।
ध्यायंस्तत्सादपद्मद्वितयममलभं मङ्गलानां विधातृ
प्रारम्भं प्राच्यविद्याविबुधगणकृते वेदगोष्ठ्याः करोमि ॥

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference have conferred a great honour on me by asking me to preside over the Section of Vedic Studies and Indo-Aryan Origins of this session of the Oriental Conference. Though fully conscious of my limitations, I have accepted this offer as it gives me an opportunity to discuss with my fellow-students in these lines certain problems that have been exercising me of late.

It is my duty as President to pass in review the more important work that has been done in these subjects since we last met at Mysore. As ours is an Indian Oriental Conference I shall mainly confine myself to Indian publications on these topics. I shall also discuss in their connexion some of our current problems for which different solutions have been offered by scholars.

The first work to which a grateful reference is due is the second and concluding part of Volume II of Viśvabandhu Śāstrī's *Vaidikapadānukramakośa*, published last year, completing a verbal index of the Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas.

We are now eagerly awaiting the publication of Volumes I, III and IV of this *Kośa*. This work, when completed, will be a great help to the study of the Vedas. The organisers of this great undertaking are badly in need of funds for a speedy completion of the work. May I utilise this opportunity of making an appeal to all lovers of Vedic studies to give to the Vishveshwaranand Vedic Research Institute and Society such help as they can for an early completion of this great concordance ?

The next work probably in order of importance is the Second Volume of the very excellent edition of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* with Sāyaṇa's commentary brought out by the Vaidika Samshodhana Maṇḍala of Poona. The text of Sāyaṇa's commentary as printed here is immensely superior to the Bombay edition and has also improved on Max Müller's Second Edition. A reference is also needed to the sixth fasciculus of the very elaborate edition of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* of the Indian Research Institute of Calcutta, which came out in August 1936. The English translation has been now entrusted to a scholar (Dr. Manilal Patel) who really possesses the philological equipment needed for translating the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā*. One may, however, doubt the wisdom of beginning to publish an edition of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* in such elaborate style, when experience of other similar schemes shows that this elaborateness of treatment cannot be maintained for long. Already the profuse notes that the editor of the Sanskrit portion was adding in the beginning have disappeared by the sixth fasciculus. A few years ago Sāyaṇa's was the only commentary available on the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā*. But other commentaries have been lately discovered and are in course of publication. Dr. Lakshman Sarup has undertaken an edition of the whole of Veṅkaṭamādhava's commentary with comparative notes from other commentaries. We are anxiously awaiting the speedy completion of this undertaking.

Not of much scientific value is the First Volume of the *Sāmaveda-saṁhitā* (containing the *chanda-ārcika*) with Sāyaṇa's commentary, translation and notes, published in the Calcutta Sanskrit Series (No. XVI, 1936). One wonders why the *Pada-pāṭha* is given at all, when the editor could not mark the accents. A comparison with the edition of the *Sāma-padapāṭha* printed by Satyavrata Sāmāśramin in his *Uṣā* shows the unsatisfactory character of the *padas* given in this edition, even leaving out of consideration the lack of accents. Some competent scholar should take in hand a carefully collated edition of the *Sāma-padapāṭha*, using the North Indian manuscripts which mark all the three accents but not neglecting the manuscripts of the South. The system of accentuation of Northern manuscripts is of considerable importance to the student of Sanskrit grammar. The chief Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda, the *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa* has now been reprinted in the Kashi Sanskrit Series (No. 105) with a more satisfactory text of Sāyaṇa's commentary than in the Bibliotheca edition, particularly in the second volume brought out last year. It is, however, to be regretted that no special pains were taken over the first volume. The same series (No. 127) has reprinted in an excellent edition the first four Kāṇḍas of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. We look to a speedy publication of the remaining Kāṇḍas. Dr. Raghu Vira of Lahore has laid us under a deep debt of gratitude by taking up the publication of the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* in its entirety, of which the first volume is just published. We hope that the remaining portion will be published soon. One wonders why the editor has not chosen to give even a preliminary description of the manuscripts used in the volume published and their relationship. However learned and critical an editor may be, he should allow the readers to judge for themselves the correctness of the readings he has chosen. This they cannot do if a full description of the manuscripts does not accompany the text.

The *Paippalāda* text of the *Atharvaveda-saṁhitā* was so long available only in the photographic copy published by Bloomfield and Garbe in 1901. L. C. Barett had given us editions of individual *kāṇḍas* but with the exception of Books Sixteen and Seventeen published together as Volume IX of the American Oriental Series (New Haven, 1936), those editions were scattered over different numbers of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Dr. Raghu Vira has recently brought out a sumptuous edition of the first thirteen *kāṇḍas* in book form (Lahore, 1936). The work has been very carefully done. One only regrets that no attempt was made to supply the lacunæ at the beginning of the Tübingen manuscript. I learn from a friend much interested in Vedic studies, who had been in Kashmir, that there are still Vaidikas of the Paippalāda school in that land and they actually begin their text with the verse आपो देवीरिमाद्यमे etc., as Roth guessed in 1875 (*Der Atharvaveda in Kaschmir*, p. 16).

Further progress has been made in the publication of the *Bhāradvāja Śrauta Sūtra* (Praśna VII to Praśna XII. 6 8) in Dr. Raghu Vira's *Journal of Vedic Studies* (Vol. II Nos. 2-3) and we have a careful edition of the *Śaiśirīya śikṣā* by Dr. Tarapada Chowdhury in the same journal (Vol. II No. 2). The Calcutta Sanskrit Series (No. XVII) has given us a good edition of the *Gobhila Gṛhya-Sūtra* with the commentary of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa (Vol. I, 1936), for lack of which Mahāmahopādhyāya Chandrakānta Tarkālaṅkāra wrote his well known commentary. Work has been continued on the edition of Kātyāyana's *Śrauta-sūtra* with the *paddhati* of Devayājñika in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series (fasciculi iii to v, 1936). The same series has brought out another fasciculus (ii) of the *Agniṣṭomapaddhati* by Vāmanācārya and others (1937). The same publishers brought out last year in the Kashi Sanskrit Series the *Śulbasūtra* of Kātyāyana with the commentaries of Karka and Mahīdhara. Mention must also be made of the new edition of

the *Vedāṅga-jyautiṣa* brought out last year by Dr. R. Shamasastry with his own commentary and an English translation. He has evidently added a good deal in his explanation that is not actually in the text.

Besides editions of texts and commentaries, some studies have been also published on different aspects of the Vedas. Of considerable interest is the newly started journal *The Mimansa Prakash*, of the Mimansa Granth Prakashak Samiti of Poona, which, it may be hoped, will help in the spread of knowledge of the Vedic rituals. The study of Mīmāṁsā and of the Vedic ritualistic texts, I need hardly add, greatly help each other. Mr. Hiralal Amritlal Shah has published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* (Vol. XVII, pp. 97-176) in an enlarged form his paper on 'Vedic Gods' communicated to the Seventh Oriental Conference. Such sweeping astronomical interpretations are not likely to carry conviction to people. It is not right to come to important conclusions on the basis of just a few texts, omitting to take into account all the other texts of similar import and the bearings of their contexts. A theory should not satisfy only its author but should be so presented that it can carry conviction to others. We should not forget the needs of *parārthānumāna* in our speculations.

Strictly objective is Dr. A. B. Keith's paper 'New Theories as to Brahman' in the *Jhā Commemoration Volume* (Part II, pp. 199-215), just published (Poona 1937). Professor Keith has examined the views of Hertel, Charpentier and Dumèzil about the original meaning of *brâhman* and shown that we need not go beyond the sense of 'prayer'. He seems to suggest that, if at all, we may add the connotation of 'holiness'. It is a great pity that many of the speculators on the original meaning of this Vedic term have left the certain evidence of the Vedic texts themselves for the doubtful light thrown by supposed cognates in other Indo-European languages. "अक्षे चेन्मधु विन्देत किमर्थं पर्वतं व्रजेत्।" so asks the Sanskrit proverb. It is possible that *brâhman*

and *barhis-barzish* are derived from the same *root*, but that does not give to *brāhman* the sense of *barhis*. There is nothing to show that *barēman* and *brāhman* are to be connected. The text of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* makes it abundantly clear that the word meant only 'prayer'. There is no evidence about the magical potency of the mere *kuśa* grass in the Vedic ritual. The power belonged to the prayer which drew the god to the worshipper and made him grant the latter's desires.

Dumézil's attempt at interpreting *brāhman* through Latin *flamen* ('priest') and Greek *pharmakós* ('scapegoat') and *phārmakon* ('drug') in the light of Frazer's theory of the connexion of the king or his priestly substitute with nature and his dying to revivify it is as unsuccessful as Hertel's earlier interpretation of *brāhman* as a cosmic fire-light substance through equation with Greek *phlēgma* ('heat'). Frazer's theory itself is hardly correct and the attempt at interpreting a Vedic idea in its light is of doubtful wisdom. The connexion between Greek *pharmakós* and *pharmakon*, Keith points out, is itself not very clear. If, however, the latter word is equated with Sanskrit *bharman*, 'nourishment', 'preservation' (cf. *Raghuvaṁśa* III. 12)

"कुमारभृत्याकुशलैरनुद्धते भिषग्भिराप्तैरथ गर्भभैषजैः।
पतिः प्रतीतः प्रसवोन्मुखीं प्रियां ददर्श काले दिवमभ्रसंस्थामिव॥"

we can take *pharmakōs* as the corresponding agent noun. Neither *pharmakós* nor *pharmakon* gets connected with *brahman*. It is, however, possible that Latin *flamen* < **flammen* < **flaghmen* is connected with the secondary stem *brahmān*, 'the praying priest', with the accent of the primary stem shifted to the final syllable. The action noun *brāhman* must mean function of this priest and the sense of prayer or *mantra* suggested by the text of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* is quite adequate for our purposes. In looking for its etymology in India itself we find the use of the root *bṛh* (< **bhṛgh* ?) in the sense of 'extending' in quite a number of Vedic texts,

e. g. in *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* I. 3. 6. 10, प्रबर्हं स्तृणीयात्, 'the barhis should be spread on the vedi after *extending* it' and in the word *bṛhat*, extensive'. *Brahman* is thus 'magnification'>'the extolling of the god'> 'the prayer'. That the Vedic poets themselves realised that *brāhman* "the prayer" etymologically meant 'magnification' is evident from passages like *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* 11. 12. 14, यस्य ब्रह्म वर्धनम्, 'whose furtherer *brāhman* is' or VIII. 1. 3, अस्माकं ब्रह्मेदमिन्द्र भूतु तेऽहा विश्वा च वर्धनम्, 'O Indra, may our *brahmān* be ever thy furtherer'. We may, however, safely connect with *brāhman* Icelandic *bragr*, 'poetical art', and *Bragi*, the name of the presiding diety of poetry, eloquence and wisdom.

The passage from the sense of 'prayer' to that of the Highest Being in the Upaniṣads can be easily understood if we keep in mind the history of Vedic religious ideas. The Vedic bards believed that their prayers or mantras were effective and they did not scruple to place them by the side of the gods to whom they were addressed or even to make the prayers alone responsible for the attainment of their desires. In the Brāhmaṇas the sacrifice is similarly raised to the highest status and the gods themselves are again and again described as sacrificing. We should remember that prayer in the form of *śastra* or *stotra* is as much of a *pradhāna karman* in a sacrifice as the offering of oblation (*Jaimini* II. 1. 13-29). *The Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (IV. 16. 1) says that 'speech' is one of the two paths of the sacrifice, the other being 'mind'. This and other texts of the Sāmaveda speak of the "singing in" of the fulfilment of desires (कामम् आगायानि etc.). We have a good parallel to this idea in the Finnish epic *Kalevala* in which Vainamoinen (in Runo II) and Lemminkainen (in Runo XXIX) bring into existence many new things by their songs. 'Prayers' or 'mantras', which are spoken words of great potency, thus come to occupy the place of a deity in the estimation of

priests. Not only *brāhman* or mantra in general but individual mantras like the *sāvitrī ṛc* or ejaculations like *om*, *ā* (*Kenopaniṣad* IV. 4) etc., or parts of the *stotra* like the *udīgtha* (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, Chapters I and II) acquire the same character. When, however, in the age of the Upaniṣads, the philosophically minded people began to posit a First Principle, a Creator, these ritualists stepped forward and identified that Principle with their own *brāhman*. It is thus 'power' and not 'magic', nor even 'holiness', which is the connecting link between the old sense of 'prayer' and the Upaniṣadic sense of 'Creator'. This power aspect of Brahman, the Highest Being, is quite evident in the *Kenopaniṣad*. We have also enough parallel of the deification and worship of mantras or sacred texts in Ancient Iran (cf. *Yasḥ* I. 22, *ahunōm vairīm yazamaide*, "we worship the Ahuna-Vairya formula". It is in this way that *brāhman* came to mean the omnipotent and omnipresent Absolute of the Upaniṣads from the sense of 'prayer' or 'efficient mantra'.

Though Roth had recognised as early as 1861 that the words *dāsyu* and *dāsá* in the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* primarily meant 'demon' (*Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, Vol. III, 557-8.604-5), it has become usual of late to forget that and to understand the two words as meaning only the non-Aryan enemies of the Aryans whom they are supposed to have enslaved. Some time ago I had an occasion to study closely all the passages in the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* where they occur and the conclusion that was forced on me was that the ethnic interpretation of these terms was unwarranted by the texts. I communicated a short note on this subject to the XIX International Congress of Orientalists which met at Rome in September 1935 and a Hindi translation of the paper appeared in the *Hindustānī* (January 1936, pp. 59-66). As the *Acts and Transactions of the XIX International Congress of Orientalists* in which the original paper has been printed have not yet been published and as the Hindi translation of my paper is

not accessible to many, I take this opportunity of giving publicity to my findings. Well known demons like Śuṣṇa, Ahi, Namuci and Śambara (*sic*—not a non-Aryan chief) have been called *dāsyu* or *dāsá*. The waters released by Indra have been described as formerly lorded over by *dāsá*. The gods bring light or happiness for *man* by destroying *dāsyus* or *dāsás*. Indra has to use his thunderbolt against them and even to receive the aid of the Maruts and other allies to cope with them. All this clearly indicates that *dāsyus* and *dāsás* are mythological beings, that they are demons. Indra overpowering the dark broods of the *dāsyus* or *dāsás* with the light of the sun cannot be understood with reference to ethnics. The non-Aryan native would not certainly stand in dread of the sun. There are numerous parallels in Indian and foreign folklore of the conception of the demons as moving in darkness and being overpowered by the light or the sight of the Sun. What has led scholars to suppose that *dāsyus* and *dāsás* were non-Aryans is that they are often called 'not worshipping' or 'not sacrificing' (*a-karman, a-brahman, a-vratā* etc.). It is believed that this is because the non-Aryan did not follow the sacrificial cult of the Aryan. But are not the gods themselves described in the Brāhmaṇas as sacrificing? If the gods can perform sacrifices, surely their rivals, the demons, can be described as not performing them. We have parallels in Babylonian and other literatures also of demons being described as not performing rites.

The description of the *dāsus* as 'noseless' (*anāsaḥ*) is confined to only one passage, V. 29. 10, [1] where the context tells us that like Vṛtra (verse 7), Ahi (v. 8), Śuṣṇa (v. 9) and Pipru (v. 11), these noseless "Dāsyus" should be understood—by *sandaṁśa-nyāya*—as certain demons. The adjective 'noseless' is of a piece with other epithets indicating

1. If *rujānáḥ* in *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* I. 32 6, an epithet for Ahi, is to be analysed as *rujānás* and interpreted as a Bahuvrīhi compound, "with a shattered nose", we get a good parallel for *anāsaḥ* in V. 29. 10.

physical deformity used for demons, like 'handless', 'footless', 'shoulderless', (e. g. in I. 32. 7). This has nothing to do with the so-called snub-nosed features of the Dravidian natives. As a matter of fact, Dravidians are *not* snub-nosed, the average nasal index of the present day Dravidians being less than 77, in no way differing from the average in North India [2]. And then the features of the men or gods represented in statues and plaques in the proto-Indian civilization of the Indus basin show that the Aryans must have met with men settled in the Punjab and in Sind who could not be called snub-nosed by the widest stretch of language. Most of the skulls found in the Indus basin show either medium or narrow noses, the indexes varying between 43·75 and 50·8. Archæological evidence is thus against the Aryans having had to deal with "noseless" natives. There are many parallels in Babylonian representations of demons and in modern Indian folk-lore of certain demons and goblins being conceived as 'noseless'.

The dark colour of the *dāsás* can be easily understood because the demons are the counterentities of the "shining" gods. That the "*dāsá* colour" is described as "placed below" is because the demons were conceived as having their home below the earth, as is proved by parallels in the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* (e. g. V. 32. 7) and later Indian literature, the Avesta (e. g. *Yasna* IX. 15) and Teutonic and other lores. The hymns of the Ṛgveda abundantly make it clear that their poets were as afraid of the *dásyus* and *dāsás* as were the writers of the Brāhmaṇas of the *asuras*. Certainly, the sturdy Aryan conquerors had no cause to be afraid of the vanquished non-Aryans. But for all their physical strength and military equipment, the Aryans could not

2 There are, of course, peoples in South India with a very broad nose, but we have as little justification for taking them to be "Dravidian" in stock simply because they speak Dravidian tongues at the present day, as for taking peoples of Tibeto-Burman or other non-Aryan stock in North India who speak Aryan languages as being "Aryan" in race.

escape the universal fear of demons. This demonophobia comes from that fear-complex which is innate in man and manifests itself in strange forms to-day, even among "civilized" people.

It is only in a small number of passages where *dásyu* or *dāsá* is used by the side of *árya* that there is any difficulty in taking the terms as meaning 'demon'. But is it certain that *árya* had an ethnic connotation? In quite a number of passages *árya* or *arí* means 'pious man' and in I. 59·2 simply 'man'. In classical Sanskrit *árya* ordinarily means 'a good man'. We should remember that 'good' was the meaning of the element *arí* in the Greek superlative *aristós*. It is believed that the word *ārya* bore an ethnic connotation in Indic and Iranic. But the matter requires fresh investigation. Darius probably means by *ariya* and *ariya-cithra* in Naksh-i-Rustam a 14, 'noble', 'of noble lineage', as opposed to the upstart Gaumāta, the Median, and not 'Aryan', 'of Aryan birth'.

There is thus no adequate reason to suppose that *dásyu* or *dāsá* had an ethnic connotation anywhere. The terms correspond to *ásura* of the later Vedic texts. They seem to be derived from √*das*, 'to lay waste', of which several forms are found in the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā*. *Dāsá* is probably etymologically connected with the portion *dahāka* of the name of the Iranian arch-fiend Azhi Dahāka (= Ahi *Dāsaka) *Dāsá*, meaning 'servant', may be, etymologically, a quite different word.

Reference may also be made to a paper in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, pp. 9-18, in which I have pleaded for a historical study of Vedic geography, as in two earlier papers on the subject.[3] I have shown how place names have been carried from one locality to another when a people has

3. 'On the Identification of the Rgvedic river Sarasvatī and some connected problems' (*Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, Vol. XV) and 'Vaidik Rhūgel' in Hindi in *Bhugol*, Vol. IX, pp. 37 ff.

migrated from its old home to a different area. We should, therefore, use considerable circumspection in identifying the geographical names occurring in the Vedic texts. I may specially draw your attention to the finding that *Kīkaṭa* meant in *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* III. 53. 14 the Kurukṣetra country and not Magadha.[4] We may hope to find in this area objective evidence of the contact of the Aryans and the non-Aryans in course of the excavations that the Archaeological Department has recently taken in hand.

In connexion with the interpretation of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā*, the dates of the earliest commentaries recently made available have been engaging the attention of scholars. Dr. Lakshman Sarup has reiterated in the *Jhā Commemmoration Volume* (Part II, pp. 399-410) his conviction that Skandasvāmin lived in the sixth century A. D. and not in the seventh century. His pupil Harisvāmin wrote his commentary on the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* according to a manuscript in the Government Sanskrit College, Benares, under a Vikramāditya reigning in Ujjayinī in 3740 Kali Era, *i. e.* 638 A. D. But Dr. Sarup emends the date as 3640 Kali Era (=538 A. D.) as he thinks that there could be no Vikramāditya, king of Ujjayinī, in the seventh century A. D. Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah has taken serious exception to this emendation and has also made light of the value of the date given in the Benares manuscript (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. X, pp. 201-230). His own view is that Skandasvāmin came later than Uvvaṭa (end of the eleventh century A. D.), from whom he has borrowed. To prove the latter contention Dr. Venkatasubbiah has compared the commentaries of Uvvaṭa and Skanda on 11 passages, taking them from the published portion of Skanda's commentary on the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā*. We are very much indebted to

4. See also *JRAS*, 1930, pp. 894-7, 'Vaidik Bhugol', p. 52 and my paper 'Kīkaṭa in *Ṛksaṁhitā*' in the forthcoming *Woolner Memorial Volume*.

him for drawing our attention to the close connexion between Uvvaṭa and Skanda. But I must confess that he has failed to convince us that it is Skanda who has borrowed and not Uvvaṭa. The originality of Uvvaṭa in his comments on *Vājasaneya-saṁhitā* 23.5 = Ṛv. S. I. 6.1) to which he makes reference (p. 218) has no bearing on the question of priority. Similar originality is displayed by Skanda at several places. The impression that is left on my own mind is that Uvvaṭa has given in short much of what Skanda gave in full. The question of the relative chronology of Uvvaṭa and Skanda cannot be definitely decided, however, without an examination of their comments on all common verses [5]. Till that is done, the evidence of the Benares manuscript relied on by Dr. Lakshman Sarup must hold the field.

I may be permitted, however, to doubt the advisability of the emendation made by Dr. Sarup. He says that there could be no Vikramāditya in Ujjayinī at a time when Harṣavardhana was ruling over the whole of North India. But why? A Vikramāditya need not necessarily be an emperor. A petty local ruler of Ujjayinī might well have borne the title of Vikramāditya. What definite evidence is there to show that there was a Vikramāditya in Ujjayinī in the sixth century? Hoernle's theory that Yaśodharman bore that title is unsupported by Yaśodharman's own inscriptions. Yuan Chwang speaks of a king of Ujjayinī in his time who "belongs to the Brahmin caste. He is well learned in heretical (*i. e.* Brāhmaṇical) books and believes not in the true law (*i. e.* Buddhism)" (Beal, *Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. p. 271—Watters, *On Yuan*

5. I am not convinced by the argument advanced by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja for establishing that Uvvaṭa wrote a commentary on the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* (*Proceedings of the Fifth All-India Oriental Conference*, Vol. I, pp. 280-1). There is nothing to show that Deva-rāja was referring to the interpretation of a passage in the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* (VII. 15-3) by *amāiyam iti*. The passage meant by him may have been one beginning with *amāiyam* which unfortunately we cannot spot now.

Chwang's Travels in India, Vol. II, p. 250). What is there to show that this unnamed king did not bear the epithet of Vikramāditya? The seventh century was the time of a militant revival of Vedicism, when lived and preached Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and, as has recently become probable, the great Śaṅkarācārya too. We may well expect in this century the existence of a patron of commentaries on the Vedas [6]. There is thus no more difficulty in placing Skandasvāmin in the beginning of the seventh century A. D. than in the sixth century.

Whatever may be the correct date of Skandasvāmin, it has, we must confess, no bearing on the traditional character of the interpretations given in these commentaries, when even Yāska has in many cases indulged in wild guesses. That there was no "traditional" interpretation of the Vedic mantras before Yāska is quite evident from the scepticism of Kauṣa referred to and elaborately refuted in the *Nirukta* (I. 15 ff.), which we find reflected in the *Pūrva-mīmāṁsā-sūtras* of Jaimini, I. 2. 31-39. We cannot, however, doubt that there was current a continuous tradition about the Vedic ritual.

Coming to the field of Vedic linguistics, I must first mention Dr. Siddheshwar Varma's very full treatment of the "Syntax of the Dative Case in the Ṛgveda" in the *Jhā Commemmoration Volume* (Part II, pp. 435-456.) Dr. Mangal Deva Shastri has at last published his long

6. Was the *samrāṭ* Skandasvāmin, preceptor of Harisvāmin, the predecessor of the Vikramāditya, king of Ujjayinī, whose minister Harisvāmin later became? Skanda was certainly a Brahmin and the king of Ujjayinī referred to by Yuan Chwang was a Brahmin by caste and highly learned in the Brāhmanical scriptures. Harisvāmin calls his patron only a king but his *guru* a *samrāṭ*. Skanda's reign may have come to a close before or about the time of the rise of Harṣa's power and his being a *samrāṭ* does not go against Harṣa's suzerainty in North India between 612 and 647 A. D. The Vikramāditya who patronised Harisvāmin may also have come to the throne before 612 A. D.

expected translation of the *Ṛgveda-Prātiśākhya* with valuable notes and appendices (Lahore, 1937). His use of better manuscripts of Uvvaṭa's commentary has enabled him to improve on Max Müller's translation at a number of places. But it is much to be regretted that he thought it fit to stick as much as he could to the form he gave to his work when a student at Oxford and he failed to utilise fully the writings of recent workers in the field. If, for example, he had cared to read Dr. Siddheshwar Varma's very valuable treatment of the phenomenon of *abhinidhāna* in his *Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians* (London, 1929), ch. VIII, Dr. Shastri could not have taken it as 'separate pronunciation of conjunct consonants.' He should have borne in mind the other use of the same term in this and other Prātiśākhyas, *viz.*, for the loss of an initial *a* after a final *e* or *o*, which supports Varma's interpretation. I may also mention the attempt of Dr. Paul Thieme and myself at showing that Pāṇini learnt about Śākalya's views from his *Pada-pāṭha* of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* and not from the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* of Śaunaka as contended by Max Müller and Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, pp. 329-349). Since the publication of those notes I have discovered that we can perhaps trace in Śākalya's *Pada-pāṭha* the phenomenon envisaged in *Pāṇini* VI. 1.127, "ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक्" also. Cases like वाजय॑ध्यै in the *Saṁhitāpāṭha* (X. 34. 4*b*), to be metrically read as वाजि-अध्यै and given in the *Pada-pāṭha* as, वाजी । अध्यै ।' or उर्विऽक्रतिः (VI. 24.2) in the *Pada-pāṭha* itself in place of उर्वीऽक्रतिः seem to show the operation of the rule which Pāṇini ascribes to Śākalya. The problem of the relation between Pāṇini and the *Ṛkprātiśākhya*, however, has not been solved by any of us and it will for long demand assiduous study. We owe it to Mr. Sadāshiva Lakshmidhara Kātre, Assistant Curator of the Manuscripts Library, Madhava College, Ujjain, the important discovery that the author of the Prātiśākhya of the Atharva school edited by

Whitney is Kautsa (*JRAS*, 1937, p. 781) and not Saunaka. The adjective *Saunakīyā* in the title of Whitney's single manuscript is probably with reference to the *recension* of the *Atharvaveda-saṁhitā* with which it is concerned, as is the *Ṛkprātiśākhya* of Śaunaka with the Śaiśirīya division of the Śākala recension. We cannot yet know if this Kautsa is or is not identical with the Kautsa referred to by Yāska.

Passing on to the subject of Indo-Aryan origins, I may name A. B. Keith's article "Aryan Names in Early Asiatic Records" in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XII, pp. 569-580 in which he has examined N. D. Mironov's paper "Aryan Vestiges in the Near East of the Second Millenary B. C." in the *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. XI. pp. 141-217. Professor Keith's conclusions are mainly negative. If Mironov has too readily seen Aryan vestiges or Sanskrit words where there are none, Keith has been unnecessarily sceptical.[7] We cannot agree with him that we are quite unable to prove that the four gods *ilāni* Mi-it-ra-áš-shi-il *ilāni* U-ru-va-na-áš-shi-el (v. l. *ilāni* A-runa-ash-shi-il), *ilu* In-da-ra and *ilāni* Na-shá-at-ti-ia-an-na named in the treaties of the Hittite king Shubbiluliuma and the Mitannian king Mattiuaza found at Boghazkeui, were Indian gods and not gods of an outlying branch of the Aryan family. The very forms and the order of the four names bear an indelible stamp of their Indian origin. Mitra is followed by Vâruṇa in the same order as in the Vedas. The name *Váruṇa* is not found outside India. Its equation with Greek *Ouranós*, though accepted by philologists, must be rejected on account of two differences, the quality of the second vowel and the place of the accent. The second vowel in *Váruṇa* is *u* and it is *a* in *Ouranós*. The former word is accented on the first syllable and the latter on the

7 *E. G.* about *Shuriash*, the name of a Kassite deity, glossed as *Shamash* (Sun) in Babylonian, very clearly identical with Skt. *Sūrya*, Av. *Hvarə*, L. *Sol* and Gk. *Helios*.

final syllable, though accenting it on the syllable third from the end would not have militated against the special law about the place of the accent in the Greek language. Either discrepancy would not have by itself gone against the equation but their combination makes it extremely difficult to connect *Váruṇa* and *Ouranós*. There is also nothing in the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* to show that Varuṇa was a sky-god. Similarly the assumption that Ahura Mazda of the Avesta is the same person as the Indian Varuṇa is a baseless one as the two deities bear distinct names. The simple fact that their characters are similar cannot entitle us to identify them. We could then identify any two similar things under the heavens. The double dual of the *devatā-dvandva Mitrá-Váruṇau* and the use of the dual number for *Mitrá* and *Váruṇa* even outside compounds or of *Váruṇā* alone in dual for both Mitra and Varuṇa, on account of the close association of the two deities in the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā*, must needs be taken as peculiar Indian usage with no trace among any other Aryan people. The phenomenon is faithfully reflected in the Hittite records by the plurals ilāni Mi-it-ra-ásh-shi-il and ilāni U-ru-va-na-ásh-shi-el. A language that does not possess the dual number necessarily uses the plural in its place. We should note that the plural dererminative *ilāni* has been used before both Mi-it-ra and U-ru-va-na. This as nearly corresponds to Vedic usage as is possible within the limitations of the Akkadian language and the cuneiform syllabary. The variant forms U-ru-va-na and A-ru-na are clearly two distinct attempts at representing the Indian word *Varuṇa*. The name ilāni Na-shá-at-ti-ya-an-na also is given in the plural, corresponding to the dual number of *Násatya* in the Vedas due to the Aśvins being two in number. All this, added to the phonetic forms of the names, which are positively non-Iranian, definitely suggests that we have to do here with the names of some neither proto-Iranian, nor Aryan, but positively *Indian* gods. The Indian numerals in the Hittite treatise on horse-breeding (*Sitzungsberichte der*

preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, XX, 1919, pp. 367-372) suggest the presence of an Indian colony within or near the territory of the Hittites or the Mitannians, probably of merchants trading in horses. We have ample evidence of trade relations between India and Western Asia from the time of the Indus civilization. It is probably these merchants who introduced the Mespotamian influences in the *Atharvaveda-saṁhitā* to which the late Lokamānya Bal Gangadhar Tilak drew our attention[8], as also the flood story found in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* and the *Atharvaveda-saṁhitā*. The occurrence of these four Indian names in inscriptions of about 1350 B. C. thus gives us some hint about the date of the cultural contact between the nations of Western Asia and the Aryans of India. The very obviously Indian character of these four names is denied under the influence of the theory that the Vedas cannot go to a date earlier than or even as early as the fourteenth century B. C. but this theory itself can no longer be upheld. An analytical study of the great development in religious outlook and in the gradual diffusion of the Aryans in India revealed by the texts of the Vedas forces on us the conclusion that we cannot place their beginnings in the twelfth century B. C.

Coming to Indo-Iranian times, I may mention that in a paper in the *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, No. 31, pp. 209-237, I have tried to show that Martin Haug's theory of an Indo-Iranian schism leading to deliberate changes in the religions ideas and terminologies of the two peoples, unfortunately still very popular in India, can no longer be accepted on account of the fuller information about Vedic and Avestic literatures and cultures and about linguistic and religious histories that we possess today. The so-called inversions are only natural developments under differing conditions.

8. *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 33 ff.

Efforts have continued to be made to prove the Indus civilization as Aryan and Vedic. Dr. Lakshman Sarup has made an elaborate attempt in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, pp. 149-169, to prove that this civilization is "post-Ṛgvedic." Mr. A. D. Pusalkar has tried to show in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XVII, part 4, pp. 385-395, "that there is nothing inconsistent in calling the Vedic Aryans the authors of the Indus Civilization, or styling the civilization as 'Vedic' or 'Aryan'. Another attempt in this direction is that of Mr. S. V. Venkateswara in *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. III, pp. 53-63. We have to confess that these scholars have failed to make a convincing case. It is true that many of the differences between Vedic culture and the Indus civilization pointed out by Sir John Marshall are either wrong or inconclusive. But two of them make it impossible to take the people of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa as Aryans and they are iconism and the absence of the horse. As the question is of considerable interest to both the student of the Vedas and of ancient Indian history generally, and a wrong view is likely to impede the progress of our studies, I have to enter into a discussion on the essential aspects of the problem.

The first point that I wish to emphasize is that the Vedic religion has been aniconic throughout its history. In spite of the anthropomorphic description (and conception) of the gods in the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* we find no clear reference to images of gods in Vedic texts and, what is of particular significance, *no place for their use in the Vedic sacrifices*. The reference to the barter of Indra in two passages of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* (IV. 24-10 and VIII. 1-5) has to be understood as meaning temporary barter of Indra's favour and not of his icon. The priest procures this favour to his *yajamāna* for consideration received as *dakṣiṇā* (literally 'propitiation').[2] The god Indra as such could not be bar-

2. Can it be believed that the priests were the *makers* of icons which they could give away or withhold as they chose? For securing the favours of gods they were certainly the only accredited agents.

tered. It is either his icon or his favour that could be exchanged. In deciding whether Indra's icon or his favour is to be understood in these passages we have to go by the spirit that pervades the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* and we cannot doubt that the icon is to be ruled out. If iconic representation of Indra or any other deity[10] were known, we would have found traces of it in the Śrauta-sūtras and the Paddhatis. The Indus civilization, on the other hand, is full of vestiges of iconism. We have here a fundamental difference which cannot be explained except through a hypothesis of distinctness of the two cultures. We cannot explain the difference through difference in time, claiming that the non-development of iconism in the Vedic texts is due to a date earlier than the Indus civilization, because the aniconism of the Vedic cult persists down to the latest texts on Vedic rituals and the living traditions on the Vedic *karma-kāṇḍins* who, though using images in *smārta* worship, never use them in *śrauta* ritual. It is as wrong to take the aniconism of the Vedas as an indication of their earlier date and earlier stage in development as to assume that present day iconic Hinduism has grown out of aniconic Arya Samaj or Brahmo Samaj or Islam or Judaism.

Then, the horse argument is another deciding factor. Not only is a common word for the horse found among most Indo-European languages, definitely pointing towards its being an "Indo-European" animal, we find in history that wherever the Indo-European peoples went in antiquity they introduced this animal, which gave them an easy ascendancy over nations which did not possess it.[11] We cannot

10. There is no "central figure of a god" in *Taitt. Saṁ.* V. 3. 1. 5, as Mr. Venkateswara assumes (pp. 56, 61). The *puruṣa* referred to their is 'man' and not 'a god'. The passage refers to the construction of the Fire Altar (*Agni cayana*). No effigies of men or animals are used here but certain bricks only. They are arranged in a particular order to the accompaniment of certain mantras which refer to animals and man, to ensure man's control over those animals.

11. See J. von Negelein, *Das Pferd im arischen Altertum*, Koenigsberg 1903 and I. J. S. Taraporewala, 'The Horse in Indo-European Languages' in *Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume*, Part I, pp. 302-315.

suppose that things were different for the Aryan invaders of India. It is too late in the day to suppose that the Aryans were autochthonous in India. It is really distressing to find that there are many scholars in our country who are oblivious of the philological grounds on which Aryan migration from outside has been definitely established. The ancestors of the Vedic Aryans certainly came from outside. They must have brought the horse with them. We find the Vedic texts full of references to this noble animal. We cannot for a moment doubt its popularity among the Vedic Aryans. But in the Indus basin we have found so far only two fragments of the jaw of a horse, discovered very near the surface (at a depth of 1 ft. 10 in. only),[12] probably coming from a late period, and one horse-like terracotta figure belonging to the Late Second Period.[13] That is all. We have no other evidence. The exceptions only prove the rule. The Indus people have represented faithfully and lovingly images of so many animals in their seals. It cannot be understood how they could have left out their favourite horse if these people were Aryans. The fragmentary skeletal remains of a horse found so far may be of a stray animal that was brought by traders of Mohenjo-daro from some other place, say Anau, where the horse was in use in antiquity and which shows signs of probable cultural affinity with the people of the Indus basin. In fact Col. R. B. S. Sewell has pointed out the close similarity between the Mohenjo-daro specimen and the breed of horses found in ancient Anau.[14] Even if a few more skeletal remains are found we can give the same explanation, as we must also for the toy model that has been found already. Besides, as the ears are missing in the latter the possibility remains that we have only an onager here and not a horse. So long as seals with clear representation of horses and more

12. Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, II, pp. 653-4.

13. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1928-29, p. 74.

14. *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, II p. 654.

skeletal remains of undoubted lower level are not found we must hold that the animal was not known or in general use in the Indus basin. It may be said that such seals and skeletal remains may yet be found. But let them be found first. We shall then change our hypothesis too. In the meanwhile the theory that the Indus civilization is non-Aryan must hold the field.

These are my reasons for refusing to take the Indus civilization as Aryan. *Maṇḍana* of *svamata* done, I may now attempt a brief *khaṇḍana* of *para-mata*. I shall confine myself to Dr. Lakshman Sarup whose treatment of the problem is the most systematic of the efforts made during the last two years. He has used five main arguments for disproving the non-Aryan character of the Indus civilization or proving their post-Rgvedic date (*Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, pp. 150-169). I may examine them one by one.

(1) Dr. Sarup points out that the human skulls found at Mohenjo-daro show four different types according to Sewell and Guha and he thinks that none of them is Dravidian (p. 152). I reply that 'non-Aryan' need not necessarily mean 'Dravidian' and also that we know *nothing* about the primitive Dravidian physical type. We have no justification for assuming that the Dravidian has preserved his distinctive features unaltered during the last 5000 years (p. 154). In any case, present day anthropologists say that "there are many points of resemblance between the Dravidian and Mediterranean peoples which point to an ancient connection between the two, perhaps due to a common origin" (A. C. Haddon, *The Races of Man*, 1924, p. 109),[15] and certainly Mediterranean is one of the types represented at Mohenjo-daro[16] as Dr. Sarup is himself aware (p. 152).

(2) Dr. Sarup is mainly correct in the differences he has shown (pp. 156-9) between the civilization of the

15. The older "official" account of the Dravidian type, *e. g.*, in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1909? Vol. I. p. 298 is wholly imaginary.

16. *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, II, pp. 642-3.

Ṛgveda-saṁhitā ("a village, agricultural and pastoral civilization") and that of Mohenjo-daro ("a city and a commercial civilization"). This really goes against his own position. We cannot claim that the latter civilization has grown out of the former unless we can *first* prove that the two peoples are identical and the date of Mohenjo-daro is later. The whole of Dr. Sarup's argumentation is vitiated by the fact that he has just *assumed* what he should have first *proved*. The argument based on the prevalence of writing at Mohenjodaro and Harappa and its supposed absence in the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* (p. 169) has no probative value for the same reason. I may add that I have tried to show that *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* X. 71. 4 suggests the knowledge of writing (*Poona Orientalist*, Vol. I no. 4, pp. 47 ff.).

(3) Dr. Sarup is conscious of the fact that phallic worship was very much in prevalence in the Indus basin and that it seems to be referred to with disapproval in two passages of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* (p. 159). He claims that the *śiśnadevas* of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* were *Aryan* phallic worshippers. But why? How can we say that the "barbarians or the non-Aryans were beyond the pale of the Aryan *dharma* and could not therefore penetrate to the sanctuary of the Aryans"? Our old texts clearly indicate that the Ancient Aryan was not so exclusive as the orthodox Hindu of the present day. The sages performing a *sattra* on the bank of the Sarasvatī who cruelly drove away the non-Brahmin Kavaṣa Ailūṣa from their company gladly recalled him when they found that he had composed a hymn (*Rv. S.* X. 30) and had received the favour of the gods (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, ch. VIII. 1).[17] Patañjali in the second century B. C. includes the Śakas and the Yavanas among *śūdras* whose dinner plates could be used by "āryas" just after cleansing them, unlike Caṇḍālas and Mṛtapas

17. Bṛbu, the chief of the Panis (?), whose gifts to the priest Bharadvāja are commemorated in the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* (VI. 45. 31-33), is believed to have been a non-Aryan. The matter is, however, extremely obscure.

(*Mahābhāṣya*, II. 4. 10). Both these ideas would be repugnant to present day orthodoxy. There is not the least evidence that the Aryans of the age of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* did not allow non-Aryans to come near their sacrifices. If they had such notions of exclusiveness, they could not have gradually assimilated the non-Aryans as they certainly seem to have done. Consequently the assumption that the *śiśnadevas* forbidden admittance to the holy rite in *Ṛv. S.* VII. 21. 5, were Aryans seems to be historically unsound. We cannot therefore contend that the phallicism of the Indus basin is a development out of some Aryan phallic cult. The obscenities in connexion of the Aśvamedha sacrifice vouched by the Yajurvedic texts to which Dr. Sarup makes reference (pp. 161-165) have absolutely nothing to do with phallic worship. The phallus was used as a divine symbol only to stress in a rather unconventional manner the creative aspect of God and not to glorify lust.

(4) Dr. Sarup's statement that "gods at Mohenjo-daro" had been completely anthropomorphized, but this process had not gone very far during the period of the RV" (p. 167), and the consequent deduction cannot be accepted. It is not true that the gods of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* did not have a distinct and clear-cut individuality. They had it quite all right. Otherwise attempts would not have been occasionally made by the Vedic seers to show that their favourite gods were superior to other gods or distinction would not have been made between the different spheres of deities like Indra and Varuṇa. That the phenomenon of what Max Müller called henotheism was present in the mind of the Vedic poets does not show that the gods had no individuality of their own. This henotheistic tendency has been as present in all later Hinduism as in the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* and a Hindu worshipper even today praises his *iṣṭa-devatā* or the deity he may be worshipping at the time being as the highest god. It is due to this tendency that Hinduism has been able to evolve that monotheism in polytheism which we do not find

elsewhere. It is just because the Vedic gods were anthropomorphically conceived and endowed with distinct personality that several scholars have been led to assume that they were also iconically represented. The gods of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* were quite clearly anthropomorphised though not iconised too.

(5) Dr. Sarup says that Śiva is a subordinate deity in the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* but is an important god at Mohenjo-daro and therefore the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* is of earlier date (pp. 165-167). This argument is based on a number of misconceptions. First of all, the Indus god is not actually Śiva but only his historical counterpart. Sir John Marshall whom Dr. Sarup quotes calls him only the "*prototype* of the historic Śiva". Nor is the Vedic deity Rudra the same personality exactly as the Purāṇic Śiva. He too appears to be distinct from but in certain respects the prototype of the later Śiva. Then, the alleged importance of the so-called Śiva in the Indus religion is wholly problematic. We have so far one single terracotta plaque representing the deity whom Sir John Marshall calls the prototype of Śiva (DK 5175—*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1928-29, Pl. XXVIIIf). We do not even know if it was the same god or some other who was so frequently represented by the phallic emblem. In spite of the comparatively small number of passages in the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* where Rudra is praised or referred to, it is not right to say that he was an altogether unimportant god. The epithet *āsura* that he shares along with some other great gods shows that he was not an insignificant deity. In fact he seems to have been an old thunder god, whose importance was declining, probably on account of the rise of Indra's importance or of usurpation by Indra of Rudra's character as a thunder god. There is not the least indication of the Indus god being in any way associated with the phenomenon of thunder. The Purāṇic Śiva seems to have been formed from a number of diverse elements. No body claims that Śiva was a god *borrowed from the non-Aryans* (p. 167). What is believed

by scholars is that he was formed by a fusion of the Aryan Rudra with some non-Aryan deity or deities. One such non-Aryan deity now appears to be the three-faced (or four-faced?) contemplative god surrounded by animals represented by the plaque found by Dr. Mackay at Mohenjo-daro. We do not yet clearly understand how the Vedic Rudra came to be identified with this Indus god. Was it because Rudra was *Paśupati*, 'lord of the cattle'[18] and this Indus god also seems to have been connected with animals? A phallic deity has also entered into the composition of the later Śiva. Some trait common between the Vedic thunder-god Rudra and some phallic deity may also be perhaps discerned. Meteoric stones have been connected with thunder or taken as an emblem of a thunder god by several peoples (C. Blinkenberg, *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore*) and it is easy to identify phallic stones with meteoric stones and through them the deities whom they symbolise. Thus the later Śiva may be a blend of at least three distinct deities, the Vedic Rudra, a non-Āryan phallic deity and the contemplative god of Mohenjo-daro. The Vedic god has supplied the name (*Rudra*), the terrible nature and the thunder symbol (the *triśūla*) and other traits may have come from other sources. In any case, Dr. Sarup's contention that the Mohenjo-daro prototype of Śiva is a development out of the Rudra of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* cannot be accepted.

Aryan origin of the Indus civilization has been inferred by others from the supposed priority in age of the Vedas.

18. Why Rudra was *paśupati* we do not know. Macdonell says that this epithet was given to him "because unhoused cattle are peculiarly exposed to his attacks and are therefore especially consigned to his care" (*Vedic Mythology*, p. 75). I have a different hypothesis to offer. There are several indications of the old Vedic thunder-god Rudra having been identified with Fire or House-Fire. The Hearth-Fire has been conceived by several peoples as a protector of the cattle of the house (cf. W. R. S. Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People*, pp. 125 f. about the Russian Spirit of the Hearth-Fire (*Domovoy*). Rudra seems to have similarly got associated with cattle.

This argument is unconvincing as that priority itself has not been established. I have said that we cannot bring down the beginning of the Vedas to the twelvth century B. C. but no definite evidence has been put forward so far for their existence in the fourth and the fifth millenia B. C.(11000 B. C according to Mr. Venkateswara !) either. The interpretations put on a number of astronomical passages in the Vedic texts by Tilak, Jacobi and others to prove their antiquity are not supported by their contexts and admit of much simpler explanations. I have shown (*Allahabad University Studies*, Vol. I, 1925, pp. 97-156) that Vṛṣākapi of *Ṛv. S.* X. 86 is neither the Orion, nor the Sun in the Orion on the occasion of the vernal equinox, but simply the Sun without reference to any constellation. Similarly the interpretation of *Ṛv. S.* X. 85. 13 in conjunction with VII. 103. 9 and some other passages as referring to the Sun's conjunction with the Phalgunīs at the time of the summer solstice, when the new year is supposed to have begun, cannot be accepted because at each stage assumptions are made that cannot be substantiated. First of all, देवहितिं जुगुप्तुर्द्वादशस्य of VII. 103. 9, referring to the breaking of monsoons regularly at the end of twelve months, does not necessarily show that a new calendar year began at this point. The fact remains that since last year's baginning of the rains twelve months have elapsed. Similar statements could be made about events in any part of the year that recur after twelve months. That the twelfth month here is the twelfth month of the calendar year is not given by the text.[19] In fact other texts (*Taittirīya-saṁhitā* VII. 4. 8. 1-2 and *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* V. 9. 9) suggest that the year began with the Full Moon of Phālguna. Then, we do not know if the setting out of the bride Sūrya "in the Phalgunīs", referred to in *Ṛv. S.* X. 85. 13, also synchronises with the beginning of the calendar year. We do not clearly understand what astronomical or seasonal phenomenon, if any, is referred to here.

19. It is immaterial whether we interpret द्वादशस्य as द्वादशस्य मासस्य or as द्वादशधा विभक्तस्य संवत्सरस्य.

But this much is sure that it cannot refer to the summer solstice for after that the *decline* of the Sun commences as he now passes on to the southern hemisphere, whereas the bridal chariot of Sūrya is said to begin its *progress* from this point. Then, we do not know if we are to take the reference to Maghā and the Phalgunīs as in conjunction with the Sun or with the Moon. Soma, who is certainly the Moon in *Ṛv. S.* X. 85, is described here as the wooer of the bride (v. 9) and there would be, therefore, nothing wrong in understanding reference to the Full Moon of Maghā or Phalgunī in this passage. There would then be an agreement with *TS.* VII. 4. 8. 1-2 and *TMB.* V. 9. 9, referred to above. We should note that the Taittirīya and Tāṇḍya passages give us no clear indication about the season, *i. e.* the Moon's position relative to the Sun, at the time of the Full Moon of Phālguna or Caitra. In view of all these uncertainties, Jacobi's deductions from *Ṛv. S.* VII. 103. 9 and X. 85. 13 seem to be extremely doubtful.

Similar uncertainties attach to the Kṛttikā, the Dhruva and the other arguments that have been advanced for proving a high antiquity for the Vedas. I cannot enter here into an examination of all these arguments. I may mention here only one point. We cannot be sure that the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is not making a merely traditional statement when it asserts that the Kṛttikās do not swerve from the eastern direction (II. 1. 2. 3), as we find the undoubtedly much later *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* repeating the same statement, and complicating matters further by adding to the Kṛttikās, Śravaṇā and the middle of Citrā and Svātī as determinants of the eastern point (XXV. 5), and certainly all these three data cannot be assigned to the same epoch.[20] Historical and literary considerations also force us to take the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* as a relatively late text in the Vedic period and 2500 B. C. would be much too early a date for this work. Persons who have attempted dating of the Vedas on astronomical grounds have often not only failed

20. The attempt of Dr. Gurakh Prasad in this direction in *JRAS*, 1936 pp. 417-421 is unsuccessful.

to use proper circumspection but have generally kept these historical considerations absolutely out of their views. The result is that their conclusions have often landed us in anachronisms. One may be, therefore, pardoned if one takes up an attitude of scepticism about these astronomical arguments. The astronomical data in the Vedas have yet to be thoroughly worked out by persons who are not only good astronomers but know the Vedic texts well and can historically handle them. As regards the knowing of the Vedic texts, it must include a clear knowledge of the ritual in connexion with which the *mantras* or the *brāhmaṇas* are given. Till such work is done and it makes a date like the fourth or the fifth millenium B. C. probable for the literature of the Vedas, we should not assume that the Vedas or the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* are anterior to the Indus civilization. In the present state of our knowledge, the beginnings of the Vedic literature may be placed about 2000 or 2500 B. C.

Though we may not be able to take the Indus civilization as post-Vedic or Aryan in origin, the student of the Vedas has still to try to understand that civilization on account of the possibility of its influencing Vedic thought in its later phases. No culture can ever remain absolutely unaffected by its environment. The Vedic Aryans too must have been influenced by the pre-Aryan civilization of India when they settled down in this land and came into intimate touch with its people. One element that they seem to have thus imbibed is the practice of *yoga* in that technical manner which is characteristic of India, of which ample vestige has been found at Mohenjo-daro. It is thus that *Ṛgveda saṁhitā* X. 136, a very late passage, describes the *keśins* or the long-haired ascetics with their yogic powers that enabled them to move in space[21] and the *Kaṭha* and other Upaniṣads are

21. They are called वातरशना: or 'air-girdled' in verse 2, which cannot be interpreted as 'sky-clad' because the *munis* are described in the same verse as putting on tawny-coloured filthy clothes (पिशङ्गा वसते मला).

steeped in *yoga*. The *tapas* that the Brāhmaṇa texts speak of again in connexion with the creative activity of Prajāpati seems to mean this very *yoga* or is closely connected with it. We are indebted to Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda for first pointing out that yogic practices were very much in vogue at Mohenjo-daro.[22] This great achievement of the Indian mind, which we find already reflected in the later Vedic texts, thus appears to be a gift of non-Aryan civilization.[23] Closer study and fuller understanding of this culture may reveal other points of contact or mutual influencing of the two civilizations. What little we have been able to learn so far clearly suggests that it is futile to trace to the early Vedic ideas all the new doctrines that we find emerging in the Upaniṣads, for there was a distinct non-Vedic source that probably made important contributions to the synthesis of the Upaniṣads.

This is all about the work that has been already done. Let us now look ahead. We have much work to do. Unpublished texts on Vedic rituals or phonetics or exegesis have to be published. But our efforts should not stop there. The more important work is the interpretation of these texts. We are under very heavy debt to the European and American students of the Vedas for the valuable work that they have done and particularly for the historical method that they have introduced into these studies. We cannot, however, rest contented with the work they have done but must go ahead ourselves. There is, on the one hand, much new

22 *Survival of the Pre-historic Civilization of the Indus Valley* (*Memoir, Archaeological Survey of India*) and 'Siva Five Thousand Years Ago' (*Modern Review*, August 1932, pp. 151-160). See also my own paper in the Bengali journal *Prabasi*, Magha 1344, pp. 557-563.

23. This ought not to shock us. Why should we assume that the Aryans are the best creations of God? The Aryan superstition has for long impeded the progress of history and it is high time that it should be given a decent burial. No particular sanctity is imparted to *yoga* by the assumption that it is an "Aryan" institution. It is not an "Aryan" but an "Indian" invention, an invention of this famous *karma-bhūmi*.

ground to cover. There is, on the other, the need for the re-study of all that our western friends have done, as is evident from what has been said above in connexion with the meaning of the words *dâsyu* and *dâsâ*. But like the western scholar, we should approach these studies in a critical spirit and not in that of traditional bias. We should know the tradition certainly and utilise it wherever there is justification for its use. But we must examine the credentials of each and every tradition. Not everything that is given in any Sanskrit text or uttered by a Pandit can be accepted as an unbroken tradition coming from the hoariest antiquity. If it were so, quite contrary views would not have been also found in other Sanskrit texts. Consequently, we should not be slaves of "tradition".

We should study the Vedas not in isolation but in comparison with similar literatures and institutions in other lands. Special attention should be paid by the student of the Vedas to the literature of the Avesta. Vedic and Avestic literatures are likely to throw light on each other for a long time. I may add here one word of caution. It is often assumed whenever we find the same deities or institutions in both the Veda and the Avesta that they are inheritances of the period of Indo Iranian unity. In many cases this must be so but we should not assume that this is so in every case. The Indians and the Iranians were next door neighbours. Consequently they must have had immense opportunities of borrowing from each other. The common things are, therefore, not necessarily old survivals. Consequently, the evidence of the Avesta should be used by the student of the Vedas with a good deal of circumspection. Anthropology, as the Science of Man, is sure to shed much welcome light on the meanings of the human institutions reflected in the Vedas. The excavations made in Western Asia during the last thirty years have made it impossible for us to believe that the Vedic Aryans could have remained unaffected by other cultures. Consequently we must have full knowledge of the histories

and the civilizations of other nations of antiquity, particularly of Western Asia, Egypt and the Mediterranean world. A word of warning may be added here too: we are apt to misunderstand the lessons of history if we study it only for proving or disproving a particular theory.[24] History should be studied independently of theories.

Then we must possess and utilize the knowledge of later developments in India. There has been in spite of great changes a good deal of continuity in the cultural history of this land. Later developments may, therefore, sometimes throw much light on older institutions. This can be said particularly about religion, for religious ideas are found sticking to a nation's mind with great tenacity. One western scholar has gleaned from modern Greek folklore some information about ancient Greek religion.[25] A study of modern Indian folklore is expected to be still more helpful in the understanding of ancient Indian religion and mythology. Of course we have always to bear in mind, what we unfortunately often forget in India, that the later institution may be and generally is quite different from the older one with which it bears some resemblance. Consequently if we want to explain the past always in the light of the present, we would often arrive at anachronous results. We have, therefore, to use considerable circumspection in utilising the indications of later times. But if we are careful and we do not lose a sense of history when taking into account these later developments, we can hope to come to safe conclusions.

Leaving these general remarks let us now come down to some specific problems. I have given above some illustrations of the methods just advocated. Some others will also appear below. Regarding the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā*, which has received greater attention than the other Vedic texts, we

24. I have had bitter experience of this in some of my own earlier speculations.

25. J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1910.

have yet a lot of work to do. Though the meaning of a good part of it is quite clear there remains a fairly large portion which has baffled successful interpretation. We should continue to make efforts to understand these passages. I personally feel that the time has not yet come for a comprehensive Indian translation of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā*. Of European works, Grassmann's and Ludwig's were pioneer efforts and these scholars are entitled to our best thanks for the ground they have cleared. But they have failed to interpret successfully quite a number of passages. The great Geldner, who began his efforts at the translation of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* as early as 1875 (in Roth's *Siebezieg Lieder*) and had raised high hopes in our minds from the penetrating studies in the *Vedische Studien*, has not wholly fulfilled those expectations in the comprehensive translation that he finished before his death, of which one volume was published in 1923. Macdonell who had also planned a complete translation of this difficult text and who spent like Geldner his whole life-time in its understanding could leave in more or less final form only a small portion of his efforts (the hymns addressed to Uṣas, published in *JRAS*, 1932. pp. 347–371). All this shows the immensity of the task. I would therefore suggest that competent scholars in India instead of taking up a complete translation of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* at the present moment should direct their efforts to the interpretation of individual words and passages. The *Vedic Studies* of Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah and Dr. Tarapada Chowdhury's *On the interpretation of some Doubtful Words in the Atharva-veda* are efforts in the right direction. Though Professor V K. Rajavade has been able to rise above the spell of Pāṇini and Sāyaṇa in his *Words in Ṛgveda*, Vol. I, the work does not show that he understands the right philological approach to such a task and he often needlessly differs from older views. It is doubtful if it is possible to achieve any measure of success in interpreting the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* without a full use of the lessons of comparative philology. To give one example, little value attaches to a discussion on the meaning

of the word *krátu* (pp. 103) which does not take into account the use of the corresponding word (*khratu*) in the Avesta[26]. We should have more and more "Vedic Studies" of the right sort. But this is not enough. We must have discussions among scholars on the results achieved in these "Studies". We have now a journal solely devoted to the Vedas, *The Journal of Vedic Studies*, ably edited by Dr. Raghu Vira, and may we not hope that such "Studies" and discussions will form a special feature of this journal?

Knowledge of comparative philology, though essential for the understanding of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā*, is not enough. The *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* is a religious text and no effort at its interpretation can be satisfactory if its religion and mythology are not specially studied. The assumption that is often unfortunately made about its being earlier in its entirety to the rest of the Vedic literature cannot be justified. Though a good portion of the text is very early, there is still much that belongs to the times of the Yajurvedas and the Brāhmaṇas and some portion comes down to the very latest age in the Vedic period.[27] Consequently a good part of the work is pervaded by the atmosphere of the ritualism of the Yajurveda and the Brāhmaṇas. A knowledge of the Vedic ritual therefore becomes essential for the full understanding of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā*, though most of its hymns lack that

26. If Professor Rajavade had cared the least for comparative philology, he would not have "corrected" his own correct rendering of सनश्रुत, 'ever known' (p. 105), into the impossible 'rich one' (p. 319)! Not only has the Professor neglected to use comparative philology, he has not even cared to look into the accents of the words he is interpreting. If he had done it he could not have made a short of shrift Śākalya and interpreted पृश्निरग्मा in *Ṛg-S.* V. 47. 3 as one word (p.84)! One may not accept Pāṇini but the Vedic or any other language cannot be supposed to be free from all limitations of grammar, entitling us to interpret it in any way we choose. It is not by such unscientific efforts that we can hope to supersede the work done by our western colleagues.

27. See my paper 'The Place of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* in the chronology of Vedic Literature' in the *Proceedings of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference*.—Part II, pp. 31-46.

definite place in the developed ritual which is characteristic of the mantras of the Yajurveda. An analytical study of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* from the point of view of the ritual is a great desideratum. There is still much room for work on the grammar of this text. It contains many instances of case confusion, due to case attraction or reasons which cannot be understood. An intensive study of these case confusions is likely to shed much light on the chronology of the texts. It will probably show that as in the case of the Younger Avesta grammatical irregularities are generally a feature of late date, when the language used by the poets had gone out of actual use. There are many other things to study in this great text.

Similar attention should be paid to the other Vedic texts. The Yajurveda is very important from the Indian point of view. We have to try to understand the interrelation of the various portions (*mantra* or *brāhmaṇa*) of the Yajurvedic texts and the Brāhmaṇas of the other Vedas. It is only after intensive work done by a band of scholars on these problems that we shall begin to understand the history of Vedic rituals. Our efforts will be very well directed towards this end. There are fortunately still living in South India several Vaidikas who possess traditional knowledge of the different Vedic sacrifices and have themselves performed or officiated as priests in a number of them. We should utilise their knowledge in understanding the details of the sacrifice. This is a work which we Indians alone can do properly. Work on the history of Vedic sacrifices will be of great value from the point of view of cultural anthropology. It is hoped that the new edition of the Taittirīya texts, rearranged according to the needs of the ritual, that the Mimansa Granth Prakashak Samiti has taken in hand, will, when published, greatly facilitate the study of the Vedic ritual. Though the *Atharvaveda-saṁhitā* is not really concerned with either Brahman, the Absolute of the Upaniṣads, or with Brahman, the superintending priest of the sacrificial

ritual (in spite of the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Vaitāna Sūtra*), it is not so different from the other Vedas as is often assumed. Much of it treats of matter that we do not find elsewhere, but there is also a good deal of common material too. Even so-called magical mantras and practices are not lacking in the other Vedas. It would be, therefore, not right to suppose that the tradition of the Atharvaveda came from a quite distinct stratum of the society. A thorough study of the magical conceptions whether found in the Atharvaveda or in the other Vedas is a great necessity.

In spite of much work that has been already done by western scholars on Vedic religion and mythology, there is still a lot of work to do. Renou and Benveniste have through their brilliant essay, *Vṛtra et Vṛthragna*, lately called into question much that was being assumed without proper examination. Their work has made it necessary that we should re-examine the meanings of the words *Vṛtra*, *Vṛtrahan*, *Verethraghna* and *Indra*. Was killing of a dragon original to Vṛtrahan–Verethraghna as B. Geiger believed on account of the Armenian Vahagan or was it the aspect of a quite different god as Renou and Benveniste suggest? This and many other questions require to be answered. I believe that a more searching examination of the Vedic texts, which are certainly older in date than the Avesta, will enable us to properly co-ordinate the Indian, the Iranian and the Armenian testimonies. Similar work about other gods is also necessary. We have not yet solved the problem of Varuṇa. If he was not a sky god, what was he then? His constant association with Mitra, a god of light, is to be kept in mind when speculating about the original nature of Varuṇa. We should also remember that he is a god of the sea and a lord of the western direction in the later tradition. He appears to be a water spirit already in the Śunaḥśepa story found in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta-sūtra*. Promising of the first-born

to a water spirit, anger of the spirit at non-fulfilment of the promise and attempts at dodging the diety—at Gaṅgāsāgar Bengali mothers used to pick up the child immediately after throwing it in the water—are phenomena well known in Indian and foreign folk-lore and make the true character of Varuṇa in the Śunaḥśepa story quite clear. But in the early hymns of the Ṛgveda he is certainly not a water spirit. He appears there as some sort of god of light, alertly watching the doings of man and punishing him for his misdeeds. We have to explain how this god of light comes to be later associated with waters and the western direction.

Then there are the Aśvins, whose original nature has given rise to a good deal of speculation. One theory advanced by some scholars is that they represented the Morning Star and the Evening Star. But this is impossible. It may not have been understood by the ancients that the Morning Star and the Evening Star are not two stars but only one (the planet Venus). But they must have experienced that the Morning Star and the Evening Star are never seen together, that when one is seen the other is not visible and *vice versa*. But the Aśvins are described as going together. Hence they cannot represent the Morning Star and the Evening Star. The light offered by Greek mythology is of doubtful value in this point. The text of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* makes it abundantly clear that the Aśvins represent the first gleams of light in the early morning, that they are heralds announcing the near approach of the Sun. Though this text assigns to them the use of a chariot, as for all other important persons, the name suggests that they were originally conceived as riders. The idea, therefore, seems to be that they were conceived as outriders going in front of the Sun. Here we get help from an unexpected source. The well known relief in the old *vihāra* at Bhaja, near Poona, representing the Sun moving in his chariot, includes two riders on the two sides

of the chariot. [28] The two riders seem to be the Aśvins corroborating our interpretation of these gods as the outriders of the Sun. The sense of perspective not having properly developed at the time when these early reliefs were executed, the riders appear on the sides and not in front. Otherwise they are clearly outriders. Though the Vedic Aryans themselves never made any images of their gods, the anthropomorphic conceptions persisted down to the historical times when iconic representation came into vogue. Thus Archaeology of the historical period may be used with profit by the student of Vedic religion. Closely connected with the Aśvins is Uṣas, the goddess of dawn. Hopkins, not being able to enter into the spirit of a religion very far removed from his, assumed that Uṣas was worshipped in a certain period of the Aryan occupation of India *because* in the area occupied by the Aryans dawns were beautiful. [29] But can beauty by itself form the basis of religious worship? Such a fundamental misconception about the basis of worship is really astounding. Beauty can rouse aesthetic admiration and not veneration. It can at best aid the feeling of reverence which must be already present in its own right. The Uṣas hymns in the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* clearly show that the *ṛṣis* had a genuinely worshipful attitude to the bounteous goddess of dawn. These sages were grateful to the goddess on account of the many good things (among them, *dakṣiṇā* to the priest) that she ushered in and the terrors of the night that she removed by her advent. A real or imagined *arthakriyākāritva* must be the basis of all religious personification.

It is not possible for us to understand the fundamental conceptions of Vedic or any other religion in the tourist

28. Fergusson and Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, Plate XCVIII; *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Pl. XXVI, 70, Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Pl. VII, 24. Sir John Marshall's scepticism about Sūrya being the central figure in the relief (*Cambridge History of India*, 1, p. 688) cannot be justified.

29. *I. A.* 19, part 2, p. 28.

way. The psychological implications must be carefully studied. We must, therefore, deeply regret that Dr. P. S. Deshmukh, the only Indian scholar to attempt a general survey of the Vedic religion, did not try to re-study in the light of Indian thought a wrong notion about the beginnings of religion thoughtlessly given currency to by Marett and Farnell, *viz.*, the theory of *animatism*, as against *animism*. Not only that, Dr. Deshmukh has even read it into the Vedas (*Religion in Vedic Literature*, pp. 118 ff.). He may have ignored Bādarāyaṇa, अभिमानिव्यपदेशस्तु विशेषानुगतिभ्याम्, (*Brahma-sūtra* II. 1.5) who has correctly pointed out that where the Upaniṣads speak of the actions of certain apparently inanimate objects we are to understand them as belonging to certain spirits owning those objects. But do not the Vedic hymns themselves make it clear that the gods were distinct from their physical bases, if they had any? How else could a ṛṣi invite Agni *to come*, when the physical fire was already there? We may go further back. When we find that even the cave man tried to propitiate the dead, some sort of distinction between body and spirit is clearly authenticated for the most primitive stage of human development of which we have any evidence. It is, therefore, wrong to hold that in the beginning material objects were believed to be themselves animate, instead of being indwelt by spirits. This theory arises from the fact that statements are sometimes made as if no distinction is made between the material body and the indwelling spirit or soul. But this is simply because ordinarily we think only in terms of visual impressions and what is not visualised is difficult to realise. That does not mean that we cannot have an ideation of what we do not visualise. A distinction between *śarīra* and *ātman* is rooted in our convictions today. But do we not often speak or behave as if we identified them?[30] If we are not animatists today, nor were so the writers of the Vedic hymns in antiquity. An Indian

30. Compare the remarks of Śaṅkarācārya in the *adhyāsa-bhāṣya* of his *Śārīraka Bhāṣya*.

scholar who lives in the midst of living forms of all kinds of religious belief, from the highest monotheism or pantheism to the lowest fetishism, ought to be well qualified to understand the nature of religion.

Babylonian influence has been traced in the moral aspect of the Vedic Ādityas. But is this not an uncalled for assumption? Are not Ādityas as powers of light necessarily connected with the idea of watchfulness over men's doings? It seems to my mind that there is a necessary psychological connexion between the idea of a power of light and that of the discovery of sins, and therefore of the guardianship over morals. We find this reflected in our literature, in our songs and even in our swearings ('by the Sun' or 'by the Sun and the Moon', or 'by Fire' or even 'by the burning *cilam*'). Consequently the connexion between the Ādityas, Mitra and Varuṇa, and watchfulness over people's morals appears to be a necessary one and independent of the connexion between the Babylonian sun-god Shamsh and righteousness. The same connexion we find among many other nations, *e. g.* not only among the ancient Egyptians, who may have been culturally connected with the ancient Babylonians, but also among the modern Ainus, who have no contact with Babylonian civilization, past or present. Hence a diffusionist hypothesis will not suit the problem of the moral guardianship of the Ādityas. A hypothesis of borrowing of an idea or institution from another nation can be justified only when (1) that idea cannot be explained through ordinary human psychology or the history of the "borrowing" nation *and* (2) we can show that the two nations came into actual contact. The first condition is not fulfilled here.

We may have one more illustration of how our present day experiences can throw light on old Vedic ideas. The meaning of the word *tapas* which occurs frequently in the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads has exercised the minds of

several European scholars and of at least one Indian scholar [31]. The etymology of the word points towards the sense of 'heat', whereas careful study of the contexts of the passages where the word occurs shows us that it means some practice that gives one mysterious power. Prajāpati creates everything by *tapas*. *Tapas* seems to have thus meant either *yoga* or some practice closely connected with *yoga*. *Yoga* has been believed to give one the power to create anything one chooses. Is there any connexion between 'heat' and '*yoga*'? The answer ought to be in the affirmative. Yoga does generate or add heat or "electrical energy" in the body and this can be easily verified today. [32] Yogic energy was thus called 'heat'. Later religious developments in India and even present-day ideas may be thus profitably used for the study of Vedic religion, besides Comparative Religion and Comparative Mythology.

But there is one work which must be done and done immediately and that is the saving from impending disappearance of those Śrautins who have faithfully handed down to us in a practically unaltered condition the texts of the Vedas. We owe them a heavy debt of gratitude for their selfless efforts. The existence of printed texts of the Vedas may make one suppose that there is no longer any need for such living codices. But all who have at one time or other had occasion to use these wonderful codices for settling phonetical problems in Vedic texts will agree with me that they can never lose their value. We cannot anticipate what fresh problems will arise in future in Vedic phonetics and we cannot, therefore, tap these Śrautins once for all. The class must be consequently preserved for

31. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX, pp 104-6.

32. I noticed it in the person of my Guru, the late Svāmi Mahānanda Giri, "Pitaji Maharaj", and we all have some faint experience of it in our daily *sandhyā vandana*, particularly when we perform it sitting on woolen or silken seats and wearing silken or woolen clothes.

reference whenever their services may be required. You cannot make gramophone records from the *vedapāṭha* of the really good Śrautin, for his orthodoxy will not allow him to agree to this kind of reproduction. You may not have appreciation for his orthodoxy but that is his rooted conviction and we cannot get away from the fact. The unorthodox Śrautin who can accommodate himself to modern ideas is necessarily a man lacking a firm grip on the correct tradition. He will be thus of no use to us. We have, therefore, to keep the torch of orthodox tradition constantly burning. This can be done only if the better class of Śrautins are maintained and allowed to live in dignity and transmit to their sons and pupils the old tradition and not forced to direct their sons to more lucrative studies. If this is not done the Vedic tradition is sure to perish soon.

But who will take this great task in hand? We cannot expect that our politicians will appreciate the need of saving from annihilation these great inheritors of an old tradition, of an inheritance of which Indians have good reason for pride for all times. Our hope, therefore, lies in the great Indian States like Travancore, Cochin, Mysore, Baroda and Kashmir and in the richly endowed temple-organisations in the country, particularly the Tirupati and other Devasthānams of South India, whose timely intervention will save us from the loss of a treasure for which we would have to mourn bitterly in the future. Is it too much to hope that this help will be forthcoming in time and an organised attempt will be made to prepare a survey throughout the country of really good Śrautins belonging to different schools and means will be devised for their preservation?

शमस्तु द्विजमुख्यानां वेदविद्याविपश्चिताम्।
श्रुतीनां रक्षणं सम्यग् येन स्याद् सम्प्रदायतः॥

THE INTERPRETATION OF SOME OF THE OBSCURE VEDIC WORDS AND HYMNS

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There are many words and hymns in the *Ṛgveda* which have not yet been fully explained. Even in the time of Yāska, the author of the *Nirukta*, who lived between 700 and 500 B. C. and older than the great grammarian Pāṇini, the sense of a large number of Vedic words and passages was not fully established, for he has frequently given two or more different meanings of one and the same word and in many cases he has given conjectural interpretations based on etymology. In the fourteenth century A. D. Sāyaṇa composed a comprehensive commentary on the *Ṛgveda*. Sāyaṇa's interpretations are sometimes quite different from those of Yāska. There is no doubt that Yāska knew the *Ṛgveda* better than Sāyaṇa did because the former must have had more and better means of understanding many obscure words of the *Ṛgveda* than the latter who lived more than two thousand years later. Both Yāska and Sāyaṇa follow the tradition. But the gap between the poets of the *Ṛgveda* and these two commentators is so big that it is rather absurd to think that they possessed an uninterrupted tradition from the time when the *Ṛgvedic* hymns were composed. Some of the Western scholars did not follow the native interpretations and cried them down on the ground that they are inconsistent and contradictory to each other. It is doubtless that Sāyaṇa often gives inconsistent explanations of the same word in different passages. Thus the root '*bhṛ*' with the prefix '*sam*', which occurs in two consecutive stanzas of the *Ṛgveda* (I. 115. 4 and 5) is differently rendered by him as 'to withdraw'; and 'to bring on'. It

follows from this that Sāyaṇa's interpretations in many cases instead of being helpful to solve the obscurities and difficulties, become puzzles to the interpreters of the *Ṛgveda*. On the other hand the Western scholars followed the critical method which was unknown to the traditional school and gave the consistent explanation of the same word in different passages. Thus '*gāvaḥ*' is invariably translated by them as 'cows', but in many cases this translation is a puzzling with regard to the contexts. It is, therefore, a sheer perversion to think that the native school of interpretation based on tradition is not reliable and the western school of interpretation based on the critical method—the Avesta, Comparative Philology, Comparative Religion, Mythology and Ethnology, is the only guide to understand better, both the views being extremist in character. In short, it is clear from a careful examination of the interpretations of both the schools that their explanations can be treated as correct only if they are supported by contexts or by parallel passages. The Veda investigators should follow the existing native interpretation as well as the western interpretation. One way is not quite sufficient to grasp the ideas fully. The interpretation should, therefore, fulfil the tradition as well as the scientific requirements of modern philology.

In this paper in interpreting some of the obscure or unintelligible Vedic words and passages, I have taken up the intermediary position. I have discussed the following words and passages with the help of both the internal evidence derived from grammar, etymology and tradition and the external evidence based on Avesta and Comparative Philology.

āghṛṇi—This word which is only an epithet of Pūṣan is interpreted by Sāyaṇa as '*āgatadīptiḥ*' glowing. Sāyaṇa's interpretation seems forced. I think that this word is derived from the root '*hṛ*' to be angry, with the prefix '*ā*' and the suffix '*ni*.' Therefore '*āghṛṇiḥ*' means wrathful,

fierce. In the *Ṛgveda* VI. 53·4, Pūṣan is also addressed as '*ugra*' fierce

nāka—The derivation of this word is given by the native interpreters as '*na* + *aka*' *i. e.* the region which is free from sorrows or sin (*akam-duḥkham, pāpam* - Medinī. 1). This derivation seems to be fanciful and far-fetched. The first part '*na*' is a negative particle and the second part '*aka*' is derived from the I. E. root 'aq' to darken (only found in European branches; cf. Gk. *akh'olō*, to darken). Therefore '*nāka*' is that region *i. e.* firmament which is free from darkness *i. e.* the abode of light; cf. RV. I. 68. 5.

nāsatyau—This word which is an epithet of the Aśvins, is interpreted by Aurṇavābha as 'not untrue' (na + *asatyau*), by Āgrāyaṇa as 'leaders of truth' (*satyasya praṇetārau*) and by Yāska as 'nose-born' (*nāsikā-prabhavau*). But their interpretations are not at all satisfactory and seem to be conjectural. I think that the word *nāsatyau* means 'those who are in heaven', 'heaven-born' (*nāka-satyau* ? *nāasatyau* ▷ *nāsatyau*). This is an example of Prākṛtization which is not rare in the *Ṛgveda*; cf. 'Karmāra' for 'Karmakāra', '*bākuram*' for '*bhāskaram*', '*go-opaśā*' for '*go-avapaśā*', etc. This interpretation of *nāsatyau* is supported by a large number of the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* where the Aśvins are described as 'children of Heaven' (I. 182·1; I. 184·1; X. 61·4).

Sāyaṇa does not seem to have a very clear idea of the following stanza RV. I. 19. 7 which is: *ya ṛkhayanti parvatān tiraḥ samudramarṇavam marudbhir ogna ā gahi* ‖ Let me first find out the meaning of the word *parvata* used here. According to Yāska *parvata* (mountain) is a synonym of *megha* (cloud). The real meaning of the word *parvata* is the mountain. But sometimes it is also used in the sense of cloud. What is the cause of the change of its meaning? It seems to me that there was a mountain (*parvata*) on the

north of the land which was the original home of the Indo-European people and the wind which would blow from that mountain might obtain the name, 'mountain wind' or 'north wind' (cf. Gk. *Bort* in Boreas, the mountain wind, the north wind). Then the mountain wind or the north wind would mean the wind in general and then cloud (*megha*), from its bringing cloudy weather. This would also account for the name cloud, derived from the Anglo-Saxon 'clud' meaning 'rock.' The meaning, 'cloud', attributed to *parvata* by Sāyaṇa is unsatisfactory as far as the present passage is concerned. Looking to the context I think that *parvata* is used here in the sense of 'wind.' The word *tiraḥ*, meaning *across*, is a preposition governing *samudram*. The word *arṇava* is derived from the root *ṛ*, having variant forms *er*, *ar*, *or* and *re* (to go, move, grow in size,) with the suffix *va*. Therefore *arṇava* means growing in size, agitated, wavy, rough, etc. My translation of the stanza is the following: 'Who cause the wind to blow across the rough sea; come, Agni, with the Maruts.'

Sāyaṇa's interpretation of the verse RV. I. 25.3—*vimṛḷīkāya te mano rathīr aśvam na saṃdītam | gīrbhir varuṇa sīmahi* ‖ is erroneous and must be rejected. Both the roots *dā* and *sā* mean 'to bind'. I translate the verse as follows: 'O Varuṇa, we will bind fast thy mind for mercy (*i. e.* to have mercy upon us) with our songs as a charioteer reins in the horse that is yoked (to the chariot).' The meaning is this: 'though the worshippers know well that Varuṇa is gracious to all, yet they pray to him with their songs in order to please him, so that he may always be mindful of their welfare and never leave them in the lurch as a charioteer reins in the yoked horse, so that it may not lead him astray.'

The first hemistich of the stanza RV. II. 12 3. which is: *yo hatvāhim ariṇāt sapta sindhūn yo gā udājadapadhā valasya* ‖ is difficult. The explanations which Sāyaṇa and

other interpreters give, are not at all convincing. Difficulties lie in the words *ahim*, *gāḥ* and *valasya*. According to Yāska *ahi*, *vala* and *vṛtra* are the synonyms of *megha* (cloud). There is an Indo-European root *agh* or *angh* meaning 'to press tight', 'to be condensed,' 'to bind' (cf. Gk. agkhō, to bind, to press tight) which I think is the source of the word *ahi*. It seems to me that *ahi* is the mass of visible condensed watery vapour which when melted by the wind, causes the rain to fall on earth. There is a hymn in the *Ṛgveda* (I. 32·13) which tells us that *ahi* is armed with hail, thunder and lightning. From this it is now clear that *ahi* identifies with *megha* (cloud). The word *vala* seems to be derived from the root *vṛ*, to cover or encompass. *vala* is so called because it covers the rain-or atmospheric waters. In two hymns of the *Ṛgveda* (I. 62·4; IV. 50·5) the word *vala* is used in apposition with *phaliga*, the repository of the (rain or atmospheric) waters (VIII. 32·25). Therefore it is doubtless that the word *vala* is identical with the word *megha*. The word *vṛtra* is also derived from the same root having the same meaning (*vriyate'neneti vṛtraḥ*). It is found in the *Ṛgveda* (II. 14. 2) that *vṛtra* encompasses the waters. This shows that *vṛtra* and *megha* are one and the same. In some of the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* both *ahi* and *vṛtra* are in apposition and may be rendered as the 'dense cloud'.* According to Yāska '*gāvaḥ*' means '*raśmayaḥ*' (rays). He says : *sarvep'i raśmayo gāva ucyante* (all the rays are also called *gāvaḥ*). Following Yāska, Durga explains '*gāvaḥ*' by '*raśmayaḥ*.' Sāyaṇa also follows Yāska. But the European scholars invariably translate it by 'cows' and in many cases their translation is misleading and does not suit the context. In some of the hymns *gāvaḥ* does not mean 'cows', but is used in the sense of 'rays'. *gāvaḥ* in the sense of 'cows' and gāvaḥ which means 'rays', are not one and the same. Their origins are quite different. *gauḥ* meaning a cow, is the same as Avesta, *gau-s*; Gk. bous, Lat. bo-s and Eng. cow. Whereas gāvaḥ which means 'rays', is derived from

the Indo-European root *ge* or *geŗ* meaning to be bright, to shine (cf. Gk. ga-noō, to make bright; gauo-s, brightness; Skt. *gaura*) and 'the word *gavākṣa* (window), the literal meaning of which, I think, is a hole of rays *i. e.* a hole through which rays or light enter (or enters). This evidence, together with Yāska's interpretation of the word, leads me to the conclusion stated above. Now the translation would be: 'who having slain the cloud (*ahi*) (*i. e.* having dispersed the cloud with the help of the Maruts) released the seven rivers, who sent forth the rays (*gāḥ*) by the unclosing (*apadhā = apadhānena = ullyhāṭanena vala sya*—Durga) of the cloud (*vala*).'

THE EVOLUTION OF ANIMAL OFFERING.

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There are two old *anuvākas* in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (IV. i. 7 & 8), which occur in the *Agni-kāṇḍa*, between IV. i, 6—(the preparation of the fire-pan) and IV. i. 9 (the production of the fire). IV. i. 7. gives an additional set of ten *Sāmidhenī* verses to accompany an offering of five animals—*aja*, *aśva*, *ṛṣabha*, *vṛṣṇi*, *baṣṭā*, and the *mantras* of IV. i. 7. are used between the 9th and the 20th of the normal set of 11 verses (T. B. III. v. 2). The first 12 *mantras* of IV. i. 8., called the *āprī* verses, are used for the fore-offerings of animals, while the remaining 8 *mantras* are used for the *āghāra yajñas*, *puronuvākyas*, offering of omentum etc. Those *mantras* of the *Yajur Veda* occur in the *Atharva Veda*. The following scheme shows their positions and uses—

T. S.	Use.	A.V.	Use.
			There is another set of verses known as the *Āprī*-verses in T. B. III vi. 3. in the simple Brāhmāṇa style, and these very verses are in A. V. V. xii.—(1-11). There are three important points worth noting here—
IV. I. 7. *Sāmidhenī* verses	To Agni, while kindling fire. (*Samidhenī*)	II. 6. 1. 2. 3. VII. 82-3. II. 6 4. 5. VII. 84-1. VII. 16. VII 53. 1. (R.V. i 50. 10 V. 27 (1-12) IV. 2. 1.	1. These Āprī verses are not used in the Fire rituals in T. S. *Kāṇḍa* IV—According to the *Yajur Veda* these verses are, instead of being included in the Agni-*kāṇḍa*, put into the *Vaiśve-deva-Kāṇḍa* and are among the *mantras* prescribed for "Paśuka-Hautra".
IV. i. 8. *Āprī* verses	for fire offerings, for *āghāra* etc.		2. A. V. (V. 12. 8) and A. V. (V. 27. 9) (T. B. III. vi. 3. and T. S. IV. i. 8 respectively), invoke the three goddesses, *Iḍā*, *Sarasvatī*, and *Bhāruḍī* to sit on the strewn grass.
			3. That the oblations to fire consisted only of the wooden stick (*samid*), honey and ghee is clear from A. V. V. 12. 10. "Let the forest tree, the queller, God Agni relish the oblation with honey, with ghee".

The uses of these *mantras* in the *Atharva Veda* are :

A. V. II. 6. (1 5).

(1) For prosperity (Kauśika)—oblation and prayer to Agni.

(2) To avert fear of diseases and thieves — oblation with ghee.

(3) In *agni-cayana* (*Vaitāna*)—Brahma's *japa* at the time of sacrifice and kindling of fire with sticks.

(4) In *Āgneya-mahāśānti* (*Nakṣatra Kalpa* — to Agni.

5th alone—(5) special rite of a king, (*Pariśiṣṭa*)—lighting a light of flour.

The above five uses show distinct stages in the growth of the ritualistic use of the *mantra*, as evolved through *Kauśika, Vaitāna, Nakṣtra-kalpa* and *Pariśiṣṭa*. The *mantras* in the *Yajur Veda* (IV. i. 7), are used as *Sāmidhenī* verses, associated with animal sacrifices.

A. V. VII. 82—3. (with II. 6. for success—later for other purposes.

VII. 84-1. A verse addressed to Agni—for freedom from diseases.

VII. 16. A *Kāmya* rite—prayer to Bṛhaspati, Savitar, for enlightenment.

II. 53-1. To Bṛhaspati—for release from Yama with the aid of the Aśvins, the divine physicians.

V. 27. (1-12). Prayer to Agni—originally for mere prosperity—later associated with sacrifice — *paśubandha* (Vaitāna)

IV. 2 (1-8) recounts the power of Agni (and Sūrya)—later (*Vaitāna*) associated with animal offerings.

A comparison of the location of the *mantras* and their uses in the *Atharva-veda*, with their position and use in the *Yajur-veda*, shows that the *mantras* of the *Atharva Veda*, originally used for material welfare by means of prayer to Agni, Bṛhaspati, and Savitar, were elaborated by the later ritualistic *sūtras* as in *Vaitāna, Nakṣatra-kalpa*, etc. for animal offerings for *śānti*-rites etc., and were still later developed into verses used in connection with animal

offerings in the *Yajur-veda*. This conclusion gets added force from the fact that these two *anuvākas* IV. i. 7. and IV. i. 8. are out of their setting and thrown in between T. S. IV. i. 6. and IV. i. 9. which are really continuous. It is particularly interesting to note that the ten *Sāmidhenī* verses of IV. i. 7. are used supplementally to the original 11 sāmidheni verses of T. B. III. v. 2.

NOTE.—

(1.) There is a short and special word-index at the end of T. S. IV. i. 8. for this *anuvāka* alone. There is something interesting in this index.

T. S. IV. i. 8. Index.	Verses in T. S.	Verses in A. V.
ऊर्ध्वो	T. S. IV. i. 8 (1-13).	A. V. V 27. (1-12)
यः प्राणतो	... 14	IV. 2. (7) IV. 2. (2)
य आत्मदा	... 15	IV. (2). (1)
यस्येम	... 16	IV. (5)
यः क्रन्दसी	... 17	IV. (3)
येनद्यौरापृह	... 18, 19-a,	IV. (4) (8)
यत्तदो देवानां	... 19 b.	...
यश्चिदापो	... 20-a.	...
यो देवेषु	... 20-b.	(6)
नव	9	

The above table shows that the two *anuvākas* o A. V. IV. 2. and V. 27. which recount the glory of Agni were put together in a beautifully connected and revised form in the *Yajur-veda* T. S. IV. i. 8. as verses 1-20 and given a new usage in the Yajur Veda—1—12 for fore-offerings of animals and 13-20 for *āghāra*, *yājyās*, *puronuvākyas* etc., for offerings and oblations. The index shows that in the order of memorising the verses, the first twelve verses of T S. IV. i. 8. corresponding to A. V. V. 27. are grouped

under one catch-word ऊर्ध्वा while the later verses 14—20 are separately indexed with separate catch-words, thus showing that these verses of A. V. having been tacked on to the first 12 verses, had to be distinctly marked for memorising.

It is significant that so many A. V. verses as II. 6. (1-5), VII. 82-3., VII. 84. 1., VII. 16., VII. 53- 1., are all combined together in T. S. IV. i. 7. to form a complete set of verses called *sāmidhenī* verses, singing the glory of Agni, to whom the kindling sticks (*samits*) are offered.

Note—(2). The eleven verses in T. B. III. v. 2. are introduced by a statement which shows that the *sāmidhenī* verses are intended to ward of all evil from enemies. That implication is absent in the *Saṁhitā* verses (T. S. IV. i. 7)., all the 10 verses being simply put in between the 9th and the 10th of the T. B. verses in the animal offerings to fire. This interesting interposition seems to indicate that the T. B. *mantras* mark an intermediate stage (between the A. V. stage of the *mantras* being used purely for *Kāmya* purposes and the T. S. stage when the mantras obtained a completely ritualistic use in animal sacrifices) when the T. B. *mantras* were used for prayer to Agni, to whom the Samits were offered for release from enemies.

Note—(3). As regards the *āprī*-verses—T. S. IV. i. 8. (1-20)—(A. V. V. 27 (1 12) and IV. 2. (1-8)—we are told in T. S. V. i. 8 that when Prajāpati created man, He became empty and when he saw these "*Āprī verses*" from the head, He "*satisfied Himself*". So the sacrificer, we are told is "satisfied" by being associated with the *Āprī* verses. That is to say, the addition of the *Āprī* verses (T. S. IV. i. 8.) to the *Sāmidhenī* verses (T. S IV. i. 7). completes the ritualistic value of the sacrifice. This is the explanation for T. S. IV. i. 7 and 8, being put together in the *Yajur Veda* though these two *anuvākas* represent several *anuvākas* and verses in the *Atharva Veda*, as has been noticed above.

All these considerations lead but to one conclusion, viz., that the growth of ritualism and particularly the turn of ritualism to "animal offering" in the *Yajur-veda* marks a distinctly later stage than the simple ritualism of the *Atharva-veda*.

THE MYSTIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRAṆAVA – (*AUM*)

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The *Praṇava* — *AUM*, which is the mainstay of all metaphysical speculation in the Upaniṣads, is not found either in the *Atharva Veda Saṁhitā* or in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (*Yajur Veda*). In the *Sāvitrī-mantra* and the letters that make up the *Sūrya-aṣṭākṣarī* in the Kāṭhaka, in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, mention is made of the 8 letters being preceded and followed by the letter *ŚRÎ* and not *AUM*. In the *Sūryopaniṣad* of the *Atharva Veda*, which recites the *Sūrya-aṣṭākṣarī*, we find mention of the letter *AUM* before the 8 letters. We have to think that the value of *AUM* as an esoteric mystic symbol must have originated at a time later than the *Saṁhitā*-period and developed during the Upaniṣadic period and worked into a wonderful system of philosophic speculation from the point of view of Jñāna and of the basis of *UPĀSANĀ* or meditation for realisation through *Karma* and *Bhakti*. The important stages in the development of thought round the *Praṇava* would seem to be—

(1) *Atharva-saṁhitā*, *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* *AUM* not a mystic symbol.

(2) *Kāṭhaka* (*Tattirīya Brāhmaṇa*)—*ŚRÎ* and not *AUM* is the mystic symbol.

(3) In the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*-Prasna I. 11th *Anuvāka* the *Gāyatrī* is not preceded by *AUM*.

(4) *Tripura-tāpinī-upaniṣad* of the *Atharva Veda* mentions that the syllable *AUM* originated philologically thus —

"अकार उकारो मकार इति तेनैक्या सम्भवति तदोमिति ।"

It calls it "*Praṇava*" svarūpa. "प्रत्यगानन्दं ब्रह्म पुरुषं प्रणवस्वरूपं"

(5) It is this upaniṣad that gives the fourth *pāda* of the *Gāyatrī* and equates it with the *akṣara* ह्रीं (Hrīm) in the *Mātrika-Pañcadaśākṣarī*.

(6) *Atharva-śikhopaniṣad* of the *Atharva Veda* makes, *AUM* the symbol for *Upāsanā* as ओं१, ओं२, ओं३, (*Hrasva*, *Dīrgha*, *Pluta*) (this *pluta* is the sound very peculiar to the *Atharva Veda*).

(7) *The Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad* of the *Atharva Veda* gives a metaphysical analysis of *AUM*, and treats of its components अ, उ, म् and ½ *mātrā* (as the fourth *pāda*).

(8) The *Taittirīyāraṇyaka* (*Upaniṣad*) *śikṣāvallī* recites the mystic significances of *AUM* (*Anuvāka* 8).

It is to this philological building up and splitting up of the syllable *AUM*, that we should trace the growth of the whole *Mantra Śāstra*, dealing with *Bījākṣaras*, and the *mantras* of the various deities formed of letters made up of one, two, three, four, five, six.....even up to forty seven, as seen in the highly imaginative *Rāma-rahasya Upaniṣad* of the *Atharva Veda*, where the combinations of letters up to 47 in number are dealt with in connection with the *upāsanā* of *Śrī Rāma*. An explanation of रा and म of Rāma is also given here. So also, in the "Sītā Upaniṣad" of the *Atharva Veda*, an explanation is given of the component sounds of the word सीता. A whole text of these *bījākṣaras*, *mantras*, *mālās*, etc. is met with in the later *Atharva-veda Upaniṣad* known as the *Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad*, which marks a highly developed stage of Vaiṣṇavism and the mystic cult of the *mantra śāstra*. The Mahā-narāyaṇopaniṣad seems, in fact, to have been the finest product of the Upaniṣadic literature of the *Śaiva*, *Vaiṣṇava*, *Śākta*, and *Saura* cults of the modern age. *Rāmatāpanīyā Upaniṣad* of the *Atharva Veda* mentions these four cults and also the fifth *Gāṇapatya* cult. It has also specific reference to the *Purāṇas* besides *Itihāsas*—(c. f.) Nrsimhatāpanī-Upaniṣad). The *Akṣamālikopaniṣad* of

the *Ṛgveda* refers only to three cults—the *Śāiva*, the *Vaiṣṇava*, and the *Śākta*. In the *Gāṇapatiya-Upaniṣad* of the *Yājur Veda*, *Gaṇapati* is referred to as a form of *Śakti*. It must be that the five cults got separately built up at the time of the *Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad* of the *Atharva Veda*.

The climax of the *Mantra Śāstra* seems to have been reached in the *Śāṇḍilyopaniṣad* of the *Atharva Veda*, where—

(1) *Aṣṭāṅga-yoga* and the practice of it is made most important for the attainment of *Siddi* (the fulfilment of human desires of all sorts) and of *Samādhi* (salvation).

(2) The *upāsanā* of *AUM* is made identical with that of the *upāsanā of Devī*, for it says that *Bāla Gāyatrī* is represented by अ, *Sāvitrī* is represented by उ, and *Sarasvatī* is represented by म्, and says that *AUM Praṇava* is *Param Jyoti* in the form of *Devī*. It lays down rules for *Prāṇāyāma* with the aid of these mantras, *Gāyatrī Sāvitrī* and *Sarasvatī*, equivalent to the *Upāsanā* of Praṇava or *AUM* which is considered to be necessary for *Upāsanā*, in the other Upaniṣads.

NOTE.—

In the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (*Aruṇa Praśna*) *Anuvaka* 12, we read" *Subrahmaṇya-Aum*, *Subrahmaṇya Aum*, *Subrahmaṇya Aum*". In his commentary Sāyaṇāchārya says that *Subrahmaṇya* means the "Good Friend of Veda ", viz. Indra, and that *Aum* is an expletive of invocation. The word *Subrahmaṇya* occurs also in *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* III. vii 7. *Aśvamedha Brāhmaṇa*. In his commentary *Śrī Sāyaṇārya* says that *Subrahmaṇya* is a *Devatā*. This shows that *Subrahmaṇya* was *Indra* and one of the deities. It fits in with the conception that *Indra* is the chief of the *Devas* and that Subrahmaṇya is the commander-in-chief of the *Devas*. The Syllable *Aum* was at first a syllable of invocation, as it still is, during the *Yāgas*. The philological breaking up of the sound into *A*, *U* and *M*, as the first, the middle, and the last of the scheme of sounds, gave it the new significance of *Praṇava*, standing, in the language of philosophy, for the Ultimate *Brahman*, who embodies in himself all that exists in the Universe.

ŚĀṄKHĀYANA AND KAUṢĪTAKA

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It has been, for a considerably long time, supposed that the Kauṣītaka and Śāṅkhāyana are different names of the same *śākhā* of the *Ṛgveda*. This view of the identity of the Kauṣītaka and Śāṅkhāyana is very old. Manuscripts of the literature of the Śāṅkhāyanas very often bear the name of the Kauṣītakins either in the colophons or in the titles or in both. The names Kauṣītakin and Śāṅkhāyana occur indiscriminately. To mention only a few instances —

1. The edition of *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa* in the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series goes by the name of the *Śaṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa*. The same text, printed long ago by Lindner in Europe, bears the name of *Kauṣītaka Brāhmaṇa*.

2. The edition of the *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya* in the Benares Sanskrit Series is interesting. At the outset we find the words अथ कौषीतकिगृह्यसूत्रम् and at the end we find इति शाङ्खायन-शाखायाः कौषीतकिगृह्यसूत्रे षष्ठोऽध्यायः समाप्तः । समाप्तोऽयं ग्रन्थः । इदमेव कौशिकसूत्रम् and the *Śāṅkhāyana-gṛhya-saṅgraha* published along with this is based on these *sūtras*.

Historians of Vedic Literature are under the notion that Śāṅkhāyana and Kauṣītaka are two names of the same *śākhā*. Winternitz for instance says "In closest relationship with this *Brāhmaṇa* (*Aitareya*) is the *Kauṣītaki* of *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa*."[1] Dr. Keith in the preface to his translation of the *Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas* says "Manuscripts of the book which show the title *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* as the normal title have as a variant here and there *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa*; the most exact version, that preserved in the Bodleau Library is *Kauṣītakamatānusāri Śāṅkhāyana*

[1]See page 190, Vol. I, Winternitz, Translated to English.

Brāhmaṇa. There is no mention of Śāṅkhāyana in the text, and Vināyakabhaṭṭa, the commentator on the Brāhmaṇa, never mentions it under the title Śāṅkhāyana, but we cannot reasonably deny that this is a case where tradition should be respected and where we must admit that in all probability the version of the doctrine of the Kauṣītaka school is preserved for us in a Śāṅkhāyana tradition. This view receives solid support from the fact that the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta-sūtra* is so closely connected with the Brāhmaṇa. Nothing however turns on the fact except the explanation of the title given in many of the manuscripts."[1] Later on he remarks " A second quasi supplement to the Kauṣītaki is contained in the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta-sūtra*."[1] Dr. Keith's translation under the name " *Kauṣītaka Brāhmaṇa* " is based on the edition of the work by Dr. Lindner. It may however be pointed out here that in so far as the Āraṇyaka is concerned Dr. Keith does not refer to it as *Kauṣītaki Araṇyaka*, but only as *Śāṅkhāyana Araṇyaka*.

Dr. Aufrecht in his catalogus Catalogorum, Vol. I says,

Kauṣītakāraṇyaka see *Śāṅkhāyanāraṇyaka*.
Kauṣītakabrāhmaṇa or *Śāṅkhāyanabrāhmaṇa*.
Kauṣītakabrāhmaṇopaniṣad—adhy. 3—6 of the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*.
Śāṅkhāyanabrāhmaṇa see *Kauṣītakibrāhmaṇa*.
Śāṅkhyāyanāraṇyakopaniṣad see *Kauṣītakabrāhmaṇopaniṣad*.

Instances of such statements, seeking to identify one with the other can be multiplied. The object of this paper is to examine this question carefully and investigate the problem.

Paṇḍit Bhagavad Datta first attempted at a serious examination of this problem and with the evidence available he came to the *a priori* conclusion that Śāṅkhāyana is different from Kauṣītaka. Subsequent researches confirm this view.

1 Page 37-8, *Rgveda Brāhmaṇas Translated* Harvard.

Dr. Lindner consulted a number of manuscripts of the Brāhmaṇa when he edited the work. All his manuscripts, except one, agreed very closely. The one that did not, came from Malabar, and it belongs to the Burnell Collection, now deposited in the India Office, London. Describing this particular manuscript, Burnell says, "The work is styled *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* throughout. The division into sections in the Adhyāyas differs also here and there, from that of the commentary (of Vināyakabhaṭṭa) and other manuscripts." The remarks of Dr. Lindner himself are to the following effect:—'The manuscript shows firstly another division of the text, since *adhyāya* 22 closes with *khaṇḍa* 5 and *khaṇḍas* 6-9 of the same *adhyāya* are taken on to the next. Further, the division of the *khaṇḍas* is a different one and seldom agrees with that of the rest of the manuscripts, and of the commentary. There are 260 *khaṇḍas* on the whole as against 276 of the previous enumeration, out of which five anyhow have been left out through the mistake of the scribe (XVI-10 and XXVI, 3 to 5). The text itself shows marked variations from all other manuscripts, often the treatment being quite different, sometimes shorter and sometimes longer, and in certain instances, another application for the same thought. Since the manuscript is full of mistakes, it could not be used for fixing the text, except in particular cases. The rest of the manuscript agrees practically with the commentary. Lindner does not show where each *Khaṇḍa* begins and ends according to the Malayālam ms. Evidently Lindner was not aware of the value of the tradition preserved in that manuscript.

The remarks of Lindner made Paṇḍit Bhagavad Datta think in the right direction. The remarks made in the Catalogue of manuscripts in the Oriental Library, Mysore, under the heading "*Kauṣītakiśrautasūtra*" that the manuscript in that library showed in the constitution of the khaṇḍas certain variations from the printed Śāṅkhāyana

added one more argument, and the Paṇḍit came to the conclusion that the Śāṅkhāyana is different from the Kauṣītaka. He observed also certain differences in the readings of the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*. The conclusion of the Paṇḍit can be stated thus—

1. There are four divisions of the Śāṅkhāyana and they are (i) *Śāṅkhāyana Śākhā*.
 (ii) *Kauṣītaki Śākhā*.
 (iii) *Mahākauṣītaki Śākhā*.
 (iv) *Śāmbavya Śākhā*.

2. The first of these is represented by a *Saṁhitā*, a *Brāhmaṇa*, an *Āraṇyaka*, a *Śrauta* and a *Gṛhya*, that the second is represented by a *Brāhmaṇa*, an *Āraṇyaka*, a *Śrauta* and a *Gṛhya*, that the third is known through only two references in the commentary of Brahmadatta on the *Śāṅkhāyana*, and that the last is known through one reference in the *Bhavatrātabhāṣya* on the *Jaiminīya Śrauta Sūtra* as a *Kalpakāra*.

3. And that Suyajña is an *ācārya* of the Kauṣītakins.

The position taken by Paṇḍit Bhagavad Datta is the correct one, though in certain details his statements may have to be modified. The edition of the work by Lindner and in the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit series represent the same text, and very probably it was known only as *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa*. The text represented by the Malayālam manuscript of Lindner is different from the one printed by Lindner and in all likelihood it is the proper *Kauṣītaka* text of the *Brāhmaṇa*. The commentary of Vināyakabhaṭṭa,[1] according to the statement of Lindner, Keith and others is on the printed text, the *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa*; but Vināyakabhaṭṭa calls his, a commentary on the *Kauṣītakibrāhmaṇa* most probably thinking that the Śāṅkhāyana and Kauṣītaka are not different. In the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library and the Adyar Library, Madras, there are copies of

[1] I have not yet examined the manuscript myself.

a commentary on the *Kauṣītaka Brāhmaṇa*, composed by one Udaya. The commentary goes by the name of *Sadarthavimarśinī*. The concluding verse of each of the *adhyāyas* mentions the fact that the commentary is on the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*. In one of the opening verses he says : "कुर्वे कौषीतकि-ब्राह्मणविवृतिमहं केवलं बुद्धिशुद्धयै." The text on which this author Udaya comments upon differs from the one printed by Lindner and the Ānandāśrama. The difference in the constitution of the *Khaṇḍas* in each *adhyāya* is marked. From the material available I am not in a position to state how many *Khaṇḍas* there were in each *adhyāya* for the copies of the commentary do not indicate the ends of *Khaṇḍas* except in a few cases. And I have not yet been able to get at the Malayālam copy of Dr. Burnell mentioned by Dr. Lindner.[2] But from what can be seen from the manuscripts of the commentary, the following deviations can be mentioned.

1st Adhyāya.

Printed text	*Commentary of Udaya*
Khaṇḍa I	Khaṇḍa I. Same beginning.
	II. This begins in the middle of *Khaṇḍa* I of the printed text पौर्णमासं, etc., and ends where the first *Khaṇḍa* ends in the printed book.
Khaṇḍa II, III	III. Same. But this *Khaṇḍa* here combines the third *Khaṇḍa* in the printed text.
Khaṇḍa IV, V	IV Same, but ends with यानितं भवति at almost the end of the fourth *Khaṇḍa* in the printed text.

2. After this paper was sent to the Press, I was able to procure this ms. on loan. The results of a detailed examination of that copy will be published later.

V. पदपङ्क्तयः after भवति begins the next *Khaṇḍa* and the end is the same as in the printed text.

2nd Adhyāya.

Khaṇḍa I — I. Same.

Khaṇḍa II — II. Beginning same, but ends with यजमानं दधाति in the same *Khaṇḍa*.

III. Begins from द्विरदीचीम् and ends where the second in the printed text ends.

Khaṇḍa III — IV. Same beginning.

Khaṇḍa VII — VI. This *Khaṇḍa* begins from स वै सायं जुहोति the end of the seventh *Khaṇḍa* of the printed text.

Khaṇḍa IX — IX. This *Khaṇḍa* begins from तदुह स्माह found in the middle of *Khaṇḍa* IX of the printed text.

3rd Adhyāya.

Khaṇḍa I — I. Same.

Khaṇḍa II — II. Same.

Khaṇḍa III — III. Same.

Khaṇḍa IV — IV. Same, but ends with इतरेष्वनुविभजति in the middle of the fourth of the printed text.

V. Begins with अथ यदुत्तमे in the middle of the fourth of the printed text.

Khaṇḍa V. Middle — तौ वै जुघाणयाश्वौ occurring after three lines from the beginning, begins another *Khaṇḍa*, but we do not know whether it is the 6th or 7th *Khaṇḍa*.

Khaṇḍa VI, Middle	अथ यदात्मा begins a fresh *Khaṇḍa*.
Khaṇḍa VII, Middle	अथ यदिदा begins a fresh *Khaṇḍa*.
Khaṇḍa VIII	The beginning of the fresh *Khaṇḍa* is the same.
Khaṇḍa IX	
Khaṇḍa IX, Middle	सोमं प्रथमं begins a fresh *Khaṇḍa*,

4th Adhyāya

Khaṇḍas I, II, III, IV	Same.
Khaṇḍas V, VI and VIII	V. These are combined into one *Khaṇḍa*.
Khaṇḍa X	VII
Khaṇḍa XI	VIII.
Khaṇḍa XII	IX.
Khaṇḍa XIII	X.
Khaṇḍa XIV	XI, XII. The beginnig is the same as that of the 14th *Khaṇḍa* of the printed text but ends with शान्तमन्नमस्त्वामीति. The rest of the *Khaṇḍa* is constituted into a different one.

Thus in the fourth *Adhyāya* the number of *Khaṇḍas* in the printed text is fourteen whereas according to the commentator it is only 12.

5th Adhyāya

Khaṇḍa IV	IV. The fourth *Khaṇḍa* ends with the second line in the fourth *Khaṇḍa* of the printed text. प्रतिष्ठिता पृथ्व.
	V. Begins in the middle of the fourth of the printed text, अथो मध्यस्थः
Khaṇḍa V	VI.

Khaṇḍa V, Middle	VII. Begins with अथ यन्मरुत:
Khaṇḍa VI	VIII. This *Khaṇḍa* ends in the middle of the sixth of the printed text with एनानवाहयति.
Khaṇḍa VI, the rest and VII	IX. Begins with अथ यदग्नि and ends with the end of VII of the printed text.
Khaṇḍa VIII	X.
Khaṇḍa IX	XI.

6th Adhyāya.

The printed text contains fifteen *Khaṇḍas* whereas the commentary says there are only eleven *Khaṇḍas* in this *adhyāya*.

Khaṇḍa I	I.
Khaṇḍa II	II.
Khaṇḍa III—XI	III—VIII end with स्व स्वाहेति in the middle of the XII of the printed text.
Khaṇḍa XII, Middle XIII XIV	IX begins with एष ह वै and ends with in the middle of XIV of the printed text.
Khaṇḍa XIV, Middle XV, Middle	X begins with अथ प्राणान् संसृशति and ends with लोकस्य in the middle of the XIV of the printed text. XI begins with चातुर्मास्यैः.

The differences in other *Adhyāyas*, I am not able to state at present. But it may be pointed out that the division of the text as found in the Malayālam manuscript of Lindner in *Adhyāyas* 22 and 23 are faithfully followed in the commentary. Besides in the 18th *Adhyāya*, *Khaṇḍas* 1 to 5 found in the edition of Lindner are not found according to the commentator. The last *adhyāya* begins in the middle of the first *Khaṇḍa* of the last *adhyāya* of Lindner.

The same cannot be said with regard to the *Āraṇyaka*. Portion of the *Āraṇyaka* is available with a commentary thereon and it does not show the details relating to the *Khaṇḍas*. The portion I refer to is the *Kauṣītaka Brāhmaṇopaniṣad* or the *Kauṣītakyupaniṣad* as it is otherwise called. It forms Chapters 3-6 of the *Kauṣītaki Āraṇyaka*. The Ānandāśrama has published the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* and a comparison of the text printed in the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series with the one found in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, with the commentary of Vedātman reveals a number of textual differences. The text of the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇopaniṣad* edited with the commentary of Upaniṣad Brahmendra in Adyar is more or less he same as the one found with a commentary in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. The Government Manuscript does not indicate the *Khaṇḍas*, but the Adyar edition does and there is a great deal of difference between that division and the one found in the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*.[1]

With regard to the Śrauta Sūtra I was able to examine three manuscripts of the *Śrauta Sūtra of the Kauṣītakins* and compare them with the text edited by Hillebrandt. The differences in the textual portion are slight, but the division into *Khaṇḍas* shows many variations. They are tabulated thus below—

	Śāṅkhāyana		*Kauṣītaka*
Adhyāya	I	17 *Khaṇḍas*	12 *Khaṇḍas*
	II	17	14
	III	21	18
	IV	21	14
	V	20	16
	VI	13	14
	VII	27	18

1 The differences have been indicated in parallel columns in a paper, to be published in the Annals of Oriental Research Institute, University of Madras.

Śāṅkhāyana		*Kauṣītaka*	
Adhyāya VIII	25 *Khaṇḍas*		7 *Khaṇḍas*
IX	28		17
X	21		21
XI	15		11
XII	27		26
XIII	29		20
XIV	34		34
XV	27		15
XVI	30	XVI	12
		XVII	12
		XVIII	13

Adhyāya XVI of the *Śāṅkhāyana* is divided into three *Adhyāyas* in the *Kauṣītaka* (*i.e.*) XVI, XVII and XVIII.

The last two *Adhyāyas* found in the *Śāṅkhāyana* text are found omitted in the manuscripts of the *Kauṣītaka*. It is not known whether there were more *Adhyāyas* in the *Kauṣītaka*; if there were, they are not available at present.

Coming to the *Gṛhya of the Kauṣītakins*, it may be observed at the outset that there are now available two sets of Gṛhya Sūtras, one going under the name of *Kauṣītakin*, but printed as the *Gṛhya of the Śāṅkhāyanas* in the Benares Sanskrit Series and the other, which is still in manuscript form under the name of *Kauṣītaka* in certain manuscripts and *Śāṁbavya* in a copy of the commentary thereof. A manuscript of the *Kārikās* of the *Kauṣītakins* also states that the *Gṛhya* was named after *Śāṁbavya*. In manuscripts of the work now printed as *Kauṣītaka Gṛhya* in Benares, *Śāṅkhāyana* is mostly found as the name of the author. Later *Nibandhakāras* who quote from the *Śāṅkhāyana* always refer to the text as printed in the Benares Sanskrit Series. The natural conclusion is that the text of the *Kauṣītaka Gṛhya* is different from the printed text which is styled sometimes as *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya*.

The two texts of the *Gṛhya* show a certain amount of similarity but there are innumerable differences at the same time. The relationship may be shown thus—

Śaṅkhāyana Gṛhya	*Kauṣītaka Gṛhya*
I-iv	I-i
vi	ii
vii-viii, middle	iii
viii-rest, ix—a portion	iv
	v
x	vi
xi	vii
xii—xiv	viii
xvi, xvii	x and the latter part of xi
	xi ; the rest is additional.
xviii	xii
xix	xiii
xx	xiv
xxi	xv
xxii	xvi
xxiii	xvii
xxiv	xviii
xxv	xxix
xxvi	xx
xxvii	xxi
xxviii	xxiii
II	
i, ii	i
iii, iv	ii
v, vi	iii
viii, ix, x	iv
vii	v
IV-ix, x	vi
II-xi, xii	vii
xiii	xiii

Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya	*Kauṣītaka Gṛhya*
III	
i	i
ii, iii	ii
iv	iii
v, vi, vii	iv
viii, ix, x	v
xi	vi
IV-v	vii
IV-vi	viii
IV-vii, viii	ix
II-xiv, xvii	x
IV-xi	xi, xii, xiii
IV-i, ii	xvi
III-xii, xiii	xvii
IV	
IV-xv	i
xvi	ii
xvii	iii
	iv
xviii, xix	v
	V

Nothing is common between the matter contained in the fifth *Adhyāya* of the *Kauṣītaka* and the fifth of the *Śāṅkhāyana*. Nothing corresponding to the sixth *Adhyāya* of the *Śāṅkhāyana* is found in the *Kauṣītaka*.

The above analysis clearly indicates that the two *Gṛhyas* are entirely different, but allied works. So much with regard to these works.

The conclusion may be stated in short thus:—The Śāṅkhāyanas were allied but different from the Kauṣītakins. Each possessed a *Brāhmaṇa*, *Āraṇyaka*, *Śrauta* and *Gṛhya*, one different from the other. Taking into consideration the facts II (1) that in one of the manuscripts of the *Ṛgveda* in

the Alwar Palace, the remarks that the particular manuscript follows the *Śāṅkhāyana Śākhā* II (2) that in the *Kavīndrācāryasūcīpatra* there is mention of a *Śāṅkhāyana Śākhā* and II (3) also the fact that the *Caraṇa-vyūha* mentions the *Śāṅkhāyana Śākhā*, it may not be far wrong to assume that the *Brāhmaṇa Araṇyaka, Śrauta* and *Gṛhya* going under the name of *Śāṅkhāyana* belonged to that *Śākhā* of the *Ṛgveda*. Similarly there should have existed another *Śākhā* of the *Ṛgveda* called *Kauṣītaka Śākhā* for which the *Brāhmaṇa, Araṇyaka, Śrauta* and *Gṛhya* are available.

A word with regard to the authorship of the *Śrauta* and *Gṛhya* of the two schools : Varadattasuta, in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya* makes the following remarks—

स्वमतस्थापनार्थं सुयज्ञाचार्यः श्रुतिमुदाजहार । 1, ii, 18.
साहचर्यं सुयज्ञेन सर्वत्र प्रतिपादितम् । V, vi, 7.
शेषं परिभाषां चोक्त्वा प्रक्रमते ततो भगवान् सुयज्ञः सूत्रकारः ।
XI, i, 1.

These three extracts lead us to the definite conclusion that in the opinion of Varadattasuta, the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta* was the composition of one Suyajñācārya. This conclusion is strengthened by other references.

The author of the Kauṣītaka Śrauta Kārikā[1] remarks :

मीमांसावज्रसंविद्धाः श्रुत्यर्थमणयोऽमलाः ।
भान्ति यत्सूत्रसंप्रोताः तं सुयज्ञमुनिं भजे ॥
सुयज्ञसूत्रजलधेर्यैस्कृता वृत्तिनौरियं ।
प...र्यां सन्तमाचार्यं वरदत्तसुतं श्रये ॥

These verses mean beyond doubt that the text on which Varadatta commented was by Suyajña. Again in one place in the *Kauṣītakibrāhmaṇa-vāykhyā*,[2] Udaya quotes the *sūtras* of Suyajña-muni and they are traceable to the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta* ; it may, however, be pointed out that there is some slight difference in the reading, the reading adopted by Udaya agreeing with that found in *Kauṣītaka Śrauta* ;

[1] R. 4338, p. 2.

[2] p. 1088, in the transcript in my possession.

but it is possible that the reading in the printed *Śāṅkhāyana* is wrong. Tentatively therefore it may be assumed that the published *Śāṅkhāyana Sūtras* are by Suyajña.

Who then is the author of the *Kauṣītaki Sūtras*? They are probably by Śāmbavya. The evidences are not very strong, but they are enough to make the suggestion that perhaps Śāmbavya was the author. They are—

1. Bhavatrāta in his *bhāṣya* on the *Jaiminīya-śrauta-sūtra* remarks in one place :

"आश्वलायनः षड्भिः पटलैः समस्तं यज्ञतन्त्रमवोचत्, तदेव चतुर्विंशत्यावदत् शाम्बव्यः।"

This extract pre-supposes several things. The division of the *Āśvalāyana Śrauta*, known to us now is in 12 *Adhyāyas*. There seems to have been another division into 6 *Paṭalas*, but we do not know about it at present. Bhavatrāta says that what Āśvalāyana wrote in 6 *Paṭalas*, Śāmbavya wrote in 24 *Paṭalas*. Who is the Śāmbavya and what is his work? We know of a *Śāṁbavya Gṛhya*—a work which is closely allied to the *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya* and which in the colophon is ascribed to *Kauṣītaka*. The commentary of Śvetadatta on this work begins thus—

"कौषीतकं तथाचार्यं शाम्बव्यं सूत्रकृत्तमम्।"

The concluding verses run thus—

"शाम्बव्योक्तेन विधिना कर्म कुर्वन्ति ये द्विजाः।"

From this it is clear that the *Gṛhya* on which Śvetadatta comments is the *Śāṁbavya Gṛhya*. There is another work called *Kauṣītaka Gṛhyakārikā* which also tells us at the outset that Śāṁbavya was the *Sūtrakāra* for the *Kauṣītakins* and that he wrote a *Gṛhya* in five chapters. Bhavatrāta also has commented on the *Gṛhya*. Bhavatrāta elsewhere tells us that the *Yajñatantra* of Śāṁbavya consisted of 24 *Paṭalas*. Thus there is a *Śrauta* and a *Gṛhya* of Śāṁbavya ; the latter goes under the name of *Kauṣītaka* in manuscripts. It is

therefore likely that the *Śrauta* of Śāṁbavya also goes by the name of *Kauṣītaka* in manuscripts. If so, does the *Kauṣītaka-śrauta-sūtra* represent the *Śrauta* of Śāṁbavya?

In short the conclusions are—

1. The *Śāṅkhāyana* is different from the *Kauṣītaka*.

2. Each is represented by a *Saṁhitā*, a *Brāhmaṇa*, an *Araṇyaka*, a *Śrauta* and *Gṛhya*.

3. Those published, belong to the *Śāṅkhāyana Śākhā*.

4. The entire literature of the *Kauṣītakins* except for a portion of the *Āraṇyaka*——the *Upaniṣad*, remains unpublished.

5. The *Śrauta* and the *Gṛhya* of the *Śāṅkhāyana* is by Suvajña, a pupil of Kauṣītaka.

6. The *Śrauta* and the *Gṛhya* of the Kauṣītakins is by Śāṁbavya, another pupil of Kauṣītaka.

SECTION II

IRANIAN SECTION.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

THE PRESENT STATE OF IRANIAN STUDIES IN THE WORLD.

SOHRAB JAMSHEDJEE BULSARA, M. A.

Circumstances of General Depression.

The state of Iranian learning in the world is not very bright just at present. The old veteran scholars have almost all disappeared, and their place is not taken by others of the same eminence in an exclusive field. The West once bristled with great Iranian scholars ; but so few remain there now that ardour for Iranian learning was never so low there since the days when Anquetil du Perron startled the world by his discoveries of a living form of Zoroastrianism in India. The great interest it had then roused in Europe was natural because the people there wanted to have a more intimate knowledge of what classical writers had told them since two and a half millenniums ago.

Marked Indifference towards Religion in the Modern World.

There are various reasons why that happens to be so. There is, in the first instance, a marked indifference towards Religion in the World, especially in the western world. Even Atheism is rampant in some parts of that world ; and that is not confined to Soviet Russia alone. Religiousness in the old sense has steadily been disappearing on all sides ; and although this has culminated in Atheism in only one great union of nations, it has steadily declined in its fervour among all the western peoples, and in weakening even in the orthodox and slowly changing East.

That growing lack of interest in Religion is naturally affecting all inquiry and studies which that interest inspired in all peoples and concerning all aspects and forms of Religion. The basest forms of Religion were once studied with curiosity and care, and disclosed man's craving for the supermundane creed found in all phases of human history and among all grades of the human species. Whereas studies of the religions of the Aryans of India and of the Iranians were pursued by all scholars with as great fervour and inquired into with as great learning as those concerning their own.

Leading to less Attention to Literature mainly dealing with it.

A decline of interest in Religion in general would naturally lead to less interest in a field of oriental study which happens to have primarily a religious interest, as the texts of the preserved Avesta happen to have. Happily, however, that has not touched Indian learning so much, apparently because the sacred language of the Hindus embodies a much larger literature of a wide and varied interest. Once a young scholar of the West masters the Sanskrit language, he finds exposed to his view Religion, History, Law, Medicine, and Mundane Literature of great variety and interest. Unfortunately that is not so with the sacred language of the ancient Iranians, although we find all these subjects dealt with more or less in the ancient Iranian literature also.

Circumstances Which were Hostile to the Preservation of Ancient Iranian.

The Geographical conditions of Iran and India are responsible for this difference. The peninsular state of India and a prevailing common faith of its vast masses of inhabitants gave India enough chances of higher studies and meditative and religious pursuits of a consistent nature. Iran, however, was surrounded on all sides by hostile or, barbarous nations against which her heroic people had almost

continuously to guard themselves by constant campaigns or huge defensive measures and actions which absorbed a great part of their activities. A brief period of weakness following internecine troubles and a movement among her south-western erstwhile subjects of an unusual nature in all human history, brought upon her a foreign and subversive domination which gave a severe blow to the further growth of her spiritual instincts along natural lines and the corresponding literature which would arise out of the activities of such instincts. India was fortunate in escaping a similar fate owing to her lying further away, owing to her vast extent and population and owing to the tenacious eremitic element in her faith.

Another Reason why Progress of Avestan Literature was gravely impeded.

This, however, was not the only cause of the paucity of Avestan Literature and the small survival of its language. The Iranians' vulnerable position from various sides and their constant engagements with enemies and the none the rare depredations of these, had also often caused movements among themselves which appear to have seriously disturbed the continuity of her ancient learning. And so while the languages of peninsular nations such as Sanskrit, Greek and Latin have almost been kept alive up to modern times, the Avestan language has been dead long since and its scientific and exact preservation and continuation made impossible by such circumstances.

Some Relieving Features.

Still, however, the discoveries of documents in the later forms of the Avestan Language and their decipherment are likely to revive some interest in Iranian studies. The discoveries of some Pahlavi writing in Central Asia and of thousands of Achaemenian tablets in the foundations of Persepolis inspire such hope in us. An even greater hope is raised in us by the fact of American archaeological missions

digging in the environments of ancient Raghes with a determination to discover ancient documents of the Avestan age that prevailed there for a very long time.

Nevertheless, the scope of Avestan studies is comparatively very small just at present, and mainly confined to themes of pure religion and deep religious philosophy only. And, although the precious documents this little literature comprises are of the highest human interest as they are records of the earliest human history and of the purest creed of the Aryan race, they in their present state of interpretation and extent naturally offer a less inviting field to the younger students of the western world.

Better Understanding of the Beauties of the Avesta may Further relieve the Situation.

Unfortunately again, the beauties of the Avesta are in a great measure marred by the methods of study that are pursued in understanding its meaning. The terms on which thought pivots and bears meaning, are generally left in original forms and therefore unintelligible to the reader who is unacquainted with the original language. That leaves the remainder of the meaning unillumined and mysterious to the general reader, and not exactly clear even to the student of the subject. Hence apparently an improvement in this method of translation is bound to add considerable interest and zest to the study of the Avesta.

The Need of having to master a Number of Iranian Languages is Another Hitch in the Progress of Old Iranian Studies.

What is more, while a knowledge of the language of any other branch of oriental studies, is generally sufficient for a deep knowledge of that branch, the case is different and more difficult with ancient Iranian studies, because, beside a deep knowledge of the Avestan the student is expected to know much of Pahlavi and Pazand and also to

have some acquaintance with the language of the Achaemenian period. This necessity is another reason which deters the western student from this branch of oriental learning.

Profound dealing with Iranian Subjects by Scholars working in other Fields.

Even under such circumstances however there is a relieving feature in the present state of Iranian learning. The fascination the sacred language of so celebrated a race as the ancient Persians and their great Median and Parthian cousins, ought to exercise on the Western mind, has led a number of scholars generally occupied in other fields, regularly doing very useful work in the field of aficient Iranian languages and culture. And happily and naturally that is generally done by students and masters of the Indian Branch of oriental learning. This has ended in a general study of Indian and Iranian religions and cultures side by side.

Hence although of such stalwarts as Du Perron, Gobineau, Burnouf, Cumont, Mohl and Darmesteter, De Harlez, Rapp, Spiegel, Geldner and Geiger, Noeldke, Haug, Windischmann, Hubschmann and Bartholomae, Westergaard and Christensen, Mills, West, Jackson and others, only a few survive, and therefore little work is done by scholars exclusively devoted to Iranian, there is still fairly a large band of scholars mostly engaged in different but allied fields who have been contributing a steady current of Iranian interest to modern learning. And it is a happy circumstance that scholars of the orient also are commencing to have a fair share in this noble occupation of Iranian studies.

Great Services of French and German Scholars to Iranian Learning.

Of all countries Germany and France have kept aflame the torch of Iranian learning the most and till the present time. France which took the lead originally has not receded

much in her natural interest in this field. Prof. Andre Honorat's recent visit to Iran in connection with the Teheran University's Foundation Day Celebrations, and the interest the University of Paris and the Government of France showed then towards Iran's cultural progress, leads us to believe that that interest of France in old Iran is still as alive as ever.

Eminent German Work in the Field of Iranian Research: Christian Bartholomae.

Among the most eminent of recent German scholars devoting special attention to Iranian research, was late Professor Christian Bartholomae. He has added lustre to the scholarship he displayed in his Avestan Dictionary, and his studies of the Gāthas and of Zarathushtra's Life and Teaching, by his masterful tracts on the great Pahlavi work on Sassanian Law which he had been studying for the last many years.*

Drs. Strothmann and Fritz Wolf.

Dr. Strothmann and Dr. Fritz Wolf have been showing themselves to be great masters of the themes of ancient Iranian History. Dr. Wolf who has been a translator of the Avesta on the basis supplied by the great Iranist Bartholomae, has prepared a wonderful work of great merit in his monumental "gossary of Firdawsi's Shah Nama." This last work shows the immense interest even present German Scholars are taking in Iranian learning and research.

Gunther and Rosenburg.

Professor. Hans Gunther and Dr. F. Rosenberg have been keenly advocating the excellance of Zorostrianism as the best form of Āryanism, and the latter has been advocating the introduction of its study in German schools and Universities.

*It may be noted here that the great Pahlavi work of the Hasar Dātastan has now been fully translated by Mr. Schrab J. Balsara of Bombay and published only recently under the title of "The Laws of the Ancient Persians:" The Fort Printing Press, Bombay.

Hertel, Andreas and Others.

Professor Johannes Hertel is well-known for his Iranian studies and his peculiar theories about the correct inter re. tation of the Avesta. He is said to have prepared translations on that basis of the Gāthas and the Vendidad which lie unpublished for want of funds. Professor F. C. Andreas is specially engaged on the Pahlavi Fragments from Chinese Turkistan in collaboration with Dr. W. Henning who is now appointed to the chair of Iranian in the School of Oriental Studies in London. Professor Hans H. Schraeder of Berlin is pursuing Manichean and historical researches. Professor Heinrich Junker who has been out of the Iranian field for some time, intends returning to it now. His edition of the Farhang-i Pahlavi and studies of the Afrin-i Gāhambar, the Avestan Alphabet and the Doctrine of the Zarvan are well known.

Dr. Ernest E. Herzfeld and Iranian Archaeology.

Dr. Ernest E. Herzfeld's great archaeological work and studies are specially worth noting. He has not only written the Archaeological History of Iran, but also edited some Achaemenian and Pahlavi inscriptions with great ability and learning. Unfortunately he has now given up his archaeological work in Iran and is at present in America, apparently preparing his recent studies on his work in archaeology. F. Sarre also has contributed important work to the science of Iranian Architecture.

Great French Iranists.
The Versatile Benveniste.

Among the present French Scholars Professor E. Benvenist has been the most prolific writer of Iranian subjects, which include "L'Iran-Vej et l'origine Legendaire des Iranians," "Le memorial Zarer, poeme pahlavi mazdeen", "Les classes sociales dans la tradition avestique," "Le text du Drakht Asurik et la versification pahlevie." "Termes et noms Achaemenides en Arameen," "Les Infinitifs Avestiques," "Les Absolutifs avestiques" etc. He has also dealt

with the Persian religion according to the Greek texts, and discussed the subject of the identification of Zarathushtra with Abraham, Baruch, Nimrod, Ham, Seth and Ballam by various early and late writers.

Professor Meillet's Work.

Another French scholar of merit who has dealt with Iranian is Professor A. Meillet, a pupil of the great Dermesteter. Among his writings on the subject are "La formation d'une langue de civilization en Perse, et la role des parthes arsacides," "La nature du gāthα de l' Avesta." "Trois conferences sur les gāthas de L' Avesta,"* etc. He had however contracted an unjustified aversion to the subject of what is known as the Later Avesta.

De Saussure and Others.

There are also a number of other interesting themes dealt with in French by scholars, including L. de Saussure's valuable studies of "Le systeme cosmologique sino-Iranien" and "L' origine iranienne des mansions lunaires arabes." F. Nau's "L' epoque de la derniere redaction de notre Avesta." E. Cavaignac's "L' origine du calendar Zoroastrien :" Gabriel Ferrands' "L' element persan dans les textes nautiques arabes des xvi^e^ et esiecles" P Pelliot's "des noms iranians dans les Memoires de Hiuan-tsang;". A Foucher's "Plusieurs noms iraniens de lieu du Kāpīca ches Hiuen-tsang ;" Frederic Macler's "Armenie et Chahnameh" etc.

Great Russian Scholars.

Inostantsev's Noteworthy Work and Works of Other Scholars.

Among Russian scholars, the writings of K. Inostrantsev have a peculiarly Parsi interest as they deal with such subjects as "Emigration of the Parsis to India," "Arabic

*This last has been translated into English by Professor Priyaranjan Sen of the Calcutta University.

Authors on the Sassanian Alphabtes," "Parsi Funeral Ceremony," "Ancient Iranian Burial Customs and Buildings," "The Sassanian Military Theory," "Rivers of Iranvej," "Ethnography of Southern Persia," "History of the Sacred Fires," etc. Mr. G. K. Nariman's posthumous work has made us familiar with the Russian scholar Barthold's work on Iran, and an interesting review of works on Iranian subjects by other Russians including Kossovitch's studies on passages from the Gāthas and on ancient Persian Inscriptions, C. G. Zalemann's brillient sketches of the pre-Islamic literature of Iran, B. A. Turavo's "History of the Ancient East" V. A. Zhukovsky's "The Ruins of Ancient Merv" etc.

Christensen, Nyberg, and Other Scholars.

The Danish savant A. Christensen's masterly work on Sessanian and other Iranian History keeps us fascinated as ever. The learned Professor H. S. Nyberg of Upsalla has been familar to us by some learned work on Iranian subjects and occasional studies on them. Guiseppe Messina's "Der Ursprung der Magier und die zarathuštrische Religion." G. Dumezil's "La prehistoire indo iranienne des castes." E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz's "Manichaische Dogmatik aus chineschischen und Iranischen Texten." B. Nikitine's "Le Roman Historique dans la Literature Persane Actuelle." E. W. K. Müller's work on the Turfan Manuscripts. Dr. M. Winternitz's Ethics of Zorostranism, etc. are other works worth noting.

Pettazoni, Lommel and Others.

Professor Raffaelle Pettazoni's "La Religion de zarathushtra," Professor Hermann Lommel's "Gāthas des Zarathushtra," Professor V. Le Coq's "Iranian Influences on Central Asia and beyond" and Mgr. Nathan Soederblom's "La Vie Future dans La Mazdaisme" are all studies of merit.

Veteran Aurel Stein and others.

Veteran Sir Aurel Stein's "Archaeological Reconnaissances in Southern Persia and Indo-Iranian Borderlands." etc. provoke profound interest in the readers. R. Vasmer's work on Sassanian Numismatics, Roland G. Kent's work on "Recently published Old Persian Inscriptions," V. Sheil's "Inscriptions des Achaemenides a Sus." J. Markwart's work on provincial Capitals of Iranshahr," are all works of learning teeming with information. F. Sarre's important work on the science of Iranian architecture has already been referred to above.

English and American Scholars.

In England the work of Mills and West is carried on to some extent by Dr. H. W. Bailey and Dr. W. Henning who succeeds Dr. Bailey on the chair of Iranian at the School of Oriental Studies in London. Sir Denison Ross, Sir John Marshall, Rev. Dr. Charles Gore and others sustain English interest in things Iranian.

In America, the recent passing away of Dr. Jackson leaves a great blank in Iranian Scholarship in that continent. Still Dr. Louis H. Gray of the University of the Nebraska is keeping the torch of Iranian learning glowing there. Miss Maria Wilkens Smith gives promise of good work by her "Studies in the Syntax of the Gāthas."*

Dr. Jehangir Tavadia's Long and Sound Work at Hamburg University.

It is gratifying to note that one Parsi Professor is doing useful work as teacher in Iranian at the Hamburg University. Dr. Jehangir C. Tavadia † has long settled

* Some other American names may be found in the volumes of Oriental Studies in Honour of Cursetq Erachy Parvy.

† I am indebted to Dr. Jehangir Tavadia of Hamburg for some valuable information he supplied me on work of some scholars in Europe.

there and is a familiar figure among European Scholars, and is loved by all his pupils. His scholarly work on the "Shāyast Nē-Shāyast-Pt. I" has already been out for some time and he intends publishing the second part and also his prize-essay on the "Cities of Iran" at the earliest opportunity. He is examining at present the different accounts of the Legend of Zarathushtra, with a view to prepare a work on it. He is a sound scholar, and the Parsi community should take greater interest in his work and learned undertakings.

Modern Iran's Growing Interest in Her Past.

It is interesting to note that modern Iran is more and more interesting herself in things connected with her past. Since Mirzadeh Ishqui's historical opera exercised its inspiring influence that spirit has been steadily spreading in Iran's cultured world. One of the greatest enthusiasts of Iran's past is Mr. Saif-i Azad, the editor of the "Iran-Bastan" which he is bringing out in Bombay at present. Professor Pour-i-Dawoud has rendered signal service to Iran's past by his masterly translation of the Avesta into pure Persian, Raschid Yasemi's translation of the "Arda Viraf Nama," Sadeq Hedayat's translations of the "Zand-i Vohuman Yasht," "Gajastak Abālest," "Shahanhā i Iran" and "Kārnāmak-i Artakhshir" and Said-i Nafisy's charming work on Zoroastrian Ethics show how that spirit is steadily growing.

In India also scholars like Professor Rezvi of Calcutta Mr. Din Muhammed of Amritsar and others have begun some valued work on themes connected with Ancient Iran and her religion. We all know the excellent work Professor M. A Shushtery of Mysore has been doing. Himself an Iranian, he has done work of high merit on both pre-Islamic and Islamic Iran. His monumental work on

Islamic culture in two volumes has just been out. He has projected a still greater work in his Persian Volumes of the "Iran Nama" which work is intended to be a continuous record of Iran's life up to modern times. Portions of these and of his English "History of Persian Literature" are appearing in parts in the "Iran League Quarterly" of Bombay. Professor Shushtery has also been preparing in Persian a Dictionary of Avestan and the Transliteration and Translation of the Avesta and the Rg Veda First Mandal. Dr. Siddiki of Allahabad University is a pupil of Andreas and is an Iranian Scholar that way ; but he is devoting his energies to other subjects.

The Light of Iranian Learning spreads to Distant Japan.

In still distant Japan Dr. Astuji Asahikaga is introducing Iranian learning among its people. He is a Professor of ancient languages and literature in the Imperial University of Tokio, and includes in his work the study of ancient Iranian culture. He has studied the Avestan language in Paris and intends publishing a work on Iran shortly. He believes that a number of Iranian ideas have entered Japan in the ninth century. Prof. Gikyo I too is another Japanese scholar, engaged on Iranian research in the Kyoto University of Japan. He is an enthusiastic scholar doing very good work there.

Work of Modern Parsi Scholars Dhabhar, Behramgore and Sohrab Bulsara.

Nearer at hand here, among Parsi scholars, we have lost in last year the eminent Dr. Jivanji Jamshadji Modi, and some time previously Dastur Darab D. P. Sanjana. Learned Ervad Bahmanji N. Dhabhar however has been doing very scholarly work and is engaged on his monumental Pahlavi Dictionary at present. Mr. Behrangore Tahmuras Anklesaria has finished his erudite studies on the

Vendidad and is engaged with the Bundaheshn now, Mr. Sohrab Jamshedji Bulsara's work on Ancient Persian law having just been brought out of press, he has thus added to his successful work on the Nirangastan this lucid interpretation of the "Matikan-i-Hazar Datastan." He has also prepared a translation of the Gāthas which is lying ready with him for the last many years and which he hopes to publish in the near future. His thesis on the Iranian "Origin of the Alphabet" * may be brought to the notice of all learned world.

Dr. Taraporevala, Sir, Jehangirshah Coyaji, Dastur Dhalla and Others.

Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala is doing useful work in a general way and is engaged at present on the preparation of a translation of the Gāthas.He has had a very successful career at the academies in Europe and in professorial line in India, and at present holds the responsible post of the Principal of M. F. Cama Athornan Institute, a Seminary preparing boys of the Zoroastrian priestly community for a career in their holy profession. Sir Jehangirshah C. Coyaji is an ardent Iranist and has just given us his learned studies on Sino-Iranian subjects. Dastur Dr. M. N. Dhalla's works on "Zoroastrian Civilization", "Zoroastrian Theology", etc. are quite well known to need special notice. Dr. M. B. Daver, Mr. Khudabax E. Punegar, Mr. R. F. Goreval Mr. Sohrab Naoroji Kanga, Mr. H. F. Chacha, Ervad Rustamji D. Meherjirana, Mr. J. C. Tarapore and Miss Arnavaj Rustamji Paymaster are those who have been helping to keep the torch of Iranian learning burning and active in our midst. We may also note here the valuable services of Mr. Jehangir B. Vakil, the former Secretary of the Gātha Society, to the revival of interest in Zoroastrianism and Iranianism. He is a quiet worker in the fields

* Contributed to Dr. J. J. Modi Memorial Volume. The Fort Printing Press, Bombay.

of comparative religions. His former paper on "the influence of Iran on India" and the one he is reading before us today are instances of his quiet work.

Pavry family, Jamshed Unvala and Miss Dhun Anklesaria.

Dasturji Khurshedji Pavry and his children, Dr. Jal D. C. Pavry and Miss Bapsy Pavry have acquired international fame as cultured Iranists. Dr. Jamshed M. Unvala has chosen the field of archæology in which he has achieved no mean success. Miss. Dhun Behramgore Anklesaria promises keeping up the learned traditions of the Anklesaria family.

Mr. D. J. Irani, Lady Dastur and Mr. F. K. D. Adachanji.

Mr. Dinshah J. Irani's activity and interest in the field of old Iranian research are praiseworthy endeavours in the midst of his exacting professional work in law; and so also are the work of lady Hormazdyar Dastur who has given us a lucid translation of the Gāthas, and of Mr. Faredun K. Dadachandji who has given us his "Gems from the Avesta", and his illumined studies on "The Holy Fire" and the sacred formula of "the Ahunvar".

Hindu Scholars' Work in the Field of Iranian Research.

What pleases us most is the fact of some of our learned Hindu cousins also entering the field of Iranian Research. Since the days of Mr. Tilak's learned work on the Artic Home of the Āryans which relied much on ancient Iranian lore, and indeed in some cases even from before that time, have appeared such interesting works as Professor K. A. Sitaram's "Iranian Influence on Indian Culture", Dr. P. D. Gune's "Indo-Iranian Migrations in the Light of Mittani Records", Dr. R. Shamashashtry's "India under the Iranians", Dr. S. K. Belvalkar's "Original Home of the Āryans", Dr. Manilal Patel's "The Navoroz; its

History and its Significance", Professor K. Chattopadhyaya's "Indo-Iranian Religious Schism", etc. All these authors have dealt with their subjects with the fullest sympathy and deep interest in them.

Mr. Jatindra Mohan Chatterji of Bengal has produced remarkable treatises on the life and teaching of Zarathushtra which it would do both Hindus and Parsees good to read from page to page.

Iranian Scholarship keeps alive the Thought and Memory of a Great and Mighty Race.

It will thus be seen that notwithstanding inherent difficulties and other hitches, the study of ancient Iranian culture is going on steadily all over the world. We need hardly say that we have noticed the work of some of the living writers only, with references to a few others whose work is not properly known on this side. We therefore regret we have had no opportunity of treating the subject more exhaustively and therefore we may have omitted noticing other valued workers giving their share in this noble work of keeping alive the thought and memory of one of the greatest and most celebrated branches of the human race.

IRAN AND INDIA:

An Unceasing Friendly Contact between the Great Aryan Races.

SOHRAB JAMSHEDJEE BULSARA, M. A.

The Home of the Early Aryans lay in the Extreme North.

Scientists tell us that the human race has had the habitation of at least 10,000,000 years on this planet. They also tell us that the first part of this globe which was ready to maintain life was the polar region, because the rest of it was yet too hot for life to live on it.

A page of human history connected with the early life of the earth and describing the most ancient life events, is preserved among the life records of the Iranian race. It says that in the beginning of human life on earth our ancestors lived in the north polar regions. So science and history agree in this primal fact of human history. Indeed the conclusions of science would apply to both the poles as the places on this globe where life might arise at the earliest, still the distribution of the human race over the earth shows that their beginnings must have been made in the north polar regions and not in the south.

This early record of Iranian History goes on to say that in our ancient home life became so prolific and crowded in the days of the great Yima Khshaeta that he had to extend human habitations southwards by three stages. Even when this great march of humanity commenced southwards there was almost perpetual winter in their old settlements, for cold prevailed there for ten months and a mild summer for only two. This apparently assumes a huge stay of human beings in the polar regions before they moved southwards.

The early Āryan Stock and Its Faith.

Our Āryan ancestors early recognised the existence of the Supreme Being in all their contacts with Nature, and found Him living in the heavens and on earth, in the stars and in the sun, in the moon, the auroras and the dawns, in seas and in rivers, in mountains and in valleys, in trees and in all glories of the field and of the garden. All Āryans worshipped in the Grand Temple of Nature and were lifted more near God in it than in any other form of worship. They felt themselves closer to God in it, and lived in Him then. They experienced in it more than ever the warmth of His Fatherly Love, and His Providential Care over all beings. They led more innocent and more pure life than when they were detached from Nature in later aeons.

It seems that they were early conscious of the existence and presence of the Divine Being in all creation, and as in every other thing, even in religious beliefs the early Āryans held very lofty ideas about the Divinity when Yima was ruling in his primal wisdom. They then were a united family of one compact stock, believing in one Supreme Father Who loved and guided them for their eternal blessing.

The Glories of the great Yima Khshaeta or Jamshid.

Yima Khshaeta or Jamshid, as we know him in the latter form of the name, was the son of Vivanghvant and therefore is identical with the Indian personage *Yama Vivasvat*. According to the Avesta and other history preserved by the Iranians his sovereignty was a period of the greatest brilliance in the early stage of human progress, and life, industry and prosperity advanced in every way throughout the first communities of the human race under his regime which extended over all men and over all other creatures on earth.

While blessings of peace, industry and prosperity were daily increasing, the Supreme Being Ahura Mazda or the All-Wise Lord, warned Yima of the calamities of the Ice

Age that was to come soon, and gave him the inspiration to plan remedies for meeting the same. He was to construct the place of safety for preserving the best of men and animals and other good things of the world. That place is known as "*Vara*" a name still preserved by the Āryan Hindus in the name forms of Marwar, Anhilwar, Kathiawar, and probably in "Wala" in the names Gujranwala, Chilianwala and some others.

The Avesta observes that so great was the spiritual eminence of Yima Khshaeta that the divine office of the Guide and Teacher of Mankind was offered to Yima, which he declined owing to incapacity for so great and heavenly a task in those most early times.

An Evil Thought overtakes Yima the Glorious.

The Avesta however invests him with the triple glory of the Sovereign, the Hero and the Saviour of Mankind, which he continued holding till an evil thought overtook him The supreme position in which he found himself mostly owing to his own endeavour instigated a new thought in him. He naturally conceived that the great success his efforts had attained and the power and glory with which he had found himself invested, indicated his being not an ordinary man but a personage having in him the essence of Divinity which had enabled him to achieve such marvellous power and glory. He therefore claimed divine honours from his subjects.

The Ancient Aryans were shocked and revolted against Yima.

The pious Iranians were shocked at such thought and gravely resented it. When they found him adamant, they rebelled and called to their aid Bivaraspa, nicknamed Azi Dahaka or Zahhak, the Sovereign of Iranian origin of the Semite nations.

The Avesta continues to say that the moment this wicked thought entered Yima, the triple glory left him and so departed the mysterious influence he exercised on mankind. He was therefore defeated and forced to flee to the eastern lands with some faithful adherents. He first settled in the glorious land of Haetumant which is represented in modern Iranian and Afghan Seistan. Here he married a princess of the ruling sovereign, and his progeny by that marriage became afterwards the celebrated Prince-Champions of Seistan.

Was Yima the Founder of the Hindu Race and Religion?

Pressure of Bivaraspa however compelled Yima to leave this asylum and so he retired into India with his faithful adherents.

This immigration of Yima and his adherents into ancient India makes a startling suggestion. He was the same personage as the Yama Vivasvat of the Hindus. The latter is said to have been the brother of the celebrated Manu. The Iranian records do not however make note of any such brother. Might that show that Yima, Yama and Manu were the same? The Hindu tendency to give special names to national heroes survives even to the modern times. Their having named Mr. Gandhi as Mahātmā, Mr. Tilak as Lokmānya, and Mr. Dadabhoy Noroji as Lokrakṣi, might provide the illustrations to prove that Manu or Mentor was only an honorific appellation of Yima or Yama himself.

Yima's claim to Divinity agrees with the Hindu ideas of godhood, and so he must probably have laid in India the foundations of the religion which is known as Hinduism and which after having compounded with itself the cults of the earlier inhabitants found in it by him, slowly spread over the whole continent and made itself the powerful and all resisting Hindu faith.

Bivaraspa or Zahhak's Interest in Ancient India. Gandharva his Minister.

Curiously enough, Bivaraspa, the rival of Yima, is shown in later Iranian records to have been interested in non-Āryan India, for the Shah Nama says that he had gone to India to learn witchcraft there when Prince Thraetaona, a direct descendant of Yima, had raised the standard of rebellion against him. Another curious fact is noted in the same celebrated work that Gandharva was the Minister of Bivaraspa then.

The Great Iranian Hero Kerasap's Compaign in India for helping the Aryan Settlers there.

In any case it seems clear from the Iranian records that the early Āryan settlers were constantly harassed by the earlier non-Āryan inhabitants and their chiefs and that they were saved from ruin or annihilation by their Iranian cousins. The anecdotes show the greatest readiness of the Prince-Champions of Seistan to go to the aid of their Indian cousins. We have seen above that they constituted the Seistan branch of Yima's descendants. The celebrated hero Kersaspa of that house was the first thus to proceed to the help of the Indian Āryan sovereign. Although it is said in the Kersaspa Nama that he did so at the suggestion of Bivaraspa, it is more probable that he did so by claims of blood ties than by any other influence. This happened immediately after the Ice Age, and so might have occurred about 12000 B. C.

Ancient India's Contact with Egypt or Abyssinia.

The Kersaspa Nama curiously notes that ancient Egyptians or Abyssinians had come to assist the enemies of the Āryan race. This may be found to be a link in the chain connecting ancient India with the countries of the west.

The Historic Value of the Persian Namas.

The creation of the Shah Nama had led to the formation of other such Namas by other poets. Amongst them

are Kersasp Nama, Framarz Nama, Barzu Nama, Daraq Nama etc. A little romantic element might have entered some of them: but a comparison of the Kersasp Nama with the Avestan records of the Zemyad Yasht and the Haoma Yasna, would show that there is a substantial substratum of truth in all of them.

The Rule of the Seistan Princes in India.

The great proximity of Seistan with North-western India appears to have led the princes descended from Yima that ruled there, to have their sway extended into ancient India; and it seems to have been the custom of the great Iranian rulers to have confirmed them in that sway. Thus Manushchihar, the successor of Thraetaona, confirmed Sama the successor of Kersasp, on the Seistan throne in the Indian Sovereignty.

Further splitting of the Original Human Stock.

It seems that just previously, during the sovereignty of Thraetaona, the human race distinctly split up into three main branches of the Āryans, the Tuiryas, and the Sairimas. This therefore is a fact distinct from the earlier separation of some Āryans under Yima from the ancient Iranian or Āryan home, and their having founded the ancient Aryan colony in India, which has now grown into the mighty Hindu nation. Continuing chronology on the basis of earlier calculations, that further splitting might have occurred about 11000 B. C.

The Iranian Hero Framarz in India
His Great Campaigns in it.

Later again, the Indian Āryans were once more in trouble, and sought aid from their Iranian cousins. The great Kavi Usan, the Iranian sovereign and great conqueror, commanded the hero Framarz to go to the help of the Indian Āryans. This he rendered most efficiently, and he stayed

long in India for carrying on other campaigns and for destroying wicked agencies, and thus making life more secure for the Āryans there. He visited some Hindu saints during his compaigns in India.

The Iranian annals often mention a ruling house of the Kaits in India. They were celebrated for astrological knowledge, and sometimes friendly missions were sent to them by Iranian courts for seeking solutions of various problems connected with the future. Framarz however had to fight the contemporary Kait for compelling allegiance in him.

Had Ancient India a Contact with Arabia too?
The great Rustam in India.

Another curious fact noted in the Framarz Nama refers to the contact of ancient Arabia with India. That is another instance of early India maintaining relations with western countries.

The great Rustam also appears to have visited India near this time.

These events took place about 7000 B. C. if we continue the order of chronology discussed above.

Coming of Zarathushtra, the Righteous One.

About a thousand years passed by, and there appeared in Iran then the Righteous One, Zarathushtra the Spitama. When the fame of the great World Teacher reached the Indian Āryans, some of their sages went to Iran and discussed Zarathusthra's teachings with him. They were kindly received and went away convinced of the great Truths Zarathushtra preached.

The facts noted above as well as this fact of Zarathushtra's life do away with any ground for the theory that the coming of Zarathushtra was the cause of the Hindu cessation from the Old Āryan stock.

Great Rustam assigned Sovereignty over Indian Dominions.

Vishtaspa, the Iranian Sovereign, who had accepted the teaching of Zarathushtra, had confirmed the great Rustam in the Seistan royal house's rights over the neighbouring provinces of India. Thus the long connection of that house with India was steadily maintained, and by that right they were expected to protect the Indian Äryans from their enemies.

Soon after this, internecine troubles broke out in Iran, the great Rustam died, and the hero Framarz who was holding a sort of viceroyalty in India, had to leave it for defending his homelands against the enemies of his race.

Obscure History and a Huge Gap in the World Annals.

The Rise of the Later Aryans: The Medes and the Persians.

Iran seems to be involved in some great catastrophes and the history of the subsequent vast epochs is all lost until we come to the first millennium B. C. A new aspect had appeared in Iran of that epoch. The Iranian peoples of the north-western and central Asian lands moved southwards and created new, powerful and flourishing settlements. Amongst these the Medes had emerged early all powerful and produced a great conqueror in Cyaxeres who extended his dominion into India about 600 B. C.

Almost simultaneously the great Parsi race was rising in the further south. Originally it had left its early homelands in the north, crossed the Caucasus, settled for some time in the neighbourhood of Armenia, and at last in that celebrated land known as Perses or Persia in the chronicles of the western nations. Under Cyrus the Great and his great successor Darius Hystaspes, the Persian armies swept over the three continents of Asia, Africa and Europe, and established the huge empire extending from the outskirts of China to the regions which bordered on what is modern

Austro-Hungary, and from within Russia and Siberia to Abyssinia and Southern India. It was a dominion the like of which was never seen before and seldom matched afterwards in the achievements of the great races of the future.

The Conquests of the Persians in India, and the Spread of Their Dominion over It.

Cyrus the Great had extended his dominion into India, but it was Darius the Great who made it a permanent part of the great Persian Empire. The Persian rule over India was benevolent as it really was over all subject nations, and the Indians appeared to have reciprocated the good feelings by participating willingly in the Empire's great campaigns even in distant Europe.

The success of the Alexandrian revolt naturally altered the state of dominion in India, but curiously enough Cashmere, Ladak and the Northwestern provinces of India were bestowed by Alexander on his Iranian relative, the sovereign of Bactriana. That probably accounts for Indian influences in that province when it was formed into a new Kingdom under a Greek ruling house.

The Parthian Empire and Its Long Rule in India.

The event noted last above was the cause of the foundation of a new great Iranian power in Asia. Some princes said to be of Persian blood, who happened to have made their home in Bactriana, took offence at the selection of a Greek ruler over that Kingdom, and so left it with their adherents, settled in Parthia, and soon after established there the nucleous of a great empire.

About B. C. 174, the Parthian dominion spread over India, by the conquest of Mithridates I. That event led to the establishment of Parthian Settlements and Kingdoms in it. Some of these became great adherents of Buddhism and took active part in its constitution and spread. Recent historical researches have disclosed the great part played by

PLATE II

DERIVATION OF THE INDIAN ALPHABETS FROM THE AVESTAN

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ASOKAN AFTER G. BÜHLER	FORMS BETWEEN AVESTAN AND ASOKAN	AVESTAN LETTERS	FORMS BETWEEN AVESTAN AND DEVANAGARI	BASAL DEVANAGARI FORMS FOLLOWING AVESTAN	MASKS PUT ON AVESTAN BASES FOR FORMING SANSKRIT	SANSKRIT LETTERS
						अ
						ब
						ग
						द
						र
						क
						ह
						ध
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						ड़
						क
						ल
						म
						न
						ऽ
						प
					(PRONOUNCED स्व)	स्व
						र
						स
						ज्ञ
						ष
						न
						थ
						ड़
						व
						व
						ह्म
						ज
					FOUND IN GUJRATI	(ॐ)
						क्ष
						ज्ञ

(R. J. B.)

them thus not only in India, but also in distant China where they enacted a leading role in the spread of Buddhism in the great lands of the far east.

The Pahllava or Parthian Settlements in India. Indian Scripts founded on the Avestan.

The Indian historian is familiar with the Pahllava or Parthian Settlements in Southern India. Pali was the language of the Indian Parthians and its script is a close adaptation of the Avestan script. Charts appended to this writer's paper on "The Origin of the Alphabet"* show the origin of all the alphabets from the Avestan, including the Sanskrit and the Ashokan scripts.† We hope also to show that Pāli script is similarly descended from the Avestan.

The Long and Beneficial Contract of Sassanian Iran with India.

The Parthian Empire was overthrown by a second Persian dominion, the Empire of the Sassanides, in the year 226 A. C. Artaxerxes or Ardeshir I, the founder of this Empire, was a great conqueror and among the far lands his arms reached was also India. The history of his career which is preserved in Pahlavi, notes a friendly embassy he had sent to Kait, the Indian ruler, for an astrological solution. Sassamian dominion in India seems to have been continuous since then, as coins of Hormazd I definitely show.

The adventurous sovereign Behram V, came to India about 420 A. C., married an Indian princess and, according to Persian accounts a branch of his descendants by that marriage ruled over the Kingdom of Kanauj.

Historians of Rajputana and Gujerat refer to the rule of houses of Sassanian blood in them. We cannot enter into discussions of these difficult problems in the short space of this paper, but the fact referred to above as well as the fact of the campaigns of Prince Nushizad in India under the

* See Dr. Modi Memorial Volume. Fort Printing Press, Bombay.

† See chart opposite this page.

directions of his father Chosroe the Great and of his having married an Indian Princess while there and his descendants having formed some ruling houses in India, are in no way improbable considering the long contact of Iran with India through the ages.

Cultural Contact between Iran and India.

The name of Chosroe the Great is also associated with India in a cultural contact. A Persian embassy from that great sovereign had visited the Indian court, and its leader the doctor Barzui, had taken away for the Persian academy some learned Indian works, including the *Pañcatantra*, and the game of Chess. These were introduced into the rest of the world by Persia. The former survives in the celebrated Persian fable of "Kalila and Damna".

The Ajanta frescoes depict in some of them beautiful Persian scenes, and include the court scene of the Indian Sovereign Pulakeśin II receiving the Persian embassy from Chosroe II who is more celebrated as Parviz or the Conqueror. They show the great interest their author took in Persia and her people.

Sudden Fall of Iran's Glorious Dominion: Its Recent Revival.

While three continents were resonant with the arms of Chosroe the Conqueror, never a dream came of the catastrophe which was soon to befall the great Persian Empire. Though segments of it survived to the sixteenth century in northern Iran, and a ruling house of Sassanian descent reigned in Seistan till the year 1839 A. C., the glory which had made Iran supreme for thirteen centuries in late historic times, became benumbed for an equally long period, and shows signs of revival only now under the galvanizing influence of Riza Shah Pahlavi.

Numerous Early Iranian and Parsi Settlements in India.

The breaking up of the great Sassanian Empire led to further Persian immigrations into India. Our traditions say

that Providence had guided some leading bands to India. The beautiful account of their meeting with the Hindu sovereign of Sanjan gives a fascinating picture of a fresh and warm meeting of brother nations.

The travels of Cosmos, a contemporary Christian traveller of the sixth century noted Persian settlements in Thana, and there are indications of another powerful one in the neighbouring Kaliani. The historian of Taimur has noted a number of actions in which Zoroastrians and Hindus fought side by side in resisting that conqueror in the whole of northern India.

Mr. M. P. Khareghat, the learned Chairman of the Parsi Panchayat of Bombay, has referred to the names *Parśu* and *Pṛthu* in early Hindu literature and to *Pārasīka* and Pahlava in later. Mr. S. K. Hodivala has compiled a volume named "*Parsis of Ancient India*" in which he has discussed a number of allusions to the Persians in early and late Hindu literature and the facts of Iranian influences on Hindu and Buddhist beliefs and practices. In his learned monograph on the Kisseh-e Sanjan, late Dr. J. J. Modi quotes other allusions to the same.

The Parsis are the remnants of all the above through huge epochs covering more than 15,000 years.

May Parsi and Hindu Bond of Blood live for ever.

The subject we have reviewed here is a great theme. We could just touch some leading features of it in a short paper as this. Such studies are also carried on by other scholars, which we could not all refer to here: but the fact remains that we the Iranians and the Indians have always been drawn to each other by the thick and never snapping bond of blood. May Providence ever preserve that bond, and use it for the eternal uplift of our dear Motherland and its vast hosts of populations raising them above all distinctions of castes and creeds!

* Dorab Sakhatvala Memorial Series No. II., Sanj Vartman Press, Bombay.

IDEALS OF LIFE IN THE ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION.

Mr. Jehangir B. Vakil, B. A.

What "Ideal" signifies.

The word 'Ideal', as a noun, means, according to Webster, 'A mental conception regarded as a standard of perfection, a model of excellence, beauty etc.'

"The ideal is to be attained by selecting and assembling in one whole the beauties and perfections which are usually seen in different individuals, excluding everything defective or unseemly, so as to form a type or model of the species. Thus the Appollo Belvedere is the ideal of the beauty and proportion of the human frame". (Fleming)

Ethical and aesthetical systems which adopt an ideal standard of estimating character, human possibilities or subject in art, etc., come under the category of the term 'Idealism'.

All religions aim at ideals, and, as we shall see later, Zoroastrianism is a system of ideals, so much so, that some scholars have pronounced it to be a system of idealism.

According to Webster, the word 'Life' means "The union of the soul and body" and also "A certain way or manner of living with respect to conditions, circumstances, character, conduct, occupation etc., hence human affairs".

The Meaning of Religion.

Various definitions have been offered for the term 'Religion'.

Some say that Religion is the Science of Life; others avow that it is the basis of private virtue and public faith and is concerned with the happiness of individuals as well as the prosperity of a community or a nation.

General terms, which would convey the meaning of the word 'Religion', are not to be found in such languages as the Egyptian or the Babylonian, Hebrew or Arabic, Sanskrit or Chinese, because people of all times considered religion as a matter of fact requiring no explanation, just like the daily rising and setting of the Sun. Even in the Bible, there is no definition of the word 'Religion'.

Professor J. H. Kramers of the University of Leiden, in his paper on "The 'Daēna' in the Gāthas" in the "Oriental Studies in Honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry", says as under—

"Among the great religions of the world, Zoroastrianism is by far the first to have developed a word denoting the full conception of Religion, as we understand it now, in the sense of a theological, ethical and liturgical, combined system."

"Zoroastrianism, on the contrary, has in the Avestan texts the word 'daena', which in that early period was already used for the whole of the religion of Zoroaster".

Dr. Morris Jastrow, Jun., Ph. D., in his well known work, "The Study of Religion", states as under :—

"*Religion consists of three elements*—(1) The natural recognition of a Power or Powers beyond our control; (2) the feeling of dependence upon this Power or Powers; (3) entering into relations with this Power or Powers."

"Uniting these elements into a single proposition, religion may be defined as the natural belief in a Power or Powers beyond our control, and upon whom we feel ourselves dependent; which belief and feeling of dependence prompt (1) to organisation, (2) to specific acts, and (3) to the regulation of conduct, with a view to establishing favourable relations between ourselves and the Power or Powers in question" (Pp. 171-172)

The Iranian Prophet expresses his own view of the greatness of his religion in the following words—"The religion which is the best among existing things, and which is based on the Law of Righteousness, advances the progress of my settlements, (and which), by means of teachings inspired by words of righteous propensity, would dedicate all actions to Truth." (Yasna XLIV, 10).

One of the modern definitions of 'Religion' is that it consists in subjection to a higher power than any that man knows of on earth, with grace responding therefrom.

Religion in relation to Life.

With reference to the relation between religion and life, Dr. Jastrow observes—

"Obscure as the origin of Zoroastrianism is, one feature of it at least is clear, its strong emphasis of the tendency to bring religion and life into consistent accord, to wipe out all distinctions between an official and an unofficial cult, to regulate the entire field of conduct by deductions from certain leading religious principles".

The bent of the Iranian mind was such that it was never tempted to dabble in any sort of mysterious dogmatism. Consequently, the mighty religion promulgated by the great sage of the East, Zarathushtra Spitama, is the simplest and the most practical of faiths. Dastur Dr. Dhalla observes, "Religion should be such that its ideals can be applied to our work-a-day world. Its teachings should be applicable to the exigencies of daily life. This is the characteristic of Zoroastrianism through its very simplicity".

How the Zoroastrian Religion has benefited the World by its application to Life.

In Yasna XLV, 5, we find the holy tenets characterised as the "best for mortals to hear". In Yasna XLVIII, 4, we come across the precept, "Whoso would devote his mind, O Mazda, to the better thing or the worse, would

himself shape his religious instinct accordingly, through (his) word and deed" Such passages clearly indicate the influence which Zoroastrianism has exerted on the character of its followers, and show how its tenets serve the practical purposes of life. Thus, Zoroastrianism has been rightly classified by eminent scholars as one of 'Creative evolution.'

In Vendidad III, 26, we find "He who sows most corn, grass and fruit, sows righteousness ; he promotes the religion of Mazda." Thus, Zoroastrianism announces that thrifty husbandry, practised faithfully in tune with the faith of Ahura Mazda, tantamounts to the practice of true religion now and here on this earth. Similarly, such tenets as,—"The doer of good deeds flourishes through his own righteousness" (Yasna XXXIV, 13), "One, who sows corn, sows piety (Asha); he advances and promulgates the religion of Mazda" (Vendidad III, 31), "He who has children is far superior to him who has none", (Vendidad IV, 47), "Give me an offspring that may promote my family or house, my borough, my city, my country and its religion" (Yasna XLII, 5)—all these show how Zoroastrianism lays a particular emphasis on the ethics of everyday life without which there could be no religion, and spiritual advancement. Zoroastrianism never inculcates asceticism. On the other hand, it lays a particular stress on different activities of man, prompting him to make strenuous efforts to realise the ideals of life.

Deep Influence exercised on other Faiths by the Religion of Zoroaster.

Eminent scholars have pronounced Zoroastrianism as a mighty religion. It is considered mighty not only because it exercised a sublime influence, for ages, over a mighty people, but on account of its divine tenets and lofty ethics. It has been considered mighty not only on account of its intrinsic merits, but also on account of its most salubrious influence on other religions. Professor F. J. Foakes Jackson

of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, in his paper "The Influence of Iran upon Early Judaism and Christianity", contributed to "Oriental Studies in honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry", observes,—"But Persia did more than protect Judaism: it enriched it. The religion of Israel had taught that God exercised a righteous, but somewhat arbitrary rule. Like a terrible King, He did evil as well as good. But under Persian influence the Jews began to realise that life is a struggle between good and evil with God always on the side of good, that there are two spiritual worlds in constant conflict with one another."

The same scholar further observes,—"Historians of the life and thought in the Christian Church have uniformly displayed a tendency to ignore the important part played by the religious ideas of Iran, nor can the writer of this brief chapter plead guiltless in this respect. But the subject is worthy of serious attention from the theologians of the future, whether they be Jew or Christian; and if these few remarks prove a stimulus for further study of the subject, they will not have been made in vain".

What Western Civilization owes to it.

Dr. Wilhelm Goiger, in his "Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times", has shown us that "Among the civilized nations of the Early East, the history of the Avestan nation, apart from its ethnological importance, lucidly illustrates the fact so long questioned, that several of the germs of what is best in Western Civilization are to be detected in the doctrines and institutions of Iranian antiquity".

Primitive men tried, though in a crude form, to study the laws of life and to harmonize their activities with their surroundings. The world being then one of mysterious forces, religion was a system of speculation regarding the Unknowable. With the development of culture, beginnings were made in agriculture and irrigation, and in course of

time city life came into vogue. Such a life gave birth to the ritual, and men began to conform to the order of the Universe: thus religion became a binding power,—binding men to God, the individual to the community, and spirit to spirit. It was then what we now call Nature-worship. It was at this critical juncture, that the Bactrian Sage appeared on the scene, and promulgated his sublime religion with Ahura Mazda as the fountain-source of all inspiration.

Zoroaster was the Founder of Monotheism.

Zoroaster laid the greatest stress on the importance of the adoration of one Supreme Being in lieu of the former nature worship with a multiplicity of gods. Thus, Zarathushtra laid the foundation of a sublime monotheism. The law of Ahura Mazda is the law of our existence, which law comprehends what is recognised as the moral law: and reduced to a system, the code of moral laws becomes the most essential element in what is known as the Zoroastrian Religion.

The supreme Lord of the Creation, Ahura Mazda, is Wise, Holy, Just, Benign. He is the Fountain of Love and Embodiment of Truth. The Gāthas, the quintessence of Zoroastrianism, give us the most sublime and comprehensive conception of Ahura Mazda with supreme attributes, which are not limited by Time or Space. Nothing higher could be conceived than the Sublime Majesty of Ahura Mazda.

His conception of the supreme Attributes of God.

In the later Avesta, there is a mention about "The Immortal Holy Ones", the Amesha-Spentas. In later theology, they are considered as Archangels; but as a matter of fact, "They are within the Being of God, not separate from him." According to the true Zoroastrian concept, these attributes are part and parcel of Ahura Mazda, who is always to be taken as an Indivisible Entity. Tested rationally, this concept stands good for all times and

for all climes. In their respective spheres, the conflicting forces of Nature cannot be all powerful ; if that were so, the natural and harmonious development of the forces of Nature would be replaced by confusion and chaos, and thus, the theory of Monotheism would have no place in our reasoning. According to the well thought out concept of the early Avesta, the Amesha-Spentas are only the great attributes of Ahura Mazda. This true Zoroastrian concept is a very important landmark in the history of the science of religion.

How the Knowledge of these Attributes influences the Faithful.

Let us now examine how far human conduct and character can be influenced by the Amesha-Spentas. These abstract and ethical conceptions, besides the concept of (1) Ahura Mazda discussed above, are as under—

(2) Vohu-mano, the Good Mind, Benevolence, Love.

(3) Asha-vahishta, the Highest Holiness, the Highest Righteousness

(4) Khshatra-vairya, the Divine Sovereignty.

(5) Spenta-Aramaiti, the Spirit of Devotion and Duty.

(6) Haurvatat, Universal Spiritual Happiness, Perfection.

(7) Ameretat, Immortality.

(2) Vohu-mano, the Good Thought, Benevolence or Love gives birth to good words and good deeds. Good thought suggests kindness not only to mankind but also to dumb animals. In Zoroaster's time the chief occupation of the Iranians was agriculture including animal husbandry ; hence, the precept of good thought, benevolence and love was of prime importance. Out of this concept has naturally arisen the well praised triad of Humata, Hukhta, Huvarshta, Good Thoughts, Good Words and Good Deeds.

(3) Asha, the Law of Righteousness, governs the Kingdom of Ahura Mazda ; all other laws are subordinate

to Asha. "Indeed God Himself is Asha, the Holy Law of Perfection. 'He is the Supreme Father of the Order which arose from His Righteous Perfection'; He therefore 'hath established the Law.' 'In His Divine State, Duty pursueth the Righteous Law of Justice and Truth'; 'He hath established Sublime Truths'; for the rational hath He given the Doctrines; 'He hath issued the Canon', and 'the Commandment', 'He hath established the Laws of Conscience'." "(GOD IN THE GĀTHAS" by Mr. Sohrab J. Bulsara, M. A.) This concept of Asha,—the Holy and Immortal Law of the Universe, proves Zoroaster's keen-sightedness into the practical side of life.

(4) Khshathra-vairya, the Divine Sovereignty, is the outcome of Ahura Mazda's Spiritual Eminence and is exercised out of His Benevolence. His object to place man in the world is to lift him. During all the vicissitudes of life man is guided and protected by His Loving Father, Ahura Mazda. In the battle of life, man is likely to lose courage, and at such junctures, man's faith in the Guarding Power of Ahura Mazda is of great importance. While performing his duty, man has to face several odds, and it is then that he hopes for, nay, he is confident of, help from the Divine and Loving Father, Ahura Mazda.

(5) Spenta-Armaiti, the Spirit of Devotion and Duty, indicates a harmonious relation between Ahura Mazda and man. Ahura Mazda befriends the virtuous. The true Zoroastrian prays for His Blessings. Ahura Mazda lends His Helping Hand to man when he is likely to fall unwittingly. Every worthy soul is given the Spiritual Blessing in God's good time, because all material blessings are only the means to the end, and that end is nothing but the perfection of self-consciousness; man can reach this highest goal by his honest efforts and the Grace of the Divine Father.

(6) Haurvatat, Spiritual Happiness of Universal Perfection, can be attained only by a correct life in conformity with the Law of Asha, guided by Vohu-mano. This bliss

can be achieved by man, only if he discards selfishness. One of the noblest of teachings in the Gāthas is.—"Happiness is to him, who makes others happy." When man thinks of the happiness of others, he is in tune with the Divine Father always thinking of the happiness of His entire creation.

(7) Ameretat, Immortality, can be achieved by man only if he follows the dictates of his inner light. This long life not only means a good physical life on this earth, but it also means an eternal spiritual life here and hereafter in perfect harmony with the Divine Father.

How the Faith of Zarathushtra helps Man be in Tune with the Infinite,

By acting in tune with the Infinite, man can attain the highest goal, namely, the acquisition of all the Divine Attributes mentioned above: This is possible and feasible, because All Merciful Providence is sure to reward the virtuous.

The noble mission of Zarathushtra is explained by himself in his Holy Song in Yasna XXVIII, 4—

"I who would devote my soul to the Divine
Symphony of the Heavenly Blessing
By means of the Pure Reason and the Affection
and Power of the Good Mind,
And have been knowing well the Blessings of the
Deeds of the Lord Who is the Wisest One,
As long as I have the will and power,
So long will I teach the world to aspire after
Righteousness.',

(Mr. S. J. Bulsara's translation in Iran League Quarterly, Volume III No. 4, Page 261).

In the Gāthas, we find Zoroaster explaining his mission to those who had assembled from near and afar to listen to his message. There he enjoins one and all to use their eyes, their ears, and their intellect, so as to judge for themselves whether they should accept or reject the truths and precepts

which he had learned from the Wise Lord, Ahura Mazda, by intuition, divine inspiration and deep meditation. He asked them whether they should surrender their mind and soul to Spenta Mainyu, the Beneficent Influence or to Angra Mainyu, the Evil Influence, at the same time warning them that those who made the latter choice, would have nothing but woe as their lot. (Yasna XXX, and XLV).

This philosopher and prophet of Iran also told them that those who follow the precepts of the true faith and be righteous shall have the Bliss of the Best Mind (Vahishtem Mano), as their reward. (Yasna XXX, 4).

The most prominent features of Zoroaster's teachings were the formation of good mind and the salvation of the soul. He wants to guide, convince and direct all, including even the erring, to the right path. In Yasna XXXI, he addresses Ahura Mazda in the following words :—

"Grant Thou, O Holy Spirit by means of the Soul's holy fervour, and by Righteousness point out to both the good and the erring people, the joy of heavenly and happy acumen and what would be as holy Canon for the discreet and with the tongue of Thy own mouth tell us for Enlightenment,

That therewith may we bring all the living to Faith."

(Mr. S. J. Bulsara's translation in the Iran League Quarterly, Volume III, No. 4, Page 262.)

Zarathushtra's Teaching solves the Problem of Evil.

In Yasna XLV, 2, we find the most important sermon of Zoroaster regarding the origin of good and evil—

"I first speak to you about the two spirits of the world of whom the Bounteous One spoke to him, who was Angra, thus, 'Not our minds, nor teachings, nor intellects, nor beliefs, nor words, nor actions, nor consciences, nor souls accord with one another".

This principle of Good and Evil is the most important point in the Zoroastrian religion: in fact, it should prove the beacon-light to the suffering world, especially the modern world.

Our standard of happiness being very imperfect, we generally exclaim, most impatiently, "Oh, where is the justice of God? Is this the working of an All Merciful Providence? Why should good men suffer and the evil ones prosper? etc., etc.," when we see so much misery around us. Different religions give different solutions of this important problem.

Those, who study Zoroastrianism superficially, suspect that there is Dualism in this religion, but that is a wrong idea. This erroneous notion arises from the fact that in later Avesta, the concept of Ahura Mazda, the Supreme Lord, was wrongly identified with Spenta Mainyu, the Beneficent Principle; and as the true nature of Evil could not be properly judged, Angra Mainyu or Ahriman was wrongly considered an opponent of Ahura Mazda.

The nature of Good and Evil can be best understood, if we study clearly the following elucidation given by Mr. Bulsara.

"The All-seeing Lord knows that man must work out his salvation himself, so He has allowed him freedom to act, which he could have withheld when we see that even a human hypnotiser can completely enslave the will. But this freedom is necessary for human development, so God has allowed it, because He is Benevolent, and plans what is best for man. By this freedom, man chooses in his acts either the right or the wrong, and God as Judge assigns His recompense, accordingly. As man has in him the germ of Perfection, he invariably suffers pain in the effects of Vice, and feels happiness in those of Virtue. It is justice therefore, which supplies the impulse for Perfection, which throws us under the deepest obligation to the Kind God. His Love would have been great even though He had been the strictest

in Justice, but He is Merciful too, and takes our weakness kindly: our happiness for being good is more, and our suffering for being wicked less than what we 'strictly' deserve. Man is imperfect, and therefore he must err, and consequently suffer, for so requires the Law of Justice and Development. But God is so kind that He thus makes this suffering as light as possible, and besides always exerts His Kindness to prevent man from falling. If he could have helped it, He would have put an end to all suffering: but without it man cannot rise, for, suffering impels him to virtue by warning him from the Path of Error. And God loves that man should rather rise into Perfection than ever remain in Darkness." ("GOD IN THE GĀTHAS" by Mr. Sohrab J. Bulsara, M. A.).

Mr. Bulsara rightly denies the existence of Dualism in the Zoroastrian religion: he observes,—"Those who state that Zoroastrianism is Dualism, meaning thereby that it preaches belief in two gods equally powerful, one good and the other bad, and so forth, know not the very rudiments of Avestan theology, for, though several mistaken ideas have arisen on confounding the true poetry, the colour and the disguised meaning of several Avestan writings, with their literal signification, the real Zoroastrian faith teaches no such belief; nor does it express a plurality of gods; nor a God Who is the cause both of Good and Evil, including in Evil even imperfection; nor a God who deprives men of the free exercise of their Will; nor a growing God; nor a God of Whom no idea however distant and imperfect can be formed. Zoroastrianism believes as much as any one else that the imperfect man cannot form the full idea of God, but that does not prevent it from predicating Perfect Attributes of Him." ("GOD IN THE GĀTHAS" by Mr. Sohrab J. Bulsara, M. A.).

It would not be inopportune here to observe that the neo-realist school of philosophic thought, under the leadership of Bertrand Russel, seem to be greatly influenced in their metaphysics by Zoroastrianism; they admit the reality of

Evil: but they are so much overwhelmed by the evils prevailing in ordinary life that they even consider God to be finite and opine that man must unite with God to drive out Evil: this they call 'Meliorism.'

Can Suffering appear as Unjustified Evil.

Since Zorosstrianism teaches that the good and evil experiences of life are governed by God, one may be naturally tempted to enquire into the origin of unmerited evils, such as a hereditary disease or the ruination of individuals as the result of a big conflagration or an earthquake.

We shall try to find out the solution of this problem in the words of the late Shams-ul-Ulema Dr. Sir J. J. Modi, Kt., C. I. E., B. A., Ph. D., LL. D., who observes that in case of an affliction brought about not through our own faults or transgressions, but through circumstances, over which we have no control, we should affirm our faith in God and bear those sufferings with a confident hope that those sufferings are a trial for us, and that everything will be right in the end. He adds that at the time of our tribulation and trouble, we should, on the one hand, endeavour to relieve our sufferings and contribute to the advancement of our happiness, and, on the other hand, we should put implicit faith in Ahura Mazda and believe that everything is intended by Ahura Mazda for our good. He further observes that these two thoughts will, first of all make us contented, and secondly, they will teach us to maintain an even balance of mind in prosperity and adversity, and thus conduce to our well being.

How Zarathushtra's Teachings interrelate Ethics and Religion.

The relation between Ethics and Religion is so very intimate and essential that often times we fail to differentiate between the two. Broadly speaking man's duties are classified under two divisions: (1) Those that guide him in his relations with God; (2) those that are concerned about his

own self and about his relations with the Creation. The first type of duties falls under the category of Religion, and the second comes under the domain of Ethics.

At any and every stage of civilization, man is surrounded by forces of Nature, which seem more or less beyond his control. This consciousness of physical weakness is universal. Among the savages, this feeling bursts forth in a desire to fly from the influence of evil spirits; among the civilized, this feeling assumes the shape of desire for fellowship with the Divine: such a religious aspiration is characteristic of the highest civilization.

Even those, who ordinarily care very little for religion, feel anxious, especially, in times of danger, to seek help from a Being, Whom they consider to be Supreme and Divine. The conception regarding such a Being differs at every stage of civilization.

In Zoroastrianism, Ahura Mazda has been considered an All-Wise, Just, Benign and Loving Father. This conception of Goodness and Power was higher and clearer than what was revealed to man before Zoroaster appeared on the scene. This God-ideal has exerted a remarkable influence upon humanity of all climes and times. Zoroaster relied upon it for bringing about a Kingdom of Heaven on earth.

As is said in the Gāthas, God does not forsake us after placing us in this World. "He is Guardian and Friend during lives." (Yasna XLIV, 2). "He is Protector during troubles." (Yasna XLVI, 7). "He is the Friend, the Brother and the Father of the earnest follower of the True Doctrine." (Yasna XLV, 11). "He aideth the realisation of Righteous Perfection." (Yasna XLIII. 4).

Even a cursory study of life and teachings of Zoroaster cannot fail to bring to our notice the practical way in which he applied his principles and tenets to the daily experiences of life. Those principles, inculcated thousands of years ago,

have stood the test of time and stand good even to-day. The chief characteristic of Zoroaster's teachings is their practical reasonableness which has influenced directly and indirectly the history of the world. His teachings reveal his impartiality, his broadmindedness and philanthropy.

Only a few great men have materially influenced the history of the world. One of such men was Zarathushtra, the prophet of ancient Iran. He brought about a fundamental change in the nature of human society. His influence is perceptible not only in the realm of ethics and politics but also in the affairs of the working world.

Stretching our imagination to those distant times when Zoroaster walked and talked in Iran, we find him a towering personality with a super-human intellect, with a remarkable moral boldness, as can be judged by the influence of his teachings.

How Zoroaster's Faith raised Society to its Honoured Position.

Zoroaster's work was not only religious, but was also social. He had to face practically the same problems as we have to do to-day. With a very keen discerning eye, he could judge aright of human nature, and the means employed by him then can prove of great utility even to-day.

No doubt, each society differs from every other society, in-as-much-as it is the product of heredity and envoironment. But so far as fundamentals are concerned, humanity is much the same in all times and climes. Though Zarathushtra's religion incidentally improved upon local atmosphere and local coloring of the former religion of Iran and though many of his teachings might have to meet local prejudices and conditions, his insight into human nature was so remarkably profound that his religion may be justly considered a Universal Religion.

As a Greak philosopher has observed, man is a sociable animal. None can live to himself alone. Men are inter-dependent. An individual is bound to influence those around him, and he in his turn is sure to be influenced by them. We are influenced by our parents and other members of the family and by social customs. Similarly, Zoroaster, as a profound thinker and a great teacher left an everlasting effect upon the religious and social thought of his times, which influence, in its turn, has left its mark on the society of all times since then.

In order that we may well understand the cause or causes of that remarkable religious and social revolution, we must carefully study primary human motives. Human motives are almost numberless and complex ; but some of them are almost universal, and we should study their characteristics.

Philosophers have taught us that man has a natural desire to spare his energy as far as possible in his everyday life. This kind of a general inertia has brought into play so many inventions by a few giant intellects that have largely contributed towards civilization. A similar desire is to be noticed in the domain of religion or in social life or even in politics Just as a few men of inventive genius have worked wonders in the domain of science and arts, a few great thinkers, statesmen and religious reformers have influenced great masses of men who are generally affected by mental and moral inertia. Zoroaster was such a great reformer and he brought about a revolution not only in the religious thought but also in the social customs of his times. And although he was met by several prejudices, which probably cost him his life, his teachings overcame the mental and moral inertia in course of a few centuries and ultimately brought about such wonderful results as have staggered humanity.

The Deep Wisdom of Zarathushtra's Teachings.

The Prophet of ancient Iran was first a thinker and then a teacher. Although he taught his followers to tell the truth, or to be pure in body and soul, or to love the Heavenly Father and also their neighbours and to serve the poor and the needy, and also to be kind to the dumb animals, he did not preach moral truths in a desultory or perfunctory manner but considered those moral truths as interdependent and affecting the life of man as a whole. With such a philosophical purpose in view he pondered over man's spiritual and moral life as an indivisible entity and thought out a system of First Principles of Life, from which such virtues as honesty, prudence, etc., are only the natural deductions. To elucidate this point we shall take a few instances. In Gātha 53-5, we find the Universal Standard and the Law of mutual intercourse, namely, " Let Rectitude be your mutual bond." From this fundamental principle many moral deductions can be drawn. In Gātha 43-1, we get the noble idea expressed in an equally noble manner,—" Only that, which is good for anybody what-so-ever, can be good for one's own self." From this profound truth we can easily deduce the maxim which we daily hear in life,—" Do unto others as you would that they should do to you. " In Gātha 30-3, we find a very profound and all-embracing moral precept,—" Of them two, those who are the wise would choose the Truth, but not would the unwise do so. "

In Gātha 34-8, we find the sublime principle,—" One who does not perceive Rectitude, the good Conscience is yet far from him. " In Gātha 49-5, we find the guiding principle,—" One who purifies his faith by the good Conscience," and in Gātha 48-3, we find the height of sublimity in the noble principle,—" By means of the deeds of good Conscience one becomes God-like "

In Gātha 31-7, we find the profound truth,—" Vahieshtem Mano (the Best Mind) which is the seat of Righteousness, is the only source of Discretion ".

In Gātha 53-2, we find the guiding principle,—" Teach us the Straight Path, which is the Creed the Loving Ahura hath given. "

In Gātha 34-12, we find the sublime principle,—" Tell me, Oh Mazda, so that I may hear, that one has to pursue truths for gaining blessings. "

The modern world will be much wiser, if the following practical principles are studied well ;—" He also is sinful, who is friendly to the sinful, and he is virtuous who is a friend of the virtuous. "—(Gātha, 46, 6). " Let not honest people give precedence to the villains " — (Gātha, 46-9). " Evil to the evil-doer, and happy blessing to the good. "— (Gāthas, 43-5). These principles clearly prove that the virtue of charity is not the only requisite, but an active good will and spirit of service are of prime importance.

What could be more educative than the pithy principle, " Of the Self the Lower and the Higher " (Gātha, 43-3). This clearly shows the dual nature of humanity, namely, the physical tendencies and spiritual propensities. In the same connection we find the precept, " Give me the best of all (gifts) *viz.*, the Truest Self. "—(Gātha 13-2). In Gātha 28-2, we find the equally noble desire, " So that Spenta (Mainyu) might establish us in personality."

In Gātha 53-8, we find the supreme moral principle, " Let both the high and the low, by virtue of moral courage, achieve Self-Consciousness, Self-determination and Self-satisfaction. " This reminds us of Tennyson's well known line " Self-knowledge, Self-reverence and Self-discipline. " It equally reminds us of the fact that the Prophet of Iran was averse to asceticism and extolled the life of a worldly man. Zarathushtra preached the philosophy of Action as opposed to Renunciation.

Zarathushtra never tolerated the idea of the annihilation of desires, but he preached that our desires should be good and be the outcome of the Spirit of Devotion and Duty

(Armaiti). In Yasna, 28-7, we find " Let Armaiti inspire our desires. "In the same connection, we find " Benevolent Mazda Ahura, let us attain our end (Gātha, 51-16). In Gātha 45–9, we find the noble desire,—" May God grant us the energy of promoting the increase of our cattle and men. "

For the perfect guidance of the Self, man has been endowed with the gift of conscience, which he has to use for his own guidance on all occasions : " The man who follows the multitude is a blind man. What he hears, that he becomes (because has no strength of character). May Ahura whose remembrance does us good, inspire the Conscience. " (Gātha 32-6). In the same connection, we have " That way we shall get perfection, which way the Self inclines." (Gātha, 33-9). What could be more heartening than the principle preached in Gātha 48-5 —" Let the world flourish, and afford scope for the free play of our aspiration." The inward call of the soul can be realised by following the principle laid down in Gātha 45-5, —" Those, who place their faith and choice in Me, attain Universal Self-realisation and Immortality."

What Zarathushtra taught to be the Summum Bonum.

For the realization of the Self, man has to work out his own way,—" Where Freedom of choice, has been given to the Will. " In Gātha 46-7, we find the principle that for man's guidance " God, Church and the Conscience are the real sources of strength." In the same connection, Gātha 46-12, teaches us, " Whenever amongst the heathens of Turan righteousness makes its appearance, material prosperity also increases, by virtue of a life of labour. Forthwith conscience comes to their aid and Mazda Ahura teaches them the way to bliss. " In Gātha 33-2, we find the most practical principle for the advancement of men, " Those, who fight the evil in word, thought and deed, who work hard for and dedicate themselves to the good, advance the wishes of Ahura Mazda and fulfil His Pleasure. "

And finally we come to the principle of the summum bonum of life, in a very small prayer which every true Zoroastrian utters dozens of times everyday, " Righteousness is the greatest good, and Bliss it is. There is a Rule of Life, and it is in this, that ' virtue for the sake of virtue, (is) the greatest good".

His Sublime Code of Ethics.

We shall now turn our attention to the Zoroastrian code of Ethics. For the sake of convenience, we shall divide it into personal, social and legal ethics.

Under the category of personal ethics, we may consider prayers, purity of mind and body, rules of conduct, diligence, reward and punishment, etc.

Social ethics may embrace manners and customs, communal affairs, trade and commerce, etc.

Under the class of legal ethics, we may discuss codes of criminal and civil law, administration of justice, etc.

The Nobe Life the Zarathushtran Lives.

Leaving bed at the break of dawn, a Zoroastrian has to offer prayer to Ahura Mazda for having protected him during sleep. In course of the day of 24 hours, he is supposed to offer prayers five times. He has to offer short prayers after satisfying natural purposes. On every occasion of offering prayer, he has to wash his hands, face and feet. The well known homely adage,—" Cleanliness is next to godliness " applies more to a Zoroastrian than to members of any other community in the world.

The prayers, that a Zoroastrian offers, always contain the good wishes for the ruler, members of his own community, mankind in general, for the whole Universe, and filial affection and devotion to the Heavenly Father.

There is a very extensive code of sanitation and hygiene, which treats of rules to be observed for physical, moral and spiritual purification.

Rules of conduct based on the principles of truth, honesty, diligence, self-control, etc., are detailed in the fullest particulars.

Herodotus says that from his earliest boyhood, a Zoroastrian was taught to tell the truth, ride a horse and wield a bow.

Implicit obedience to parents, respect to elders and courtesy to all are proverbial qualities of Zoroastrians.

"As you sow, so shall you reap" is fundamentally true not only in the case of the physical world, but also in connection with the moral and spiritual worlds of Zoroastrians.

The lady of the household is assigned an honoured position, and the pater-familias commands the respect of all members of the family. Monogamy is strictly enjoined, and celibacy is absolutely condemned. Wedded life is highly praised, and a man with children is supposed to have done his duty not only in this world, but is considered well equipped even for the life hereafter. Kindness, charity, love for mankind and kindness towards dumb animals, service to the world, hospitality, the spirit of forgiveness, etc., are some of the social virtues.

Agriculture, including animal husbandry, is considered the noblest of occupations. "He who sows corn, scores as much merit as if he had said ten thousand prayers". Trade and Commerce are looked down upon; because a trader is supposed to tell lies for the sake of successful business, and in the Zoroastrian code of ethics, a lie is a very great sin and is the mother of several sins.

It would not be inopportune here to speak of a Zoroastrian dictum regarding man's conduct towards others. Zoroaster has preached the spirit of forgiveness; nevertheless, he has enjoined resistance to evil. He rightly believed that for properly governing the world, justice was as essential as mercy, and in justice tempered with mercy.

The King is the head of the administration of justice. He is held in the highest esteem and is beyond reproach. Verbal or written contracts are to be highly respected, and to go back upon one's word is considered a heinous offence.

As a debtor has to tell lies, he is never respected. A true Zoroastrian avoids debts, as far as possible.

To espouse the cause of the poor and the oppressed, and to get their grievances redressed is considered not only a meritorious act but even a bounden duty of a Zoroastrian.

Regarding the ancient Zoroastrians, it can be said without being accused of exaggeration,

" To Earth's nations they were proclaiming
Away with the myth-grown creeds ;
But practise the Love-laws unceasing :
' Good thoughts, good words, and good deeds' ",

And it can be justly said of a true modern Zoroastrian,

" And simple his faith, and unchanging
Among the contending creeds ;
Through all his long life illustrating
' Good thoughts, good words and good deeds' "

THE TERM 'DEVA': THE EVOLUTION IN MEANING IT HAS UNDERGONE.

B. T. Anklesaria.

In prehistoric times, when the Āryans were living together, prior to the migration of their various tribes from their original home, the epithet 'deva' was used to convey the sense of 'divine', 'heavenly', even the word 'divine' having come into being from the root 'div' (="to shine"). As a noun the word 'deva' was applied to the inmates of heaven. The Greeks called their greatest God 'Zeus'. The old Latin named him 'Deus'. With the advent of Zarathuṣtra, about eight millennia ago, the Irano-Āryans who followed his views gave a distinctly new meaning to the term.

Whereas in the pre-Zarathuṣtrian period, the 'devas' were "divine men", occupied with divine things, gods among men, Zarathuṣtra and his followers vie with the 'devas', run them down as pretenders and proclaim themselves to be the real devotees of 'Asura'. When the real purport of the 'Akhvyāchā khvaētuṣ', Yasna Hā 32, will be properly explained, we will be able to follow closely the events which happened when Zarathuṣtra introduced his new ideals amongst the Āryans. In the very first stanza of this hymn, Zarathuṣtra declares:

"The kinsman, with his confrères, and the 'daēvas' with egoistic bent of mind begged His, Ahura Mazdā's service and friendship, saying: 'Be we Thy messengers, restraining those who are hostile to Thee.'"

With this utterance, Zarathuṣtra commences his attack against the orthodox divine men of old, the 'devas', who used to believe in the spiritual being 'Asura' and offered

their service and devotion to Him. Zarathuṣtra claims for himself and his followers the privilege of being the true devotees of 'Ahura'. Not content with this, in the third stanza he declares :

"Then, you 'daēvas' all are the seed of the evil mind, and he who most adores your lie and irreverence is even a scoffer with wiles, wherefor you have been noted in the seventh of the earth."

This stanza shows that the old Āryan worship, instituted by the devas', divine men, was spread over the seventh part of the whole world, at the time when Zarathuṣtra wanted to replace it by Mazdā-worship.

The next three stanzas express the views of Zarathuṣtra as to these 'devas', divine men, of his time :

"Since you instigate those men of the worst knowledge, who are said to be beloved of the 'Daēva', who are hinderers of good thought, destroyers of the Divine Wisdom of Mazdā Ahura and of the Holy Law ; you deceived, with this, mankind of good life and of immortal progress ; and when, with evil thought and with evil word, the evil spirit proclaimed unto you 'daēvas' the work whereby power comes to the wicked, you strived to win over the sinful of whom the fame is heard, so to say. O Ahura ! Reckoner of the living ! this is known by means of the Best Mind ; and I have extended my invocation to the Holy Law, in Thy kingdom, O Mazdā !"

With these words, Zarathuṣtra impeaches the divine men of his time as instigators of those who hinder the progress of good thought and destroy the Divine Wisdom and the Holy Law of Ahura Mazdā, as deceivers of mankind who win over the sinners to their side.

In the stanzas 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, and 15, Zarathuṣtra recounts the deeds of Yima Vivanghat who flourished

long before him, and of his contemporaries Duṣsasti, Mānā, Grēhma, the Karaps and the Kāvayas who were 'daēvas', divine men, religious heads, princes and kings. The whole hymn is full of historical details and clearly lays before us the work of the divine men who flourished in Zarathustra's time in the Āryan Community.

If we pass on to the 'Taṭ thwā peresā' hymn, Yasna Hā 44, Zarathuṣtra gives his own opinion of the 'daēva' kings in the twentieth stanza :

"How ever could the 'daēvas' be good rulers, O Mazdā ! Then, this I ask: Even they who prepare those by whose aid the Karp and the Usikhṣ have handed over the earth to Wrath, and by such practice the Kavas have risen to fame ; they do not water the earth in consonance with the Holy Law in order to increase pasture."

In this stanza, of course, there is special reference to the 'daēva' kings and princes, the Kavas, the Karps and the Usikhṣ who, we are told, neglected agriculture.

The 'Aṭ fravakhshyā' hymn Yasna Hā 45, contains a prediction as to the sovereign who, at the end of the world, will be helpful to the future saviours against the 'daēvas' and men of their following :

"He who condemned these 'daēvas' and other men who scorned him, other than him who was devoted to His worship, will be friend, brother or father to the protecting saviours, with the holy faith of a sovereign, O Mazdā !" (Yasna Hā 45, 11.)

If we carefully study other references to the 'daēvas, in the Gāthā hymns, we will find that the prophet, composer of these hymns, always invariably referred to the divine men of his time from whose views he had differed. (See Yasna Hā 29, 4 ; 34, 5 ; 48, 1; 49, 4.)

If we pass on from the Gāthās, the oldest literature of the Zarathuṣtrians, to that which was composed immediately after Zarathuṣtra by his followers, we find that the early followers of Zarathuṣtra who laid down the articles of the Zarathuṣtrian faith, used the term 'daēva' for the man who followed the Āryan creed which existed before the advent of Zarathuṣtra.

Yasna Hā 12, written in the Gāthā dialect, is a declaration of faith which a neophyte had to utter as a solemn vow before being admitted into the Zarathuṣtrian fold. It commences with the words 'nāismī daēvō', *i. e.*, "I, 'daēva', abjure my creed." With these words, the man of the old Āryan creed relinquished his 'daēva-ism' and came over to Zarathuṣtrianism. In this whole chapter, the word 'daēva' is used to mean "the man who believed in 'deva' as the divine being worthy of worship".

There are other places in the Yasna, where the same meaning of the term 'daēva' exists.

If we now turn our attention to the text of the 'Vi-daēva-dāta', the "Code of Laws opposed to the 'Daēva'", what do we find ?

We find the word 'daēva' used to impart the meaning of "evil spiritual force" ; *e. g.*, Vīzaresha daēva' (Vd. 19, 29), "the daēva who drags the soul of the wicked to the worst existence" ; 'Indra daēva', 'Sāuru daēva', 'Nāoṅhaithya daēva', 'Taurvi', 'Zairi', 'Aeshma', 'Akatasha daēva', 'Būiti daēva', 'Driwi daēva', 'Daiwi daēva', (Vd. 19, 43, 10, 9-13) ; 'daēva kuṅda, banga, vibanga' (Vd. 19 41); 'aṅro mainyuṣ daēvanāṁ daēvō. (Vd. 19, 1-43-44) and other places.

Here, in the 'Vi-daēva-dāta' , the term 'daēva' has been assigned a distinct meaning, rarely, if ever traceable to the

Gāthās; various evil spiritual forces are named and distinguished with the appellation 'daēva', and 'aŋra mainyu', the leader of them all, is called 'daēvanām daēvô'.

As soon as this special meaning was assigned to the word 'daēva', the terms, 'dāeva-yāza' and 'daēva-yasna" ("daēva worshipper") came into being.

This degradation of the exalted term 'deva', evolved the idea of the 'Devil' in the Old and the New Testaments. This was due to the meaning of the Zarathuṣtrian term 'daēva', which was well-known to the Semites, the Hebrews and the Christians, having been imitated by them; the Semites having equated the 'Satan' with the 'Devil' and made him the "prince of evil spirits."

In the Neo-Persian literature, the term 'div' has been used of "mischievous men," "men of irrascible temperament"

REFERENCE TO EAGLE AND OTHER MYSTERIOUS BIRDS IN ANCIENT LITERATURE.

KAIKHOSROW ARDESHIR FITTER,
Bombay.

Auspicious influence attributed to the Eagle.

The position held by the auspicious bird EAGLE among the European Nations from the time of Jesus Christ down to the present, is amply described in the Encyclopaedia Britannica and other works in various European languages. I, however, will confine myself only to the ancient literature, both profane and religious, in dealing with this interesting subject.

Mysterious Birds Referred to in Ancient Iranian Literature.

The Eagle is given a very honoured place in the history and religions of the Āryans of Iran, India and Europe. However, there are references to mysterious birds in the old Iranian Literature. One is there represented as an angelic agency, and an emblem of power and greatness of the Āryans. Also in the ancient Iranian legends and history, we notice its exalted status. "The Shah Nama" or the "Book of Kings" of the poet Ferdousi, contains many interesting incidents, wherein this bird is shown playing an important part.

Their Mystical Powers.

*The blessed person, who possesses the feathers and bones of this mystical bird†, can never be smitten by any kind

* Behram Yasht, paras. 35-38.

† Peshō-Parain by name.

of magic or hurt by wounds. The possessor of these therefore gets success and glory. With the help of the feathers, he attains success, displays great prowess, and exhibits so great mental powers that his enemies are in constant dread of him.

The possessor of the plumes is earnestly sought for by great generals and their assistants, for succour and guidance in times of danger. Such a blessed person was invited for help by the family and kinsmen of the Emperors Kai Kaus and Kai Khosrow. The mighty Shah Faridum was its possessor, who, by its help, smote the accursed Zohak, who had 3 mouths, 3 heads, 6 eyes, and possessed 1000 strategems, who was very powerful, arrogant and evil-minded, and who was created by Angramainyu for the devastations of the settlements of the Righteous Āryans.

The Eagle and the Sun.

It is stated that at the time of the dawn, when day's light is resurrected, the Eagle sets its eyes just before any other creation, on its light. The Sun's light revives Knowledge and Holy Spirit, which dispel darkness and annihilate ignorance and makes the Good Knowledge triumphant. The Eagle is the true lover, and the great and natural admirer of the Sun. There is a belief that the Eagle is the connecting link between this world and the next. It is the messenger of the gods. It is immortal and unconquerable.

Emblem of Power.

The Avestan scholar Dr. Dastur M. N. Dhalla, in his "Zoroastrian „Civilization", P. 369, says : "Among the birds, the Eagle represented the national glory, and stood as an emblem of greatness and power."

The eagle was revered by the Aryans.

The Rg Veda of the Hindus does not make any mention of the Eagle Still, in the Hindu Mythology, the Eagle Garuḍa is the vehicle (*Vâhan*) of the God Viṣṇu. The God

Indra is once compared to a 'Shayen'—which is variously translated as the Eagle or the Hawk. According to J. Muir's "Sanskrit Texts" Vol. I, P. 492, the Eagle is the great admirer of the Sun, and is the trusted guardian of the thousands of the Valkhilia Ṛṣis performing Tap (religious austerities), while hanging on trees. From the History of the Yādavas, Magadhas, Valkhilis, and the Bhojas the prominent ancient Āryan ruling tribes in India, said to have been descended from early Iranian settlers in it, it seems that they used to look with great reverence and love upon the Eagle, just as the Iranian Āryans used to do. It seems that these tribes used actually to worship both the Eagle and the Mountains. They used to put the emblem of the Eagle on their banners. On the standard of Lord Kṛṣṇa of the Hindus, it is said that the image of an eagle was depicted

Worship of the eagle.

The four Āryan tribes, which had come down from the Central Asia and settled in India, worshipped the Eagle and the Mountains, of which an interesting evidence is that an eagle is shewn sitting on the top of a mountain on the coins excavated from ancient ruins in India, which belonged to these tribes. It is worth while noting that just such a type of coins has been found in ruins in Mesopotamia. These 4 Āryan tribes, it seems were professing the good Mazdayasni religion.

The Babylonian and Egyptian gods in eagle bodies.

The Babylonian god Marduk has the shape of an eagle, and is represented as killing his mother Tiamut the Dragon. The Egyptian Sun God Horus is depicted as having the head of an eagle.

The Antagonists of the Eagle.

The terrible dragon or serpent, which resides in seas, is called by the name of "Vṛtra" by the Hindus. The Serpent is named "Setti" by the ancient Egyptians to which

the Babylonian female dragon Deity "Tiamut' can be compared. The Assura tribe settled in India from the Central Asia, called it "Kasiapa." Thus Serpent is the symbol of Darkness and therefore, Evil. The Āryan belief is that the Serpent or the Dragon is the enemy of the Eagle, which is the symbol of Light and Knowledge. These antagonistic forces—Light and Darkness, Good and Evil, the Eagle and the Serpent, are fighting each other every minute, hour and day. Their fighting will go up to the Resurrection Day, when eventually Light will totally destroy Darkness and the Eagle will kill the Serpent. Thus, the Eagle is the symbol of resurrection.

Sculptures in Iran, Babylonia and Egypt.

There is also another existing evidence of the Eagle being held in reverence in Iran, Babylonia and Egypt, for sculptures having eagle-shaped creatures are found in ancient ruins in all these countries.

Eagle the Symbol of the Majesty of the Aryan Glory.

It is recorded in the "Karanamak-Artakshir-i--Papakan" chapter 3, that when Artakhsir, the Founder of the Sassanian Dynasty in Iran, was fleeing from his internment in Ras to his far off country of Pars, he was followed throughout this memorable flight by a mysterious bird. His enemy, the Parthian Emperor Ardavan, asked his minister, a Dastur, as to why such a bird was following him. The minister replied that the Eagle was the symbol of the Majesty of the "Kayani Khoreh" or the Āryan Glory, and that though it was following him, it had not yet reached him. On the third day of the long flight, however, the enraged Emperor was informed that the mysterious eagle was seen actually riding with Artakhshir. Whereupon, the minister remarked that as at last the Majesty of the Kayanians had reached Artakhshir, it would be of no avail to try to capture him, and that as he was now under the special

protection of the Lord Ahura Mazda, nobody could now harm him. Artakhshir subsequently became the Founder and the first Emperor of the illustrious Sassanian Dynasty, which ruled from A. D. 226—651.

How an eagle saved the life of Emperor Artakhshir.

"The Karnamak-e-Artakhshir-Papakan", chap. 2, para 2, also gives an interesting incident, as under—

One day when Emperor Artakhshir was very hungry and thirsty, his Queen, who was the daughter of his enemy the Parthian Emperor Ardavan, handed him a goblet which contained poison mixed with flour and milk. After saying grace, he was on the point of drinking it, when, it is said that, the glorious Fire Farnabag, which is victorious, flew into the room in the shape of the Red Eagle, and struck the goblet, containing the poison, with its powerful wings, with the result that the goblet fell to the ground. Just then, a cat and a dog who were there, licked up the contents, and died immediately. The Emperor's life was thus said to have been saved by an eagle.

The Hero Rustom flying on an Eagle.

In the "Burzo Nama", Rustom, the national hero of Iran, is depicted as riding on a giant eagle (Si-morg) and flying to a distant country outside Iran, just in time to save two Iranian champions fighting each other.

Emperor Kai Kaus flew to Heavens.

It is recorded in the "Shah Nama" that the Kayanni Emperor Kai Kaus was so determined to probe the mysteries of the unknown heavens, that he flew in the air on a throne, which was driven by two very powerful eagles! Of course, his adventure resulted in a disaster.

The Auspicious bird Homa.

A certain high pedigree bird, called "Homa" was considered so auspicious by the ancient Iranians, that it is said

that whosoever was fortunate to come under the shadow of the wings of that bird, was sure to become a great ruler. The ancient Iranian legends relate incidents to support the belief.

The Mysterious Si-Morg of the Shah Name.

The stories of the illustrious hero "Zal-e-Zabouli" and the mysterious "Si-morg", (which is supposed to have been a bird of the species of the eagle, and of the national hero Rustom and the Si-morg, are well-known in the Shah Name, and show a survival of the ancient Āryan relation with this bird.

How the Si-Morg's Feather caused a Champion's Death.

I would like to quote an interesting incident from the Shah Nama— The national hero Rustom and mighty Aspandiar, the Crown Prince of Iran, were fighting a deadly combat. After the first day's duel, great Rustom was wounded in many places. He felt much anxiety about the result of the next day's combat. It is recorded that Rustom was a protege of the mysterious eagle Si-morg, and, naturally therefore, he consulted the guardian eagle about his plight. It is said that the eagle rubbed its feathers on all the wounds and healed them immediately. The Si-morg then gave certain instructions to Rustom for shooting an arrow in the eye of his great antagonist Aspandiar, and killing him that way. It was with the help of the bird that the mighty Aspandiar was killed. In gratitude, the hero Rustom always depicted a Si-morg on his standard.

Ali's Flag of the Eagle.

Even among the ancient Mohamedans, the eagle seems to have been given an honoured position. While describing the Battle of Badr, Mr. Emile Dermemghem, in his, "The

Life of Mahomet", P. 180, says— "Ali carried the black flag of the Mahajirun called the "Eagle".

The Eagle in Heraldry.

I conclude this paper with a quotation from the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. VII — "The Eagle, in Heraldry is accounted one of the most noble bearings in armory, and according to the learned in the science, ought to be given to none but such as greatly excel in the virtues of generosity and courage, or have rendered singular service to their sovereigns..... The eagle has been borne as an ensign or standard by several nations. The first who seem to have assumed an eagle were the Persians, according to the testimony of Xenophon".

As I said in the beginning of this paper, I have confined myself only to the ancient literature in treating the subject matter, leaving aside the fascinating and interesting study of the exalted position the Eagle has been holding since centuries among some powerful European Nations— and especially among the Germans, the Teutons and the Austro-Hungarians.

ZARATHUŠTRA'S DOCTRINE OF EVIL.

PROFESSOR DR. MANILAL PATEL, PH. D. (MARBURG),
Viśva-Bhāratī, Śāntiniketan.

"None of Ye shall listen to the doctrines
and precepts of the followers of Evil."
Yasna 31, 18.

I

One of the most persistent and perplexing problems humanity is ever faced with is the Problem of Evil. In our study of Comparative Religion we find, therefore, that the prophets, the saviours of mankind, were most preoccupied not only to investigate the origin of Evil but also to explain its existence and to show a way of overcoming it. The solutions of this enigma of Evil, as offered by the teachers of various religions, naturally differ in each case: every individual solution bears the impress of the personal philosophy and world-view of its advocate. Zarathuṣtra, the Prophet of ancient Iran, tackled the problem of Evil in a most original and characteristic manner. The way pointed out by him to face, fight and foil the advances of Evil is the most conspicuous contribution of his to the religious thought of the world. The following lines, which aim at presenting a concise statement on Zarathuṣtra's doctrine of Evil, are therefore placed before the Iranian Section of this conference in the hope that the audience, chiefly consisting of the devout Parsis, will not find them unworthy of their attention.

That a deep, first-hand study of the Gāthās of the Avestā is indispensable for a correct understanding of any of the doctrines of Zarathuṣtra goes without saying. But it cannot be too often emphasised that merely by running

over the Gāthic chapters (*hāṣ*) rapidly, of a limited extent as they are, one cannot find the core of the Zoroastrian doctrines. For, these 'song-sermons', though ringing true with the religious fervour of the Iranian Prophet, do not offer us his teachings in any systematic and finished form but only poetically so that one needs to read between the lines in certain stanzas. Moreover, some passages in the Gāthās are still obscure to the scholars, whilst not a few among others are found to admit of different interpretations. It is therefore necessary that I should, at the outset, mention that the interpretations offered in these lines are entirely based on my own reading of and researches into the Gāthās.

II

Good and Evil contend in human heart. Who can say when exactly these two forces came into being? Zarathuṣtra calls them 'spirits' (*manyavas-*) and seems to believe that the spirit of good (*spenta-manyu-*, lit. 'the Beneficent Spirit') and that of evil (*angra-manyu-*), who meet each other in this mundane world are primordial.[1] In other words, the prophet does not indulge in speculations about the original cause of the existence of evil but at once recognizes that the root of all evil lies deep in the human heart.

This very world is the battle-field where the forces of good are combating those of evil. Zarathuṣtra conceives this race between good and evil in terms of a real battle; he uses the verb *van-* 'to conquer' when he wishes to assert that good shall overcome evil.[2] In Yasna 44, 15 he makes mention of the "two hostile forces. come

1. Yasna 30, 3; 45, 2; cf. also 40, 2.
2. Yasna 48. 1 and 2: cf. 31. 4.

together." The parties representing *aša-* 'righteousness' and *drug-* 'evil deceit' are also called *rāna-* 'fighters'.[1]

Occasionally Zarathuštra uses other metaphors also with a view to laying emphasis on the fight against evil. Whoever chooses to join the forces of evil, not only menaces the life but actually harms it. Each individual therefore bears the entire responsibility of his or her actions. How is then one to keep oneself away from the clutches of the forces of evil? Surely not through repeating sacrificial or magical formulas, nor through performing purificatory or suchlike rites, but only through righteous behaviour. Hence in Zarathuštra's original doctrine, there is hardly any room for the priest as a protector of the sacred knowledge, or as a conductor of the cult. True, the sacrifice is occasionally referred to in the Gāthās, but not as a means by which to influence, and to win favours from the deity, but only as an external sign of respect felt innerly for the Supreme Being. Yasna 33, 14 says that Zarathuštra gives "the life even of his own body as an offering" inasmuch as he dedicates himself to the propagation of the teachings of the Wise Lord. It is also remarkable that the Gāthic word *yasna-*, corresponding to Ved. *yajña-* 'sacrifice', means 'thought' (rather than 'sacrifice') in Yasna 34, 1 where the author says, in essence, that the thought of pious men is sacrifice *par excellence*.[2]

The highest being, the Wise Lord, is to be extolled not in the crude ways of the primitives or of the latter superstition-ridden times (as reflected in Yašt 1), but in the hymns of praise and prayers, in which the pious express their reverence in accordance with *aremati-* 'the devotional mind'. This becomes evident from various stanzas of the

1. See Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wœrterbuch*, s. v.
2. Cf Meillet, *Trois Conférences sur les Gâthas de l'Avesta*, pp. 55ff.

Gāthās; for example, in Yasna 45, 10 *aremati-* is mentioned along with *yasna-* while in Ys. 49, 10 it is mentioned along with *namah-* (Ved. *namas-*) 'homage'. Also in Ys. 30, 1 do we find *staotā-* 'praises' and *yesnyā-* 'prayers' for Ahura-Mazda- and for Vohu-Manah- occurring side by side.

Zarathuṣtra expresses his conception of prayer as is shown, with the word *namah-* or with *yasna-*, and this conception of his encompasses all that one usually understands by 'worship' rather than by 'sacrifice'. The believer is represented to pray to the Wise Lord with "hands upstretched." A later Avestan text has explained the origin of prayer in Zarathuṣtra's conception as "the good thought" (*humata-*) In Ys. 34, 6 Zarathuṣtra promises the Wise Lord (and Righteousness and Good thought) a more joyful worship and praise if only a sign of the reversal of the sorely trying circumstances of his early prophetic career was given to him. The manner of this passionate prayer is most human and true to life.

III

The teacher of the new doctrine of the spiritual God can, first of all, do nothing else but make man conscious that from him is demanded a personal endeavour to face and tackle the most insistent problem of Evil, that he must himself make a choice between Good and Evil. Hence the metaphor of the two ways, from which to choose either. [1] But the right way is not perceived all at once by every one. To facilitate the proper perception of the good way, a prophet's activities are needed. It is expressly mentioned in Yasna 31, 2 that since, owing to the commanding activities of wickedness (*druj-*), the better way is not always clear enough for an immediate choice, Zarathuṣtra comes to us all as one whom the Wise Lord has recognised as judge (*ratu-*) of the two parties (ways), so

1. Yasna 31, 2: cf. 31, 9 f.; and 33, 5.

that we—human beings—may live in accordance with Righteousness. In other words, Zarathuṣtra's task is to see that the soul (*urvan-*) of man be quite awake, or it be made awake. In Yasna 28, 4 he says:

> "I, who, in union with Good Mind, have kept my heart on watching over the soul (of mankind) and who have known the rewards of the Wise Lord for deeds, as long as I can and may, so long will I teach (mankind) the seeking of Righteousness".

The exhortation and enlightenment which Zarathuṣtra offers in his sermon-hymns is the "great gift" [1] *maz- maga-* as the Gāthās would say. It is also called the gift of 'the Good Mind [2]'. The conceptions of *manthra* 'prophetic dictum' and *sāsna-* 'doctrine, are also used by Zarathuṣtra, who declares himself to be the *manthran-* 'the prophet' of the Wise Lord.

Each individual himself must, then, exactly examine and decide on which side he will place himself in this great fight between the Good and the Evil. No higher power, no capricious fate can decide the matter for man. Zarathuṣtra's own teachings as given in the Gāthās have nothing to do with magic and superstition, with signs and wonders, with astrological hints and popular omens.

The follower of Truth, Righteousness or moral Law.—of *aša*—is an intelligent being, quite aware of and alive to his duties in this world, and not a possessor of the alleged

1. Andreas, *Gestt. Nachr.* 1913, 376; there are various meanings ascribed to *maga-* by various scholars: but that given by Andreas appears to be most appropriate. In fact *maga-* is not the "present" of the deity to Zarathuṣtra, but a 'gift' which Zarathuṣtra offers to mankind: see C. V. Wesendonk *Das Weltbild der Iranier*, note 376, p. 312.

2. Yasna 51, 11.

mystical secrets. It is necessary to lay emphasis on this fact, for some scholars would see a reference to a 'secret doctrine' in Yasna 48,3 where mention is made of *gāzra sangha-*. In my opinion this stanza has an eschatological import; it refers to the hidden sentence of the judge to be pronounced at the end of things, as we know about it from Yasna 32, 6; and 57, 14. What Zarathuṣtra expects and demands of his followers is that they should listen to his sermons and assimilate their meaning, so that they might side with the right party, namely, with the forces of Good. The Prophet himself prays to Ahura Mazda in Yasna 44,17 that his sermons may produce the desired effect, and that welfare and immortality may grow through that sacred word in union with him who is an adherent of righteousness.

In Zarathuṣtra's world-view, the life and the individual being are given the most prominent place not without deeper reasons. In this respect the Zoroastrian doctrine signifies a fundamental turning point, which distinguishes the Mazdaism from the oriental world, also from India, where the pantheistic currents assert themselves and the extinction of the personality remains the aim in life. Zarathuṣtra, on the other hand, sees in the personality not a loosening from the divine, due to ignorance or sins, but definitely the discerning creative act of the deity, whose creation is presented as a shape in an artistic sense, as a "carving".[1] The personal responsibility of man is again and again emphasised as, for example, when it is said that because of their own actions the Self of the followers of Evil, shall lead them to a life of long-existing darkness, ill food, misery and woe of speech. In other words, Zarathuṣtra fully acknowledges the intrinsic value of every human soul.

1. Mark the expressions *taš*—in Yasna 29,6; 31,11; 44,6 f.; 49,9; 51,7; *tkwaraš*—Yasna 29,1; 37,2. The Creator is called *tkwaršiš*—in Yasna 29,6; 42,2; 57,6; cf. O. v. Wesendonk, *ibid.*, p. 87.

Man, therefore, is required not only to know, understand, and distinguish between the forces of the Good and those of the Evil, but—what is most important—to have the *will* to dedicate himself completely to the cause of Truth and Righteousness. This is one of the most striking contributions Zarathuṣtra has made to the progress of humanity. For "the kingdom of God belongs not to the most enlightened" as Amiel has said, "but to the best..... Society rests upon conscience and not upon science". The doctrine of Zarathuṣtra aims at the ethical and psychological betterment of the individual as well as of the society. The formula "good deeds, good words and good thoughts", sums up all moral and social injunctions which Ahura Mazda would wish his believers to carry out throughout their lives. One may even say that the quintessence of Zarathuṣtra's message is constrained in this formula. The ways of the good Thought, as is said in Yasna 51, 16, consist of this triad of the ethical postulates which Zarathuṣtra repeatedly enumerates and which one finds permeating the whole of the Mazdaistic religion. For, the good thought, the righteousness or the truth, the pious devotion, the right possession, the completeness or the wholeheartedness with which one should devote oneself to the appointed task, the immortality, the obedience to the claims of the good: these are the ethical commandments to which man should conform in his daily conduct.

Righteous action, righteous speech and righteous thinking are the means through which to fulfil the moral demands which Zarathuṣtra makes as the messenger of the Ahurian majesty. Zarathuṣtra wanted the ancient Iranians to be absolutely truthful and righteous in their thought, word and deed. To be righteous in thought was the first step in the right direction, without which "good word" and "good action" simply cannot exist. To be righteous in word is again an indispensable prerequisite to "good action".

The "good deed" means the choice of, and dedication to, the forces of good as against the forces of Evil. The behaviour of those who live in terms of *aša*—of Righteousness, is naturally instinct with Truth and Justice. Zarathuṣtra brought home to the princes and people of ancient Iran that his word, his doctrines were more powerful than the sacrifices and magic rites of the followers of older deities. For, his exhortations roused the insight and sense of responsibility in man. Himself an intensely religious personality, Zarathuṣtra steered clear of the maelstrom of metaphysics or of subtle abstract dialectics, or even of preaching and practising barren asceticism. In Ancient Iran Zarathuṣtra bade man to dedicate himself to God and goodness. He bids the same today if only man would listen to him.

SECTION III

ISLAMIC CULTURE AND RELIGION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Principal Moḥammad Shafi', *M.A.* (*Cantab*), *Lahore.*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is an honour to have been asked to preside over the Islamic Section of the Trivandrum session of the All-India Oriental Conference and I tender my best thanks to the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference, who elected me as President of this section a second time. In my address I propose first to give a brief survey, for the period following the Mysore session of this Conference, of some of the activities known to me at various centres connected with the studies in which this section is interested, and then to invite attention to the problem of the preservation and publication of Arabic and Persian inscriptions in British India and Native States.

The Majlis Dá'irat al-Ma'árif, Hyderabad is continuing to do valuable work. They have printed and published in the last few years the *Jawámi' Iṣláḥ al-Manṭiq* ascribed to Zaid b. Rifá'a, the *Tadhkirat al-Sámi' Wal-Mutakallim* of Ibn Jamá'a (d. 733) which throws light on the Islamic educational system in the middle ages, the famous *Kitáb al-Jamáhir fi Ma'rifat al-Jawáhir* of al-Bêrunî, the *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwa* of Ibn al-Jawzí (d. 597), a work drawn up on the lines of the *Ḥilyat al-Awliyá'*, and the third volume of Táshkuprízádeh's *Miftáḥ al-Sa'áda*, a copy of which was acquired by the India Office from Vienna. Mention may also be made of the following publications of theirs, viz. the *Ma'rifat 'Ulúm al-Ḥadíth*[1] and of the *Kitáb al-'Umda fi Ṣinā'at al-Jirāḥa*

[1] Edited by Dr. Moazzam Husain of Dacca. The same scholar published his edition of the Dīwān of Surāqa b. Mirdās al-Bāriqī in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1936.

by Ibn al-Quff (d. 685). Beside these, they have on hand, among other works, Bukhárí's *Ta'ríkh Kabír*, Ibn al Jawzí's *K. al-Muntazam*, and Nuwairí's *Ta'ríkh Iskandaríyyah*. Attention may also be invited here to the remarkable work of the Bureau of Translation and Compilation, Hyderabad, which according to a list issued by them early this year, has so far published 236 works dealing with about 21 subjects, in Urdú. Further they have 62 works still in the press, 105 under translation or compilation, and 119 selected for the same purpose.

The Anjuman-i-Taraqqí-i-Urdú has completed the printing of its *English-Urdu Dictionary*, a comprehensive and accurate work covering 1600 large pages. The Anjuman under the able direction of its indefatigable Secretary Maulaví 'Abdul Ḥaq, B.A., D.Litt., has shown considerable activity in directing the attention of those interested in the preservation and advancement of Urdú towards its problems. At the Aligarh session of the Urdú Conference held in October 1936 a definite programme for the future was drawn up and live interest in the problem created, as shown by the numerous branches of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqí-i-Urdú, which have been formed all over the country. The solution of the Hindí-Hindustání problem offered at Patna may also be taken as a result of the same awakened interest in the question of the linguistic unity of India.

The Dár-ul-Muṣanniffn of A'ẓamgarh has been as active as ever. They have printed the *Ta'ríkh Ṣiqilliya*, vol. 2, and have still in the press the *Siyar-i-Tábi'ín*, and a work on the History of Islamic Madrasahs in India. They have under compilation works dealing with the life and philosophic thought of al-Rází, Ibn Taimíya, and Hume; a translation of Ibn Khaldún; a History of India in several volumes; a history of the Islámic system of Education; an Arabic-Hindustání Dictionary; and the second volume of the *Ruqqa'át-i-'Alamgírí*.

In the Universities a lot of good work is being done. In Bengal Prof. M. Isḥáq of the Calcutta University has in hand the third volume of the *Sakhunwarán-i-Írán dar 'Aṣr-i-Ḥáḍir*, Prof. M. Zubair Ṣiddíqí has completed the first volume of his history of Ḥadíth and the connected sciences, and is editing Bêrunî's *Risála fi'l-'Amal bi'l-Iṣṭarláb*. He has also taken up the edition of Saif b. Muḥammad al-Harawí's *Táríkh-i-Herát*, originally undertaken by K. B. Maulaví 'Abdul Muqtadir.

In the Allahabad University Prof. A. S. Ṣiddíqí is bringing out a new critical edition of al-Jawáliqí's *K. al-Mu'arrab*. Dr. Zubaid Aḥmad is publishing shortly his thesis on Arabic works produced in India, and Dr. Sa'íd Ḥasan's work on the history of the Early Búyids is also awaiting publication. Prof. M. N. Reḥmán has published his work on the *Kunya*-names in Arabic (Allahabad University Studies Volume) and an edition of Taírashí's *Shahnam-i-Shádáb*. A Research student of the University has published Junaid Baghdádí's treatise entitled *Ma'áli 'l-Himam* (Allahabad University Studies Volume), another is engaged in preparing an edition of the Farhang-i-Jahángírí, still another, of the Tadhkira-i-bí-Naẓír of 'Abdul Wahháb, dealing with Persian poets.

At Aligarh M. 'Abdul 'Aziz Maiman is busy editing a lot of unpublished material. His editions of Abú 'Ubaid al Bakrí's *Al-La'álí* and of Al Mubarrad's *Nasab 'Adnán wa Qaḥṭán* have been published, and those of the *díwáns* of al-Afwah al-Awdí, al-Shanfara 'l-Azdí, and Ibráhím b. al-'Abbás al-Ṣúlí are in the hands of the printers, while those of Káb b. Zuhair, Ḥumaid b. Thawr al-Hiláli and Suḥaim 'Abd Beni 'l-Ḥasḥás are ready to go to the press.

In the Lucknow University Dr. 'Abdul 'Alím is engaged on a critical survey of the literature produced in the *Jáhili* period, and Syed Mas'úd Ḥasan Ridawí, on a history of the development of Urdu Marthiya.

In my own University (the Panjáb) the *Analytical Indices of the Kitáb al 'Iqd* of Ibn 'Abd Rabbihí al-Andalusí (2 volumes) have been published, also 'Alí b. Zaid al-Bahaqí's *Tatimmat Ṣiwán al-Ḥikma* (in Arabic and Persian). The newly-started Arabic and Persian Society has begun the publication of its historical series with a memoir on the Táj Maḥal of Agra. The Proceedings of the last session of the Idára-i-Ma'árif-i-Islámía are almost ready for publication, and a Descriptive Catalogue of the Historical Manuscripts now in the Panjáb University is in the Press and will appear shortly.

In Bombay Dr. Dá'údpotá has recently completed his edition of the *Chach Námeh*. In the same Province, The Islamic Research Association has published Dr. A. J. Arberry's edition and translation of Abú Sa'íd al-Kharráz's *Kitáb al-Ṣidq* (Islamia Research Association Series No. 6).

The Department of Arabic, Persian and Urdu of the Madrás University has published an Urdú translation of the *Wáqi'át-i-Aṣfarí* of Mírzá 'Alí Bakht Kúrgání of Delhi, as its *Bulletin* No. 1. The work is a biography of the author and incidentally gives an account of the Mughal Empire in its period of decay. The Department has several other works to its credit.

The above account of work done in Arabic, Persian and Urdú has no pretensions of completeness but, though inadequate, it gives enough indication of valuable work published or attempted in connection with the Islámic studies and of the growing interest in them in the various parts of the country.

I am now going to refer to a matter which is to my mind of considerable importance from the point of view of those interested in the history of Islámic Culture in India, viz., the preservation, collection and publication of Arabic and Persian inscriptions in the various parts of British India and Native States. The Archæological Department

have published some important ones out of these, and may publish more in the near future, as I shall presently mention, but a lot still remains to be done and unless early and organised efforts are made by competent scholars to collect, publish and interpret this material, much of it is bound to be lost or damaged and become inaccessible to students. A few examples will illustrate my point.

In 1927 I paid a visit to the famous fort of Ranthambor, in the Jaipur State, accompanied by a learned friend, who had visited it some ten years earlier and had brought me on the above-mentioned occasion all the way from Láhore to show me the inscriptions which he had seen on the buildings between Khiljípur and the Fort. To our surprise we found that not one of the said inscriptions was to be found in its place; they had all disappeared. We were told they had found their way to Sawái Mádhopúr but in spite of all our efforts we could not trace their owner. Similar inscriptions, I know, have been removed from other places in Rájpútána—I saw one of these in Láhore only the other day.

In 1936 the Idára-i-Ma'árif-i-Islámía, a Láhore institution which owes its existence practically to the generosity of H. E. H. the Nizám, gave financial assistance to Mr. Moḥammad 'Abdulláh Chaghtá'í who undertook to collect epigraphical material for them. Mr. Chaghtá'í secured from various places in Western India—Gujrát, Kathiáwár, Márwár, etc., stampages of about 150 inscriptions, a good many of which had not been studied before. The Idára has not adequate funds to publish them, so they must await publication and remain inaccessible, one does not know how long. The Archæological Department of the Government of India copied a number of those which Mr. Chaghtá'í obtained from Gujrát and Rájpútána, but I am not aware if the matter has gone any further than that.

In the Salt Range in the Jhelum District are to be found the ruins of Nandnah the fortress which Mahmúd

took from the Jaipálís[1] in 405 A.H./1014 A.C. The Fort appears later in the history of the descendants of Maḥmúd, and of Qabácha the ruler of Sind, whose *Na'ib* Qamar al-Dín sent presents from here[2] to Jalál al-Dín Khwárazmsháh in 619 A.H./1222 A.C. and of Iltutmish. It received a visit from Akbar, who planted in the town of Nandnah, at the foot of the Fort, now called Baghán-wála, a garden, traces of which are still in existence (*Akbar Námeh*, Bibl. Ind. Series, III, 350).

Now in this highly interesting place, which I visited early this year, I found fragments of a tombstone, bearing an inscription. All the pieces, unfortunately could not be collected, and therefore the history of the tomb was practically lost. The pieces that I could trace were legible enough, though the *Jhelum Gazetteer* (p. 4) told us in 1904 that the fragmentary inscription was too far gone to be legible. In a similar way has the inscription on the Choburjí in Lahore suffered. Parts of it, which fortunately were copied in a scrap-book less than a century earlier, have now disappeared from the Choburjí.

I need not elaborate the point any further, for many of us would have noted similar cases of unedited epigraphical material and its loss to scholarship. What requires our immediate and serious attention is the urgent need of organised efforts to save this material from oblivion. "The Archæological Department and its officers competent to deal with this subject" are doing "what they can in this respect, side by side with their multifarious other duties."[3] But is it not the duty of other scholars interested in these matters to do their bit, and exert themselves for a more rapid advance in this branch of their studies?

The following information received in September, 1937 I owe to the courtesy of the Director-General of

[1] Názim, *Maḥmúd*, p. 91.

[2] See Nasawí, *Sírat al-Sulṭán Jalál al-Dín* (Paris, 1891), p. 86[17]. Read ﻛﻨﺪﻧﻪ instead of ﻛﻨﺪﻧﻪ.

[3] From a letter of the Director of Archæology to me, dated in September, 1937.

Archæology in India, as to what is being done for the Muslim inscriptions in India :

'An intensive epigraphical survey of Muslim inscriptions in Sind and Bombay is already in progress and a comprehensive memoir on the inscriptions of Bijapur (No. 49 by Dr. Nazim) was published by the Department last year. A vast number of inscriptions at Tatta and Makli Hills in Sind have also been collected and translated by Mr. Moneer of the Western Circle. He expects to revise his text by comparing them with the original inscriptions on the spot, next October. It is proposed to publish all the Tatta inscriptions in the form of a memoir of this Department. A number of inscriptions in Gujrat and Rajputana brought to my notice by Mr. Chaghtai were recently copied by the Department. In Bengal, Bihar and Central Provinces scholars are engaged in collecting and publishing Arabic and Iranian inscriptions. All the historical and non-historical inscriptions occurring on Delhi monuments have been published and a systematic attempt is being made to collect the inscriptions of the early Pathan rulers and Mughal Emperors in the United Provinces'.

The above account has no reference to the rich Arabic and Persian epigraphical material of the Punjáb, N.-W. F. Province, certain parts of Rajpútána and several other Provinces and States, and even in the Provinces named in the above there is ample room for the co-operation of several scholars.

Within the last two years I have visited Sind four times and found its old cities like Thatta, Sehwan, Rohrí and Sukkur possessing numerous unedited and unpublished inscriptions of considerable interest and some of them raising interesting problems. It is possible to refer only to a few of them here.

(1) *The tomb of Ḥájí Abú Turábí.—The Gazetteer of the Province of Sind* (Karachi, 1907), p. 91 has the following :—

'One great Shekh, by name Abú Turáb, who took

the important fortress of Bukkur and did other deeds of valour, claims our interest because his tomb, situated about two miles from the village of Gujo in the Mirpur Sakro Taluka and about ten miles west from Tatta, and bearing the date A.H. 171 (A.D. 788), must be the oldest historical record of any kind in Sind'.

I visited the tomb in 1935 but to my great disappointment could not trace the inscription of A.H. 171. Apparently the remarks in the *Gazetteer* are based on the following statement in Mír 'Alí Shêr Qáni'í's *Tuḥfat al-Kirām* (composed circa A.H. 1181), III. 26 :—

'It was in his time (i.e. the time of 'Alí son of 'Ísá son of Háman,[1] Governor of Sindh under Hárún) that the strong fort of Tharrah in the region of Skorah, the town of Bakar, and some of the villages of that region to the west of Sindh (river?) were taken by Sheikh Abú Turáb, who was a highly honoured individual belonging to the second generation after the Prophet (*tabi'tábi'ín*) and whose mausoleum, along with the tombs of other martyrs, is still visited by the pious.[2] On the dome (*bar sar-i-Gumbas*) the date of building of the mausoleum is given as 171'.

I have already said that I could not find this inscription on the dome. But even if it was there, at a point, which could not be seen by going round the mausoleum, one would like to make sure that the writing belonged to the 2nd century of the Hijra. That the dome itself does not date from the 2nd century is proved by an inscription inside the mausoleum on its eastern wall. This inscription[3] tells us that the 'lofty' dome over the mausoleum of the saint Sheikh Ḥájí Abú Turáb was built under the superintendence of Músá b. Shahján on Ṣafar 3, 782 A.H., by the

[1] So also in the author's autograph copy, which is with me. The correct form is Máhán. Baladhorí, p. 444 mentions *Máhánís* of the time of Ma'mún and Mu'taṣim, who were in Sandán and Hind, but not 'Alí b. 'Ísa b. Máhán.

[2] *Ahl Allāh*, lit. the friends of God.

[3] For the text of the inscription and a block reproduction of a charcoal rubbing of it see the *Oriental College Magazine* for February, 1935, p. 141.

order of Jám 'Alá'al-dín, under the suzerainty of Sháh Fírúz (Tughlaq, r. 752/1351–790/1388).

(2) *Two Sehwan Inscriptions.*—Sehwan, on the eastern bank of the River Sind, 'is one of the few towns in Sind of which unbroken continuity with the remote past is attested.'[1] It has an ancient fort, now in ruins, and its ruins are covered with numerous fragments of blue tiles of different periods. Sehwan has also the tomb of 'Uthmán, originally of Marand in Adhar-báyján, commonly known as Lál Shahbáz Qalandar, who visited[2] the court of Sulṭán Moḥammad son of Ghiyáth al-Dín Balban in Multán, and then settled down in Sehwan. His tomb, which was visited by Ibn Baṭṭúṭah in 734 A.H./1334 A.C. 'is still the most venerated shrine in Sind'.[3]

The mausoleum has several inscriptions[4] in it, two of which are from the 8th century of the Hijra era, two from the 11th and one from the 12th. But the most important of the whole lot were two inscriptions which I discovered accidentally in the cemetery just behind the mausoleum. They are inscribed in *Ta'líq* on two stones, $29\frac{1}{2}'' \times 18''$ and $28\frac{1}{2}'' \times 12\frac{1}{2}''$ respectively, built in a wall $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high.

The larger inscription which has six Persian verses, tells us that the king of kings Muḥammad Sháh died on the night of Saturday, the 21st Muḥarram 752. The smaller inscription which has four lines in the same metre and with the same rhyme as in the larger inscription, supplements it and shows that in the year 754, in the reign of Fírúz Sháh, a dome was erected over the tomb of the Sulṭán.

[1] *The Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, p. 86, footnote 3.

[2] In 662, according to the *Tuḥfatul-Kirám*, but this cannot be correct as Balban ascended the throne in 664.

[3] *The Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, p. 94.

[4] For the text of these see the *Oriental College Magazine* for February 1935,

The text and a translation are given below :

TEXT

(*a*) Text of the larger inscription :

جهان مردم کش است ای دل مباش از جان وفادارش
کي جز کین و جفا نامد [1] ز بیدادي دگر کارش *
تو از حال محمد شاه برگیر اعتبار ازوي
کي چون اورنگ شاهي در ربود این دور غدارش *
شهنشاهیست این ای خواجه کش بیني بخاک اندر
کي همچون بندگان بودند شاهان جهانداراش *
اگرچه پیش ازین صد بار دربارش چنان دیدي
کنون چشم خرد بکشا دریغا بنگر این بارش *
جهان بکشاد از مردي وبخشید از جوانمردي
بدهر از کوشش وبخشش فراوان بود کردارش *
[شد از ؟] ماه محرم [بیست و یک ؟] کاندر شب شنبه
گذشته هفصد و پنجاه و دو شد عزم آن دارش *

(*b*) Text of the smaller inscription :

بعهد دولت فیروز شاه خسرو گیتي
که یزدان بر سریر سلطنت بادا نگهدارش *
بر آن سلطان دین پرور بر آمد این چنین گنبد
کي آمد پیش پاي گنبد گردون دوارش *
بسال هفصد و پنجاه و چهار از هجرت احمد
قبول بندهٔ درگاه او سر مست معمارش
[illegible] گنبد..... [illegible]
کي باد از حضرت یزدان هزاران [illegible]

[1] *Sic.*

TRANSLATION

(*The larger inscription*)

The world is murderous, O Heart! do not entertain sincere feelings of loyalty towards it.
For due to its tyrannical disposition, it has nothing else to do but to oppress and show malice.
Take warning as to its conduct, from the case of Muḥammad Sháh,
For what a glorious monarch this treacherous revolution of it has snatched away!
He, whom you see in the grave, was a mighty Emperor, O Master! who had as his slaves many a ruling monarch.
Though you had seen his glorious court a hundred times,
Open the eyes of wisdom now, and see him here (in the grave) this time!
He conquered the world with his valour and gave it away with magnanimity.
Much he had to show in the world both of valour and magnanimity.
It was on the night of Saturday, the 21st of Muharram, 752,
That he made up his mind to go to the Yonder World.

(*The smaller inscription*)

In the reign of Fírúz Sháh the Lord of the World—
May God protect him on his throne!—
A dome was raised on that Defender of the Faith,
Such that the revolving sky is, as compared with it, only a carpet placed in a vestibule.
This was in the year 754 of the Hijra,
The architect was Sarmast, favoured[1] of the Sultan's slave.

[1] Appar. this is a pun on Qabúl, a slave of Fíruz, who rose to a high position. See *Barani*, p. 528.

. . . . (illegible) dome . . . (illegible)
On which may the Lord shower a thousand
(illegible) . . . !

This Muḥammad Sháh, who died in Muḥarram 752 A.H./1351 A.C. and on whose tomb a dome was raised in the reign of Fírúz Sháh in 754/1353, could be no other than Muḥammad Tughlaq, Emperor of Delhi. According to the *Ta'ríkh Fírúz Sháhí* (Biblioth. Indica Series, p. 524 *seq.*, 535) Muḥammad Sháh died on the 21st of Muḥarram 752/20th March 1351, on the bank of the River Sind at 12 kos from Thatta, and, on the 24th Muḥarram Fírúz Sháh was crowned as king at the same place. On the next day he started with the army back to Delhí. He halted at Sewastán (or Sehwan) for a few days and then proceeded to Bhakkar. Not a word is said, however, by Baraní about the burial of Muḥammad Sháh.

The *T. Mubárak Sháhí* (B. I. Series, p. 118 *seq.*), written about eighty-seven years later than the events described above, repeats most of these statements but adds:

'He (Fírúz Sháh) himself started with successive marches towards the capital Delhi, after placing the coffin of Sultán Moḥammad on an elephant with the *chatar* set over it.' In the following pages, however, nothing is said about the coffin and all that we are told (see p. 123) is that Fírúz Sháh reached Delhí on the 2nd Rajab 752/August 25, 1358 i.e. over 5 1/3 months later.[1]

The above-quoted remarks in the *Mubárak Sháhí* must have, however, given rise to the tradition that Sulṭán Muḥammad Tughlaq was buried in Delhí, and both Sir Syed Aḥmad Khán[2] and General A. Cunningham[3] locate this tomb inside the mausoleum of Tughlaq Sháh. But

[1] The earlier authority, viz. Baranī places the entry of Fīrūz Shāh into Delhī a few days earlier. See *T. Fīrūz Shāhī*, p. 546.

[2] *Āthār al-Ṣanādīd* (Delhi 1270), ch. 3, p. 29.

[3] Archæological Survey of India, Four Reports during the years 1862-65 (Simla, 1871), p. 216.

the two inscriptions referred to above indicate clearly that Muḥammad Sháh was buried in Sehwan in 752 and that two years later a dome was erected on the tomb. This conclusion is supported by the following considerations :—

(i) Fírúz Sháh took over five months to reach Delhí, where the vizír Khwája-i-Jahán had placed on the throne a supposititious son of Muḥammad. It was most unlikely that he would have carried the coffin with him, under the circumstances, for so many months.

(ii) Sehwan belonged[1] to the Empire of Delhí and possessed a strong fort. It was quite natural that in the uncertainty of his position at the time Fírúz Sháh should have preferred to bury Muḥammad Sháh at Sehwan.

(iii) The inscriptions are written exactly in the same style, as other 8th century inscriptions in the place, leaving no doubt as to their genuineness. That which records the date of the death of Muḥammad Sháh gives also the name of the day, which is not given in the historical works, thus supplying an extra proof of its genuineness.

One may here allude in passing to the obvious traces in Sind of the influence of the brilliant court of Sulṭán Ḥusain Abu'l-Ghází of Herát. The Arghúns were originally connected with that court and the artistic taste of that court is still reflected in the beautiful Nasta'líq and Naskhí inscriptions dated in the 10th century on about twenty-five tombstones in the graveyard at Sehwan, situated between the Railway Station and the town.

(3) *Rohri-Sukkur.* We pass on to the twin cities of Rohri-Sukkur. The ruins of the ancient city of Alor and its modern representative have no inscription,[2] except one dated 1008/1599 which was inscribed by the order of that prince of inscribers Mír Moḥammad Ma'ṣúm of Bhakkar. Rohrí has several mosques and mausoleums

[1] Cf. Ṣubḥ al-A'shá, V. 77-; *'Ajáib al Asfár* III, 105.
[2] *The Oriental College Magazine*, August 1937, p. 89.

which have inscriptions,[1] e.g. a mosque near Khánqáh-i-Dín Panáh (inscription dated 1096/1685), another in the Dhak Bázár (inscription dated 1106/1694–5), the tomb of Sayyid Sultan Riḍawí with inscriptions dated in 1113 and 1116, but two buildings of Rohrí require special mention, from the point of view of inscriptions, viz. the Jámi' Masjid and the *Ṣuffa-i-Ṣafá*.

The Jámi' Masjid of Rohrí

The Jámi' has a Persian inscription above the outer entrance dated 992/1584 stating that a person called Ḥabíb superintended the building operations. Another, also in Persian, has ten verses. After praising Akbar, in whose reign the mosque was built, the poet gives the name of the founder thus :—

بندهٔ کمترین او یعنی * خان جم قدر مسند دوران ...
فتح خان آن که تیغ خونریزش * کرد بنیاد ظلم را ویران
مسجد جامع از برای ثواب * ساخته بر امید قصر جنان ...
سال تاریخش از خرد جستم * مسجدی کرد خان بگفت روان

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Masnad-i-'Álí Fateḥ Khán *Makáwat* was the Jágírdár of Bhakkar from A.H. 986 to 994, at first jointly with Parmánand, a relative of Rája Todar Mal, and later, independently (*Tárikh Ma'ṣúmí*, Panjab University MS. f.135 b). *Masnad-i-'Álí* was an Afghán title, which Fateḥ Khán held, as an *Amír* of Islám Sháh. Later he became an *Amír* of Akbar's court and died in 997 (Blochmann, Tr. of the *A'ín*).[1] He was also called Fattú Afghán (*Ṭabaqát-i-Akbarí* Bib. Ind. Series II, 440). Blochmann appears to have regarded Masnad-i-'Álí Fateḥ Khán and Fateḥ Khán Fílbán as two different persons, but from what has been said about it is clear that they were identical.

[1] For a fuller account of these inscriptions see the *Oriental College Magazine* for August 1937, p. 79 *sqq*.

The Ṣuffa-i-Ṣafā[1]

This structure is on a hill on the river bank opposite to the Bhakkar Fort. It has a level platform on which are many tombs with carved and inscribed gravestones, the principal one being that of Mír Abu'l-Qásim, which is dated 1018. According to the *Ma'āṯhir al-Umarā* III. 77, Mír Abu'l-Qásim son of Mullá Mír, was a Sayyid of Herát. From the service of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím he passed into that of Akbar, and after distinguishing himself in the Frontier district, he was appointed Governor of Bhakkar first in 1007, and again in the reign of Jahángír. The *Ṣuffa* was built in the second period and got its name from the Mír. It commands a beautiful view of the surrounding country (cf. *Ma'āṯhir* l.c.).

Sukkur Inscriptions

This town is rich in epigraphical material much of which is due to the Mughal nobleman Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bhakkar.[2] The Mír had a passion for inscribing on stone. He was sent by Akbar on an embassy to Persia and he left many inscriptions on his route to Iṣfahán and Tabríz. Bábur had built a Hall (*písh ṭāq*) on a hilltop in Qandahár and left an inscription on it. Mír Ma'ṣúm added to this inscription by appending to it a list of the provinces and towns included in Akbar's Empire. The work was completed in four years. The entrances to the Agra Fort and to the Jámi' Mosque at Fateḥpúr Síkrí bear his inscriptions, but perhaps the largest number of them is to be found in Sukkur, mostly dated between 1002/1593 and 1008/1599, which appears to be the period of the Mír Ma'ṣúm's building activity. Those on his minaret and his tomb have been already published (No. 8 *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Bombay 1879, p. 15 *sqq.*), but there are several more. Before discussing one of them I may mention that the chronogram of Mír Ma'ṣúm Nami's

[1] See the *Oriental College Magazine*, August 1937, p. 84 *sqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 80 *sqq.*

death, as inscribed on his tomb is بود نامي صاحب ملك سخن which yields 1014, but the *Tadhkira-i-Rûz-i-Rûshan* (p. 680) reads the *Miṣrâ'* as بوده نامي الخ which yields 1019. The latter date is more probable, if the information given in the *Ma'âṯhir al-Umarâ* (Bib. Ind. Series III, 327) is correct, viz. that he was appointed Amín al-Mulk of Bhakkar in 1015. But the question remains as to why *bûd* was written instead of *búdah*. I have recently published a document of the period of Akbar (dated 981) in the *Proceedings of the Idâra Ma'ârif-i-Islâmia* (Lahore, 1938) which has some instances of the omission of this final *ha*, and apparently it was understood as implied in the lower stroke of the letter *dâl*.

Námí built a Rest House on the river bank in Sukkur, which still exists. There are two buildings in the compound. The main one, in the East, is surmounted with a dome and has a peculiar ground-plan, and a smaller one, in the West, which is a small room with a niche directed towards the Ka'ba. There is some tile-work in both buildings. On the Western front of the domed building is the following inscription in three lines :

درزمان خلافت بادشاه اعظم شهنشاه معظم جلال الدين محمد اكبر
بادشاه غازي خلد ملكه بنا نمود اين عمارت خير امير محمد معصوم
نامي بكري بن سيد صفئي ترمذي از براي نفع عامه مسلمانان هر كه
درين بنا مقبره سازد لعنت خدا و پيغمبران و ملايكه و مومنان بر و باد ۱۰۰۷

TRANSLATION :

'In the time of the Caliphate of the great king, the mighty Emperor Jalál al-Dín Muḥammad Akbar Bádsháh-i-Ghází—may his rule last for ever!—this useful edifice was put up by Amír Muḥammad Ma'ṣúm Námí of Bhukkur son of Sayyed Ṣafá'í Tirmidhí, for the benefit of the Muslim public. Whoso uses this building for a sepulchre, upon him be the curse of God, the Prophets, the Angels and the Faithful! 1007.'

In the western building above the niche is a stone with the following inscription :—

خوشا منزل باغ رضوان رقم * كه جان را دهد فيض باغ ارم
بتاريخ اين جاي عشرت سرشت * زهي جاي عشرت رقم زد قلم
في شهور سنه ١٠٠٦

'How fine is this paradise-like Garden House which affords to the soul the joys of the Garden of Iram! As a chronogram for this delightful place the pen indited: *Zahai Jây 'Ishrat*! How excellent in this place of delight!'

The chronogram gives 1006 A.H./1597–98 A.C. as the date of this building, showing that it was erected a year earlier than the main building on the opposite side.

The inscription appears to be rather odd for a place of worship, if it belongs to this building. Perhaps the building was not originally intended for use as a mosque, but after the completion of the main building was made into a mosque or the inscription did not originally belong to it. This place is now in the possession of the Government and access to it is barred to the public.

My object in placing before you some of the Sind inscriptions is to show what problems of absorbing interest are awaiting solution and what a rich field of work lies before those interested in Arabic and Persian inscriptions in the various Provinces of India. A band of unofficial, voluntary workers has immediately to come to the rescue, for though the Archæological Department and its officers are doing as stated by the Director-General of Archæology 'what they can in this respect side by side with their multifarious other duties', the importance of the work urgently demands workers who can devote their whole attention to the subject and not treat it merely as a side-activity.

My thanks are due to you, ladies and gentlemen, for giving me a patient hearing.

SYRIAC IN MALANKARA

Rev. Fr. Paul Curien, Kaniamparampil,

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Prof. Theodore Noldeke says: 'With Christianity, the language of Edessa pushed its way into the kingdom of Persia'. This had been mostly true of other countries also. But, so far as Malankara is concerned, it may be said that Chaldaic had been there, in the wake of Babylonian trade with the West Coast of India, long before the introduction of Christianity by the Apostle St. Thomas in A.D. 52. King Nebuchadanazer of Babylon carried on trade with Ceylon and the West Coast of India. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII, P. II, p. 405, note.) As a result of this trade and correspondence, certain Chaldaic words must have crept into the language of Malankara. The following list of words, will, to a certain extent, prove the statement.

Chaldaic (Syriac)	Malayalam or Tamil	Meaning
Ēmmo	Amma	mother
Abōōlo	Ambalam	room (shrine)
Dūlo	Nūl	thread
Dānās	Dānām	gift
Dāppo	Dāp	cash bill
Dargo (Dargan)	Tharakan	(a distinction given to one)
Hāvāla	Kāvalan	shepherd
Hdōyīl	Kōil	place of worship
Amūmo	Āma	tortoise
Hōkīl	Akayal	therefore
Helko	Aluku	ornament
Zavno	Thavana	time
Vōyo	Ayyo	Oh
Vāda	patha	way

Chaldaic (Syriac)	Malayalam or Tamil	Meaning
Zăcksāso	Zacksha	bolt
Hōōpāya	Kuppāyam	covering
Āppōyo	Appakāran	baker
Īdh	Īd	bank (bund)
Soōoti	Kutti	child
Kāven	Kavanichu	corrected
Kūba	Kuva	arum
Kabdāna	Kupithan	angry
Mīso	Mrithan	dead
Kōrūba	Kalappa	yoke
Thavla	Thakil	a kind of drum
Thamburo	Thamber	a kind of drum
Thōyūpa	Sāyupu	(man who has crossed the sea and come)
Yārlika	Arulapad	king's command
Kīsa	Kūsh	a measure
Kupitha	Kuppi	a bottle
Thīna	Thinna	mud
Thāsa	Thlasu	a balance
Themra	Thimiram	that which covers
Kenāra	Kinnaram	a musical instrument

In A.D. 52 Apostle St. Thomas landed at Cranganore in Malankara 'and as a result of his evangelization, many people, especially high-caste Brahmans, were converted to Christianity. He founded seven Churches on the Malabar Coast, namely, Maliankara, Paloor, Paravoor or Kottakayal, Gokamangalam, Niranom, Chayal or Nilakal and Quilon.—He ordained priests from the newly converted high-caste Brahmans, especially from families such as Pakalomattom, Sankarapuri, Kalli and Kaliyankal'. The newly ordained priests certainly had to master Syriac; for they had to say Holy Mass in it, according to the liturgy of St. James, who first celebrated Mass in Jerusalem. The early spread of Chaldaic here, as a result of the Babylonian trade, must have helped them considerably in their study of the language. St. Thomas must have presented them with a Gospel of St. Mathew and a liturgy of St. James. When Pantinus, a missionary sent by Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria visited Malankara in A.D. 190, he was able to

find here an Aramaic (Vernacular Syriac spoken by Christ) Gospel of St. Mathew. Of this incident says the historian Eusebius of Caesaria, ' Pantenius, on account of his zeal towards the gospels, was sent as a missionary to the Orient. He travelled as far as India, where he saw a set of people, converted to Christianity by the works of Bartholomew, from whom they got a copy of St. Mathew's Gospel. That Gospel is to this day preserved ' (Eusebius' Ecclesiastical Hist., Book V, Chapter 10). There is one point here to be cleared. Pantenius says, that the founder of the Christian Church in Malankara was Bartholomew. ' He might have misunderstood the epithet " Mar " used by Easterners before the names of the apostles and saints and might have said Bartholomew, instead of Mar Thoma' [Indian Church of St. Thomas (Malayalam) by E. M. Philip, page 50]. From these facts, the Malabar Church historian Mr. E. M. Philip infers, that ' the Syriac (Aramaic) Gospel of St. Mathew, which Pantenius found in the Malankara Church, proves, that during that time, there was enough convenience for correspondence in Chaldaic '. (*Ibid.*, pp. 35 and 50.)

We have seen, that Chaldaic, introduced into India by the Babylonian trade, acquired a higher rank by the introduction of Christianity. Till the middle of the fourth century A.D., there is absolutely no source of information about the development of Syriac in Malankara. In A.D. 345, an emigration of Syrians—70 Syrian families, Mar Joseph, Bishop of Edessa, two priests and two deacons—headed by Thomas of Cana, a leading Syrian merchant who carried on trade with Malankara, landed at Cranganore. This emigration of Syrians, certainly had been an important factor in the uplift and development of Syriac. The native Christians received the new-comers from Syria, with joy and from that date, the former came to be called ' Syrians '. Those native priests, who were anxiously waiting for someone, who knew Syriac well, might have flocked to the new-comers.

From them, the native priests got Syriac books treating with ecclesiastical topics, and thus, a regular system of Syriac study might have been started.

Till the last part of the 16th century A.D., history knows nothing about the progress of Syriac in Malankara. The training of priests certainly continued in Chaldaic (Syriac). When those eminent writers of the 12th century, Bar Hebraeus, Bar Salibi and the like were enriching Syriac at home, the Syriac-knowing people in Malankara would not have been shut out. The works of those scholars might have reached here through some agency or other; because books were imported here now and then. To prove this, the Syriac manuscript copy of the Bible, preserved in the Cambridge University Library, is enough. The people of Malankara got that Bible here in the 9th century; for the Malankara Metropolitan, who presented it to Dr. Buchanan in A.D. 1807 says: 'I hope, that this book will be more safe with you, than with us. It is said, that this came to our possession a thousand years ago' (Indian Church of St. Thomas, p. 121). This book, written on parchment in 'Estrangelo' characters, was preserved in a Church at Thiruvancode, North Travancore. Dr. Laiden has opined that it was written in the 5th or 6th century (Hugh Pearson's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Rev. Caludius Buchanan, 4th Edn., pp. 244–59 and 415). It is seen in the manuscript, that it was written during the time of Michael, Patriarch of Antioch, who died in the year A.D. 1199. 'The Catalogue of Syriac MSS. in the University of Cambridge,' p. 1043, too has approved this date. These facts prove, that the Syrians in Malankara were in touch with Syria at all times, and they were carrying on Syriac education here somehow or other.

The next historical evidence of the development of Syriac is seen in the 'Account of St. Thome Christians' and in Philip's Indian Church of St. Thomas. The former

says: 'Towards the beginning of the 16th century, the Jesuits built a Church at a Vaipicota near Cranganore and founded a college for the education of the Christian youths. In 1584, a seminary was established for the purpose of instructing the Syrians in Theology and teaching them, the Latin, Portuguese and Syriac languages'. The latter says: 'In 1581, they (the Jesuits) started a college and seminary at Vaipicota' (p. 95). The reason for this establishment throws much light on the regard of the local Christians for their liturgical language. 'They (the Nestorians and Syrians) used the Chaldaic Syriac in their worship' (p. 140). A Franciscan monk, Vincent de lago was deputed by Albuquerque, the first Bishop of Goa, to Malankara in A.D. 1539. He founded a college at Cranganore. Then came a Bishop, Mar Joseph, from Babylon, whom the Portuguese and the Syrians mistook for a Roman delegate. 'He did not ordain those who came out of Fr. Vincent's seminary, on the ground of their ignorance of the Syriac language. Parents of those youths, who studied there, did not like to send them to an institution, where their liturgical language was ignored. . . The Jesuits found, that the cause of this failure of Fr. Vincent was due to his antipathy towards the liturgical language of the Syrians to which, they looked with awe and veneration' (Philip.—p. 95).

The 17th century shows nothing of the development of Syriac. The institutions started might have been carrying on their work. During this century, many books might have been brought to Malankara from abroad. There is a manuscript copy of the Bible, brought by the Delegate to the See of Antioch in the year A.D. 1665, in the Kottayam Syrian Seminary Library (Travancore). During the 17th and 18th centuries, Syriac education thrived well as a result of the frequent intercourse with Antioch.

Had it not been for the timely benevolent and benign help of the Travancore Government in the 19th century,

Syriac would not and could not have attained such a position, as it now holds. By this munificence of the Travancore Government, the 19th century can be rightly called the 'Golden age' of Syriac in Malankara. There was at that time a 'Ramban' (Monk), Joseph Pulikotil, at Kunnamculam in Cochin State, who was of untiring enthusiasm and will-power, anxious to have a well-regulated institution for the study of Jacobite Syrian youths in Malankara, travelled far and wide, exhorting people to contribute their mite for the fulfilment of this high ambition. He could not get such help as he anticipated, from the then Metropolitan. He corresponded with Col. Munro, the then British Resident and Dewan of Travancore, and that friend of Syrians most gladly appreciated the Ramban's plans and kindly handed over to him the interest of the 'Vattippanam' (an amount of Rs. 10,500 deposited by Mar Dionysius I in 1808, in the Residency Treasury) without considering the Metropolitan's protest. The Travancore Durbar most benevolently gave him the site for the proposed seminary, free of tax. Thus, the famous Syrian Seminary at Kottayam was established in the year A.D. 1813, and two years later in 1815, Syriac education was begun there. Nor did the Travancore Durbar's benevolence stop here. At Tiruvalla (Travancore) where the writer of this paper at present works—a Church was erected by the Syrians of the place in 1815, disregarding the vehement opposition of the wealthy Brahmans of the place. The latter got enraged and set fire to the temporary Church building. The matter was reported to the Dewan-Resident. The accused were heavily fined by the Government. The Syrian Jacobites of Tiruvalla, then, put in a petition before the then Sovereign, Maharani Parvathi Bai, requesting to help them to re-erect the Church. The merciful Maharani gave away to them half the fine—a huge sum—and the other half Her Highness made a gift to the Syrian Seminary at Kottayam. The Gracious Travancore Durbar did more. The self-same Maharani, personally donated a sum of Rs. 21,000 for the Seminary entrusting it to Mar

Dionysius III in A.D. 1819. In addition to these boundless contributions, a whole island, the Munro Island, yielding an income of thousands of rupees annually, was presented to the Seminary by Her Highness. Who can forget these benign acts of the Travancore Sovereigns? There is absolutely nothing to wonder, why the Jacobite Syrian Christians of Travancore are so loyal to the Throne of Travancore.

The Roman Catholics too, with their Seminary at Puthenpally, Verapoly, carried on the teaching of Syriac to their deacons. The most outstanding contributions they did to the Syriac language are the publication of a Syriac Grammar, printed at the Mar Thoma Sliha Press, Verapoly, in 1899 and a Syriac-Malayalam Dictionary in 1907. Another Syriac-Malayalam Dictionary had been published by a Jacobite priest of Pampakunda, N. Travancore in the year 1898. The famous Mangalapuzha Seminary at Alwaye, carries on the instruction of Syriac to Roman Catholic Deacons, at present.

Syriac teaching in the Syrian Seminary, Kottayam, strided on well, till A.D. 1911, when certain internal differences caused a split among the Jacobites and Syriac-teaching institutions grew up at Pampakuda, Thrikunnathu Seminary, Alwaye, The Zion Asram, Kodanade (N. Travancore), Mar Ignatius Dayara, Omallur, and other places.

By the beginning of the 20th century, many hitherto-unpublished manuscript copies of rituals were printed and published at Pampakuda, by the efforts of the Late Very Rev. Kor Episcopa Mathen of Konat, the greatest Syriac scholar of his time. From the Kottayam Seminary too, many books were published.

A kind of 'Garshuni' has been invented in Malankara, by which Malayalam was written in Syriac characters, though at times a little different in form. The date of this invention is not certain. However, this can be taken only

as a makeshift by those who were not well up in Syriac and not as a scholarly invention.

All these could not lift up Syriac to the position it rightly claimed. The recognition of Syriac language by the Universities of Calcutta and Madras, by the strenuous efforts of Mar Ivanios, Archbishop of Trivandrum, and Mar Themotheus, Metropolitan of Kandanadu Diocese, the most eminent Syriac Scholar of the age, aroused the dead Syriac from its tomb.

Ancient Syriac Inscriptions in India.—The only one of its kind is the inscription on a cross in the Big Church, Kottayam, frequently visited by high personages such as Viceroys and Governors. Dr. Burnell opines, that the inscription was of the tenth century A.D. (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III, pp. 308–316). The writer of this Paper has personally seen this inscription and has read it. The quotation is from the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians, Chapter VI, Verse 14, and is deciphered in 'Estrangelo' characters.

The Loss of Syriac Manuscripts.—The writer is extremely sorry to deal with this portion of the Thesis. The invaluable records of Syrian Culture and literature remained unmolested for a very long time. Books, translated or copied by the native Syrians, and books brought down from West suffered in the subsequent burnings and demolitions. It was not once or twice, literature suffered this cruel fate; and consequently historians of later years could not get enough reliable matter to write the history of the Malankara Church. The historian Mr. E. M. Philip laments 'It is a fact, that the lack of records to write a satisfactory history of the primitive and medieval Malankara Church was due to this cruel and unjust action (burning)' (page 107).

This crusade against Syriac manuscripts was started in 1599 in Malankara, by Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, at the Synod of Diamper (Travancore). He was

invested with the spiritual authority of the Pope and was encouraged by the Portuguese King, whose Governor on this Coast ably backed him up. Literature sustained a very great loss at the hands of Archbishop Menezes; 'for, this blind and enthusiastic inquisitor, like a second Omar, burned all the books written in Syriac or Chaldaic language, which could be collected not only at the Synod of Diamper, but especially during his subsequent circuit, for, as soon as he entered into a Syrian Church, he ordered all their books and records to be laid before him, which, a few indifferent ones excepted, he committed to the flames, so that, at present, neither books nor manuscripts are any more to be found among the St. Thome Christians' (F. Wrede, Asiatic Researches, VII, page 181 and E. M. Philip, Indian Church, pp. 106–7).

The precedent, instituted by Menezes, was followed in quick succession by many others. The next war against books was waged between A.D. 1653 and 1670. It was by one Friar Joseph, a Carmelite. He had been ordained as the Vicar Apostolic of Malankara. He tried his best to make the Jacobite Metropolitan Mar Thoma kneel before him. The latter was even imprisoned by him. As the result of fair tricks played by two old men from Mulanthuruthy, Mar Thoma got out. The enraged Friar Joseph went to the Mulanthuruthy Church and took away the books and other things as Holy Oil, Vestments, etc., and committed them to the flames.

If the above two atrocities were perpetrated by Christians themselves, the third was by a Muslim. His object could not be ascribed to any desire to destroy the books. Tippu, Sultan of Mysore invaded Travancore and Cochin in the year A.D. 1789. The Syrian Christians of those two countries had to suffer much. The big and prominent churches at Arthat, Parur and Angamali were burnt down, the last, a stronghold of Syrians. Those edifices had preserved records and valuable books, collected from very ancient days.

The next instance of the loss of Syriac manuscripts, described by Mr. E. M. Philip is quoted below in his own words: 'It has been said in the twentieth chapter, that the money, records, ornaments and books, kept in the Seminary under the joint lock and key of the Metropolitan and one of the Missionaries, were taken away by the latter. Many Syriac manuscripts are in that list of books, he took away. Those books formed a part of the library of the C. M. S. College, Kottayam. We got reliable information in 1903, that many of these were destroyed and the rest are going to be burnt away, as they were found useless. The Principal of the Mar Dionysius Seminary then wrote to the College Principal Mr. Asquith, that he came to know of the proposed burning of books and, if the rumour was true, he hoped that Mr. Asquith would kindly present or sell those books to his Seminary, whereupon he was informed by Mr. Asquith, that no Syriac manuscripts would be destroyed. A few days later, a peon in the C. M. S. College, who had come to know of this correspondence, presented two Syriac manuscript copies to a certain Syrian priest. He said, that under the supervision of Mr. Asquith, certain Syriac books were burnt and that he had kept those two books without the knowledge of the Principal Saheb. Those two books are, at present, with me' (Philips Indian Church of St. Thomas, Mal. Ed., page 267).

What Service did Syriac do to Malayalam?—The Syriac literature has not done any material or meritorious service to Malayalam. The reason has been treated at length above. Syriac being at present a liturgical language only, almost nothing can be eked out for the benefit of people at large. Only some translations, and those too merely religious, are what Malayalam got from Syriac. Certain Syriac words are now used as Malayalam, mainly by Christians. The Syriac word 'Sliba' (Cross) is in Malayalam 'Sliba' itself. Although there is another word for it in Malayalam, 'Kurisu', there is no word in Tamil to speak of Cross except 'Siluva'. Then 'Bava' (spiritual father)

which has its origin from Avā. This in course of time came to be spoken as 'Bava'. 'Kurbana' and 'Kabar' are two other Syriac words meaning 'Holy Communion' and 'tomb' used as they are, in Malayalam. The Syriac language which had been preserved here for many centuries, is surely indebted to do considerable service to Malayalam, and I hope Syriac will play its part, if due consideration will be given to it.

Difficulties for Research.—The majority of Christians in Malankara, although they call themselves Syrians are ignorant of Syriac language. From this fact alone, it is clear that any research work on Syriac is something too difficult. Who cares to study this dead language? What earthly benefit is in its study? So asks the up-to-date Syrian youth. The present situation—lack of energetic young men to carry on study for knowledge's sake is highly deplorable. The habit of doing something for its sake, is of course yet to be copied here from the Westerners. If ever anybody wishes to do something for the uplift of the language, he is not in the least encouraged and gives up his work in despair. It is high time, that a remedy is to be sought for. The aspirant to priesthood (the only class who studies Syriac) as soon as he grasps certain words, begins to translate; and when he is able to translate a given portion, he is considered duly qualified for priesthood! No sooner he takes charge of the parish, than he gives up study for ever! Moreover, the translation of rituals into Malayalam have prompted them to give up even that bit of education they used to have before the translation! The young man, possessing academical qualifications wanders to and fro in quest of a petty job!

This Thesis will not be complete if I do not suggest a few means for the uplift of the Syriac language in Malankara. The main ones are:—

1. The aspirant to priesthood in all sections of the Malankara Syrian Church should necessarily complete, at least a three-years' course in Syriac.

2. Well-regulated schools, recognised by the Government of Travancore, Cochin or Madras, should carry on the teaching of Syriac.

3. The Travancore Government should be requested to institute a Syriac Chair in the Travancore University as was done by the Calcutta and Madras Universities.

4. Efforts should be made to make the study of the language, an optional subject in all schools.

5. The Governments should be requested to employ those who may pass the 'Sophar' and 'Malpan' Diploma Examinations of the Madras University.

6. Copies of old Syriac manuscripts published, should be bought and a well-furnished Library started.

7. Very old manuscripts which are kept in many old families should be brought out and published.

8. Those, who can write Syriac well, should be encouraged and books published.

9. Magazines and Newspapers must be started.

10. An Association should be formed without caste prejudice for the fulfilment of the above suggestions.

Conclusion.—In spite of the disregard for the language, on the part of Syrians in Malankara, the Madras and Calcutta Universities have recognised Syriac, mainly for the sake of Syrians, who hail from Malankara (Kerala) for their study there. But the Syrians of Travancore, Cochin and British Malabar are at present anxiously looking forward to the Travancore University, which, they fully believe, will not at all ignore their need; but on the contrary will look after them more tenderly and dearly than the Calcutta and Madras Universities. The Government of an enlightened and Young Maharaja, whose ancestors had, times without number, helped the Syrians for the uplift of their liturgical language would surely bless His Highness's loyal subjects, the Syrians with a Chair for Syriac in the Travancore University.

MORE ABOUT THE ART OF WARAQAT

Qazi Ahmad Mian Akhtar, Junagadh

INTRODUCTORY

The aim of the present paper is to supplement my previous paper on the Art of Warāqat during the Abbaside period, read at the Seventh Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held in 1933 at Baroda. Some important details pertaining to the subject proper, which were left unnoticed and could not be incorporated into the said paper, are dealt with here, though separately by way of supplement, which, it is hoped, will be found informing and interesting in so far as they are closely connected with the Art of Warāqat during the Caliphate.

The term *Warāqat*, though mostly restricted to transcription, bookbinding and bookselling, as has already been defined in my previous paper, has a vast bearing on the different aspects of the literary activities of that age, and the students of Arabic literature and culture are well aware that there are good many particulars which constitute the promotion and cultivation of this Art, and throw ample light on the academic spirit and literary tendencies of that period. However, I have grouped together some necessary information bearing directly or indirectly on the subject proper under the following heads :—

1. Books written on the art of Warāqat.
2. The advent of paper.
3. The Scribes.
4. Book Trade.
5. Reward for writing books and freedom of copying.
6. Conservation of books.

On the importance of *Warāqat* as a useful and indispensable art for the human society, I cannot do better than to quote the historian—Philosopher Ibn Khaldūn. While dwelling upon the chief arts and crafts which he calls

Ummahat-us-Ṣanāyi' (the chief arts), Ibn *Khaldūn* classifies them into two groups, viz. (1) *Ḍaruri*, i. e. indispensable and (2) *Sharifah*, i. e. noble. In the former he includes the arts of Agriculture, Architecture, Tailoring, Carpentry and Weaving; in the latter the arts of Warāqat, Music and Medicine, and then dilating upon each of them and their expediency, he speaks of Warāqat in the following terms :—

'The art of Warāqat, with other arts subordinate thereto, is the preserver of Man's acquirements and is a guard against their being extinct. It transmits the conceptions of human mind to the distant and unseen regions and perpetuates the outcome of human thought and the sciences in books. It elevates the grades of life to its hidden mysteries.'[1]

That the art of Warāqat was still thriving in the 8th century, we learn from Ibn *Khaldūn* (d. 779 A.H.). His definition of the term Warāqat covers not only copying and bookbinding, but also the correction of books and codices and all other particulars pertaining thereto.[1]

Now we proceed to describe under different heads some particulars à propos the art of Warāqat.

Books Written on the Art of Warāqat

As I have shown in my previous paper, *Warāqat* had become a thriving profession and on account of its flourishing condition great attention was paid to it. It was so popular an art that scholars devoted themselves to study its merits and details and wrote several books on it. I give here below a list of such books on Warāqat as have come to my notice :—

1. نظام تدبير التسفير (Nazm Tadbir-ut-tasfir) on bookbinding.

2. عمدة الكتاب ('Umdatul-Kuttāb), by Amir al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs (d. 454), on preparing inks, cutting pens and transcription.

[1] Muqaddamah, p. 384, Bulaq Press.

3. رسالة في صناعة الاحبار (Risala-fi-Ṣana 'at-il-Ahbār), a treatise on the art of preparing inks.

4. النجوم الشارقات في عمل الميقات (an-Nujum us-Shāriqāt fi'amalil-Miqat), by Muḥammad b. Abil-Khayar al-Ḥusaini. On preparing inks of different colours and other materials required for writing, painting colouring, designing and ornamentation.

5. الاقلام القديمة (al-Aqlām ul-Qadimah) by Ibn ud-Dāli. On one hundred and fifty styles of writing Arabic characters.

6. رسالة في الخط و بري الاقلام (Risalah fi 'l-Khatt wa bari'l-aqlām) by Ibn us-Ṣāigh. On transcription and cutting of pens.

7. شرح ابن وحيد على منظومة ابن البواب (Sharh Ibn Wahid 'ala Manzumat-i-Ibn il-Bawwab). The commentary of Ibn Wahid on the poem of the great master artist Ibn al-Bawwab—(d. 413). On Calligraphy.

8. مقدمة في صناعة الخط (Muqaddamah fi Ṣana'at-il-Khaṭṭ) by the famous calligraphist Ibn Muqlah (d. 328 A.H.). On Calligraphy. (Incomplete.)

9. أرجوزة (Urjuzah) a short-rhymed poem by Ḥasan as-Sanjari. On Calligraphy.

10. ارجوزة في الخط (Urjuzah fil-Khaṭṭ), by 'Awnuddin Abil-Muzaffar Yahya b. Muḥammad al-Wazir (d. 560 A.H.).[1]

11. تنويق النطاقة في علم الوراقة (Tanwiq un-Nitāqah fi'ilm il-Warāqah). By Ibn Misk as-Sakhawi,[2] a learned scholar of the 11th century (Hijrah).

12. تحفة الرامق (Tuhfat-ur-Rāmiq). By Abu-'l-Ḥusain Isḥāq b. Ibrahim at-Tamimi, a tutor to the Caliph al-Muqtadir and his sons. On Calligraphy.

[1] *Kashf uz. Zunun*, Vol. I, p. 82. [2] *Kashf uz. Zunun*, Vol. I., p. 343.

13. رسالة في الكتابة والخط (Risalah fi 'l-kitabat-i wa'l-khaṭṭ-i). By Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Thawābah (d. 277 A.H.). On transcription and Calligraphy.[1]

14. كتاب الخط والقلم (Kitab-ul-khaṭṭ-i wa'l-Qalam). By Muḥammad b. al-Laiṯh al-Khaṭib. On the pens and different kinds of writing.[2]

15. النجم الثاقب (an-Najm us-thāqib). By Qudāmah b. Ja'far. A treatise written on the great artist Ibn Muqlah.[3]

16. احصاء مقاصد و اصفي الكتب في كتبهم وما يتبع ذالك من الصنائع والمضار. By Shaikh 'Abdul-Laṭif of Baghdad. On Warāqat, its benefits and disadvantages. The author was a critic of the catalogues of libraries and books.[4]

As the art of Warāqat covers a large field of different subordinate arts, these have been dealt with either singly or severally in the works mentioned above. Thus it will be seen that Nos. 7 to 10 are on the art of Calligraphy, in fact an important branch of the art of Warāqat. Book No. 4 has already seen the light of publication in 1928, printed at the 'Ilmiyyah Press of Aleppo and is available in the market. Some of its contents are: the composition of colours; liquification of gold and silver for writing purposes; solution of gums for mixing them with colours and refining the inks; making certain inks, and colouring bones, ivory, horns and bricks; changing any colour of paper and dyeing it; painting in gold and silver, etc. From the above contents it can easily be concluded that the subjects have been treated in a scientific manner which gives us an idea of the cultivation of these minor arts at a time when the world at large was hardly acquainted with them.

The MS. copies of Books Nos. 1 to 9 have been preserved in the library of the great Muslim savant Amir Taimur Pāsha at Cairo.[5]

[1] *K. al-Fihrist*, p. 188, Cairo.
[2] *al-Fihrist*, p. 175.
[3] *al-Fihrist*, p. 188.
[4] Journal of the Arab Academy, Damascus, Vol. I, p. 141.
[5] Lectures of the Arabic Academy of Damascus, Vol. I, p. 306.

The Advent of Paper

The introduction of paper no doubt gave a new impulse to the art of Warāqat, and its manufacture in the Islamic lands stood in bold relief for the *Warraqin* who availed themselves of this golden opportunity. Formerly the Parchment (Raqq) and Papyrus (Ḳirtās) were in vogue for writing purposes, the preparation whereof was not an easy and a convenient process, and were hardly within easy reach of the rank and file. But a large supply of paper made from cotton and linen, solved this difficult problem for the scribes and was mainly responsible for bringing a large number of books into existence. The first paper-mill was erected at Samarqand and a second one was started at Baghdad at the instance of Faḍl,[1] the brother of the Ja'far-al-Barmaki and the Governor of Khorasan in 178 A.H. Others followed suit in different Islamic lands like Egypt, Yemen and Tihāmah, and ultimately other factories were established in different countries of the Near East, Spain, Persia and India. It is said that al-Ḥajjaj b. Yusuf, the Umayyad Governor, was the first man to write on paper.[2] Ja'far the Barmacide is said to have Parchment replaced by paper in the state offices.[3] According to a statement in as-Sam'āni, paper was only manufactured at Khorasan in the fifth century.[4] That the paper was generally called '*Waraq*' at Baghdad we also learn from the same author.[5]

There were several kinds of paper named after, or rather dedicated to, the different eminent persons who either ordered these kinds to be manufactured for them or patronized their quality. These were called[6] :—

(1) As-Sulaimāni—from Sulaiman b. Rāshid, the treasurer of Khorasan under Harūn ar-Rashid.

(2) At-Talḥi—from Ṭalḥa b. Ṭahir, the second ruler of the Ṭahirid dynasty.

[1] Ibn Khaldun, Muqaddamah, p. 399. [2] Al-kitabat-u-wa'l Kuttab, p. 38.
[3] Maqrizi, Khitat, II, p. [4] Ansab, fol. 472. [5] Ansab, fol. 574.
[6] For these details see Fihrist, p. 32, Cairo, Subh-al-A'sha, I, pp. 475-6.

(3) An-Nuḥi—from Nuḥ, the Sāmānid ruler.

(4) Al Fira'wni—in allusion to the Pharo the Egyptian.

(5) Al-Ja'fari—from Ja'far the Barmacid.

(6) At-Ṭahiri—from Ṭahir II, the ruler of the Tahirid dynasty.

There were papers of several inferior and superior qualities, like, silk-paper, note-paper, strong and weak paper, smooth and ribbed paper, white and coloured paper.[1] The paper-sellers were called *Warraqin* and also *Kāghidis*, and in the seat of the caliphate—Baghdad—from the Harran Arch-way to the New Bridge over the Sarat Canal both sides of the roadway were occupied with the shops of paper sellers.[2]

Paper was made of or cut into different sizes. Generally it had four standard sizes, viz. full (jāmi'), half (ansāf), quarto (arbā') and octavo (athmān). These sizes, I think, have still been retained in our present day sizes of the paper. Ibn Khallikān[3] in his notice of an expert scribe Ḥusain b. 'Ali known as Ibn Khāzin al-Kutub (d. 502 A.H.), makes mention of two sizes of the copies of the holy Quran, viz. between the rub'ah and the Jami' which have been translated by De Slane as Folio and Compact sizes.[4] But I think these terms have been literally rendered, while technically they should mean 'standard' and 'quarto'. However from this description it appears that there was another particular size in vogue between the full or standard and the quarto sizes. The sewn parts of a book were called *Jus'* (sing.), Ajza (plural). Again the parts of a *Jus'* were called Kurrāsā (sing.) or Kurrāsāt (pl.) which may be taken as equivalent to the English quires and folios. The similarity between the words 'Kurrāsā' and 'quires' suggests to us the plausibility of the derivation of the latter (English) word

[1] Arab Civilisation by J. Hell, p. 77. [2] Le Strange, Baghdad, p. 92.
[3] Vol. I, p. 162. [4] Eng. trans. of Ibn-Khall, Vol. I, p. 464.

from the former (Arabic) word. In the English dictionaries the word 'quire' is said to be of old French and Low Latin origin, while in Arabic lexicons the root 'Kirs', from which 'Kurrāsā' is derived, means closely connected houses or the rings of a chain.

In this sense the 'kurrāsā' in its secondary meaning is a word for certain folios of a book sewn together. According to ad-Dhahabi 'Kurrāsā' means 2 folios[1] or 4 pages but in later times it was used for 10 folios or 20 pages, every page containing 21 lines. at-Tanukhi[2] speaks of a certain volume of odes which his father committed to memory, comprising 230 folios and written on the thin Manṣuri Octavo size (اثمان منصوری لطاف). This of course may be taken as an addition to the kinds of paper which we have mentioned above.

How rough papers were polished and made use of for writing purposes, can be gleaned from Yāqut's notice of Ibn al-'Adim (d. 473 A.H.), a Judge at Aleppo in the fifth century. He is reported to have narrated the fact that his father used to polish a rough paper with the solution of Zinc Oxide (isfidāj).[3]

The Scribes (Warraqin)

We have already said about the scribes that they were employed by scholars and authors and that almost every author had his own *Warraq* or amanuensis. In this respect it can be added that some prolific authors had several scribes to whom they used to dictate or entrusted their works to them for copying. Thus the famous Arab Philosopher al-Kindi had several scribes, like Hasanawayh, Nafta-wayh, Salmawayh and others, their names ending with similar suffixes,[4] the famous litterateur al-Mubarrad had his *Warraqs* like Ibn al-Zajjāj, as-Sāsi and others.[5]

[1] Dhahabi's Arabic text in the Letters of Abul' Ala, pp. 135-6, edited by Prof. Margoliouth.

[2] Nishwār al-Muḥaḍara, I, p. 177.

[3] Irshad, 6, p. 38.

[4] Fihrist, p. 365.

[5] Fihrist, p. 89.

Among these scribes we find mention of a Muslim woman. The name of Umm-ul-Faḍl Fātimah bint al-Aqra' (d. 480) has come down to us, and we are told by as-Sam'ani[1] that she wrote a beautiful hand and was an adept in writing in the style of the famous Calligraphist Ibn al-Bawwāb. Her writings were so much appreciated and prized that once on writing one page in beautiful hand and presenting it to Wazir 'Amid ul-Mulk al-Kunduri she was rewarded one thousand Dināars.

It would be interesting to notice the position of *Warraqin* in society. In the third century A.H. the art of Waràqat had become common so much so that the scribes enjoyed no respectable position in society, but were instead looked down with contempt by men of high ranks.

The incident of a copyist serves as an illustration. 'Once I was employed,' says the scholar Abu Hayyāṅ at-Tawhidi 'by the Buwayhid Wazir as-Sāhib b. 'Abbād at his residence. I was sitting in one of the apartments of his mansion and was engaged in my work, when suddenly I found the Wazir standing before me and soon I got up to do him honour. "Sit down!" thundered the Wazir, "for the menial scribes are not expected to stand up in our honour" he said scornfully.'[2] This of course shows the mentality of the rich people towards this labouring class on the one hand, while on the other hand it reveals to us the fact how poor scribes were treated at that time as *commonality* by the aristocratic class. However it was all due to the multifarious array of the copyists and to the cheap popularity of this profession as well, that the *Warraqin*, among whom there were scholars of great repute, sometimes received such ignominious treatment at the hands of their patrons. Still however this class of the scribes was quite indispensable to the ever-increasing demand of producing books, and the same Abu Hayyan tells us that the profession of Waraqat at Baghdad in the third century was still flourishing.[3] There were

[1] Yaqut, VI, p. 115. [2] Yaqut, V, p. 392. [3] Yaqut, V, p. 393.

self-respecting men among the scribes and we possess an anecdote of 'Allān the Shu'ūbite scribe related by Ibn 'Abdūs al-Jihahiyāri.

Once he was recommended to the Wazir Ahmad b. Abi Khālid al-Aḥawal by some of his friends, who was ordered to bring the man for copying. When the scribe was brought to work at the residence of the Wazir, the latter appeared on the scene and everyone present there got up in his honour except the scribe. 'How impolite on the part of this Warraq?' muttered the Wazir. 'Can you charge me with impoliteness,' retorted the scribe, 'while people come to learn manners from me.' 'You have called me,' he added, 'to stay here for your own work without any request on my part. I have not come to ask anything from you, nor had I special liking in coming to you. I am writing for you on payment and it would have been well had I not done so.' The proud scribe returned forthwith to his home and since that time he swore that he would not go to the residence of any individual and write a single letter for him.[1]

Among the copyists there were learned men and scholars like Abul-Farj b. al-Jawzi, Ibn 'Abd ad-Dāim al-Maqdisi, Ibn al-Khāzin and Ibn al-Wahid who were held in high esteem for their vast learning and ripe scholarship.

The Book Trade

Book trade had become a most thriving profession under the caliphate and was one of the most useful avocations which prompted every layman as well as scholar to adopt it. The *Warraqin* or book-sellers were not always the ordinary book-dealers, but most of them were scholars and men of letters. Their occupation not only provided them with livelihood but even afforded great facility in their literary pursuits. They had the privilege of utilizing their own collections for their studies, which enabled them to become prolific writers of books. The

[1] Yaqut, V, p. 67.

famous geographer Yaqut (d. 626 A.H.) was a book-dealer and it was due to this profession that he was able to produce such voluminous works as Mu'Jam ul-Buldān and Irshād al-Arib; the former published long ago in European and Cairene editions in 8 volumes, the latter edited by Prof. Margoliouth in 7 volumes in recent years. Another versatile *Warraq* was Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. an-Nadim whose Kitāb al-Fihrist covers a large field of bibliography, biography, and history of different religions. This has also been published in German and Cairene editions.

The book trade was not restricted to mere professional traders, but most of the learned men and scholars who had a passion for collecting books, were very often disposing them in exchange for other books or were compelled to sell them out in their adverse circumstances. The learned divine Abu Ḥātim as-Sijistāni, the collector of a large number of books, was doing business in books.[1] Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb ash- Shirāzi (d. 810) the author of the Arabic lexicon al-Qāmūs, who is said to have collected so many camel-loads of books used to dispose them off in his impecuniosity.[2] A very touching account of the sale of books in adversity is given by Yā'qut who was an eye-witness to it. A literary man Ibn Ḥamdūn (547–608 A.H.) who was a lover of books and had collected a large number of them within fifty years, was placed in straitened circumstances on his dismissal from the high post of Governorship. He was seen by Yaqut selling his books with tearful eyes and aching heart just as he was parting with his bosom friends.[3]

A learned Grammarian of Granada (Spain) Muḥammad b. Balish al-'Abdari (d. 753) had amassed great wealth by selling books (*al-takassub bil kutub*).[4]

How the trade in books was in a flourishing condition at that time is borne out by the fact that even the blind men

[1] Suyuti, Bughya, p. 265.
[2] Bughya, p. 117.
[3] Yaqut, III, p. 210.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

used to sell books. They were in the know of the prices of books and could produce any book out of their stock whenever there was a demand from a customer. The Hanbalite scholar 'Ali b. Aḥmad Zainuddin al-Āmidi possessed a large number of books and in spite of his blindness when asked to bring out any book he would repair to his library and take out the particular volume of a desired book as if he had just put it on the shelf. He also knew the price of each book. He made a coil of a scrap of paper into a letter of Abjad according to its numerical value, and putting it on the cover of a book and pasting another scrap on it he pressed it so that the letter was embossed on the title and was felt by the hand. Thus he could tell his customers the price of the book.[1]

Another blind scholar was Aḥmad b. Surur as-Sumustari (d. 517) a learned traditionist who was an expert in books and their prices.[2]

The Shafiite scholar Shafi' b. 'Ali al-Kināni, a poet and litterateur (d. 730) of Egypt, was an expert in the prices of books and though a blind man, he could tell at once, after taking the books into his hand, their prices as well as the date of their purchase.[3]

Even the females used to know the prices of books. The wife of the above-named Shafi scholar was well-informed about the prices of books. She knew the price of each and every book and started selling of books in her miserable plight after the sad demise of her husband who left behind 18 large collections.[4]

How the passion for books had reached its climax can well be imagined from the fact that people were always on the look out for books and one had to be ready to purchase any book he required immediately, before any other book hunter might turn up to take it away on fancy price. Ibn

[1] Nakt al-Himyan, p. 206.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 98.
[3] Nakt al-Himyan, pp. 163-4.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 164.

Abi Uṣai bi'a, the author of Ṭabaqāt ul-Atibba (d. 668 A.H.) was once out to purchase from an auctioneer the commentary of Alexander of Aphrodosias on the Aristotle's *Acroasis*. The bargain was settled at 120 Dinars which he went to fetch from home. But when he returned with money, he was shocked to learn that the book was already sold out to a man from Khorasan for 300 Dinars along with certain other books.[1]

Reward for Writing Books and Freedom of Copying

As we have already seen, the advent of paper, the flourishing condition of the copying profession and the book trade, contributed a great deal towards the production of a huge mass of books and their ever-increasing and multiplying number. But there were other factors also which, as largely responsible for the preponderating number of books in the Islamic lands, must be taken into consideration. Those were the following :—

(1) Encouragement of the authors by rewarding them for writing books.

(2) Freedom of copying books by free access to the public and private libraries.

Under both heads we propose to give some interesting details.

(1) *Encouragement and Reward to Authors*

The caliphs and princes were ever ready to help the writers of books who were richly rewarded for their literary productions. The authors either dedicated their works to a Prince, a Wazir, an Amir or an Official, which brought them good fortunes. We find innumerable instances of such princely donations to the authors in the Arabic biographical literature. The famous litterateur al-Jāḥiz (d. 250 A.H.) of Basrah dedicated his book *Kitab Ul-Ḥayawān* to Muḥammad b. Abdul-Malik and received a reward of 5,000 Dinars. His another work

[1] Tabaqat, I, p. 46.

al Bayān-u-wat-Tabyīn was dedicated to Ibn Abi Dāūd who paid him a similar amount. His *Kitab us-Zira'at-u Wan Nakhli* was presented to Ibrahim b. al- 'Abbās as-Ṣūli and was rewarded with 5,000 Dinars.[1]

Al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 214), a learned scholar, wrote his work Gharib ul-Muṣannaf and presented it to Amir 'Abdullah b. Ṭahir and got 1,000 Dinars as a reward. Over and above that a monthly stipend of 10,000 Dirhams was granted to him to meet his daily expenses. This kept the author under perpetual obligation of the Prince and since that time he never presented his work to any other prince.[2]

The Wazir Ibn ul-'Alqami conferred a considerable boon on as-Ṣaghāni the lexicographer for compiling his lexicon al-'Ubāb. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadid was also rewarded by the same Wazir for writing his commentary on the Nahj-ul-Balāghat of 'Ali the Caliph.[3]

The dedication of the great work al-Aghāni to al-Ḥakam the Umayyad ruler of Spain, and his reward of 1,000 gold Dinars to the author,[4] are too well known to need any mention. It was to the same prince to whom Qāḍi Abu Bakr presented his commentary on the work of Ibn Abd-al-Ḥakam and received a handsome reward.[5]

It is related of the famous Scientist al-Beruni that when he composed his monumental work Qānun-i Mas'ūdi (Canonicus Masudicus), prince Mas'ūd the heir and son of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, conferred upon him an elephant-load of silver which he declined to accept,[6] probably out of self-respect which was quite becoming a learned scholar of his type.

But there were scholars who refused to dedicate their books to any rich man. Such was Abu Ghālib Tammām, the lexicographer of Cordova, who flourished in the first half of the 5th century A.H. When he wrote his Talqih

[1] Yaqut, VI, p. 75. [2] Yaqut, VI, p. 163. [3] Al-Fakhri, p. 248. Cairo.
[4] & [5] Maqqari, I, p. 180. Cairo. [6] Yaqut, VI, p. 308, Bughya, p. 20.

ul-'Ain on Arabic lexicography, the Amir Mujāhid al-'Āmiri of Spain offered him one thousand Dinars, provided the book was dedicated to him. But the author declined this princely offer saying, the Amir's request cannot be complied with, even if he were ready to spend the riches of the whole world, as the book was not compiled particularly for him. When the prince was informed of this he admired the audacity of the author and ordered the amount with an additional sum to be paid to him, in spite of his not mentioning the Amir's name in his book.[1]

We are informed of certain scholars who dedicated their works voluntarily to some celebrities out of personal regard. The Christian Physician Jibrail b. Bukhtishu' dedicated his Pharmacopia, al-Kāfi, to the learned Wazir Ṣāḥib b. 'Abbād.[2]

The learned scholar and Wazir Qāḍi Akram al-Qifti used to receive presents of books from their celebrated authors who took pride in presenting their works to him. The learned bibliofile Yaqut when compiling his great geographical dictionary, Mujamul-Buldan, wrote a copy in his own hand and sent it to al-Qifti as a present.[3]

The learned Wazir Nizām ul-Mulk whenever received presents from the learned men these were in the form of books which were afterwards deposited in the library of the Niḍāmiyya College.[4]

(2) *Copying of Books*

In almost all the public and private libraries, dotted all over the Islamic countries, people were allowed free access. This made easy the task of copying and multiplying books. The scribes and booksellers availed themselves of this opportunity and transcribed books on payment. This gave a great impulse to the art of Warāqat which was carried to perfection with great enthusiasm throughout the length and

[1] Yaqut, VI, p. 244; Bughya, p. 209.
[2] T. al-Atibba, I, p. 148.
[3] Mujam ul-Buldan, Vol. I, p. 12, Cairo.
[4] Subki, Tabaqat, Vol. IV, p. 29.

breadth of the Muslim empire. In some public as well as private libraries, paper, pen and ink were supplied for copying books free of charge, as it was done at the big libraries at Cairo,[1] Ramharmuz,[2] Karkar[3] and Mawsil.[4] In some state libraries a special amount was set apart for this expenditure and formed one of the items of the annual budget.[5]

There were several scribes and calligraphists attached to every public or private library for copying books. They either made copies of books already in possession of the library, or transcribed other books for the library. Thus we read that there were 180 scribes at the great library of Banu 'Ammār at Tripolis (Syria) out of whom 30 were constantly at work day and night.[6] In the library of Abul Fida, the historian, at Ḥamāt there were several scribes.[7] The same was the case with the other libraries at Cairo, Rāmharmuz, Karkār, Mawsil and Spain. The same custom was prevalent in the libraries of private persons like al-Wāqidi (d. 208) of Baghdad,[8] Caliph al-'Aziz of Egypt,[9] Abu Muṭrif of Spain[10] and others.

The pious act of making Waqf a book or a library to any place of sanctity or a charitable institution, like Mosque, Madrasahs, Hospitals, Serais, Ribats (monasteries) and Mausoleums,[11] was no less responsible for the accumulation of a large number of books. Besides the learned scholars, who bequeathed their books to their co-religionists on their death-bed,[12] there were scribes and writers who wrote books and made them Waqf in the charitable institutions. Of the latter we find innumerable instances. Moreover it had become a fashion among the authors to

[1] Maqrizi, II, p. 334, Cairo.
[2] Al-Maqdisi, Bibl. Geog. III, 413.
[3] Yāqūt, Vol. V, p. 467.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 419-20.
[5] Maqrizi, II, p. 335.
[6] Ibn al-Furat fol. 36 V.
[7] Muḥaḍarat ul-Majma-ul-'Ilmi, Vol. I, p. 265.
[8] Fihrist, p. 144.
[9] Maqrizi, II. p. 235.
[10] Ibn Bashkuwal, as-Ṣilah, I, pp. 304–5.
[11] Naktul-Himyan, p. 238; Tabaqat ul-Atibba, I, p. 300. II, p. 155, al-Qifti, p. 15; Ibn Khallikan, I, p. 69.
[12] Yaqut, I, p. 252.

deposit their works into some library generally attached to some grand mosque or a big Madrasah.

Abul-Fazl Muḥammad b. 'Abdul Karim al-Ḥārithi (d. 599), who made an abridgement of al-Aghāni in 10 Volumes, wrote a copy of the work in his own hand and made it Waqf in the grand mosque of Damascus.[1] Ibn Khairān the officer-in-charge of the correspondence department at Egypt under al-Mustanṣir, had sent to Baghdad two volumes of his poetical works to be deposited there in the Dār ul-'Ilm, the library of Sābur's academy.[2] The Nestorian physician Jibrail (d. 396) who wrote a Pharmacopia on medicines, made waqf a copy of it to the same library.[3]

Conservation of Books

The preponderance of books and their colossal collections in the innumerable libraries and academies necessitated their preservation and the Muslim bibliofiles were not unaware of the ways and means of preserving books from spoliation by worms, climatic effects and ravages of time. Generally the books were preserved by rinsing them with the germicidal powders, as in our own times, and sometimes by burning some fragrant drugs and giving their smoke to books. About one way of removing from books bad smell through damp or water, we learn from an incident related of a scholar's book collection, Ibn ad-Dahan, a grammarian of Mawsil (d. 469), that when he left Baghdad for Damascus, his books which were sent to him there after some time, had become wet and caught dampness giving a bad smell. This owner at last purchased some 30 lbs. of *Ladhan*[4] (Ladanum), burnt it and gave the smoke to his books. But unfortunately his eyes caught the smoke which resulted in his total blindness, as the gum proved fatal to the eyesight.[5]

We have an anecdote related in Yaqut's 'Dictionary

[1] Tabaqat ul-Atibba, Vol. II. p. 190. [2] Tabaqat ul-Atibba, Vol. I, p. 146.
[3] Yaqut, Vol. I, p. 242.
[4] Ladanum is a gum which exudes from a species of cistus (Eng. trans. of Ibn Khall., Vol. I, p. 576, note 3). [5] Safadi, Nakt, pp. 158-9.

of Learned Men'[1] to the effect that one Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṭahir Abu Manṣur, the librarian of the Sābur's academy at Baghdād, was befooled by his assistant Ibn Ḥamd who once jestingly told the former that the books of the library were eaten by worms and that he should at once see the Sharif al-Murtaḍa and ask from him the medicine for killing these germs.

Conclusion

From the above particulars and details it will be seen that the art of Warāqat had become most important and an indispensable occupation of the whole Muslim nation of that age and thus it rightly deserved the appellation of one of the 'Chief Arts' (Ummahat us-Sanayi') as given by the historian Ibn Khaldun. This art continued to develop with ardent love and consuming passion by the Muslim scholars and savants and their unflinching devotion and indefatigable endeavours kept it in flourishing condition from the Second to the Ninth century of Hijrah.

In conclusion we again quote the learned philosopher historian Ibn Khaldun who gives us in a nutshell the idea of the development and cultivation of this art during the bloom of the Arab civilization.

He says :—

'The sea of civilization and culture was surging in the Islamic states in every country which expanded the empire; Sciences were cultivated; the art of transcription and bookbinding excelled; the royal palaces and treasures were filled up with books which had no parallel; people of different towns vied with each other in collecting books. But when the system of Islamic Government disintegrated, all these diminished and with the disintegration of the caliphate all the seminaries of Baghdad vanished and disappeared. Then the seat of the art of transcription and calligraphy was transferred to Egypt and Cairo where these are still flourishing to the present day.'[2]

[1] Vol. V, p. 359.

[2] Muqaddamah, p. 397, Bulaq.

THE CITY-STATE OF MECCA[1]

M. Hamidullah, Hyderabad

'In all ages and areas, from ancient Egypt to modern America, the highest development of human mentality, initiative and achievement has been in urban communities. So long as men remained in the pastoral or agricultural stages there was little stimulus to the differentiation of economic functions, the entire energies of men were absorbed in the task of raising the food supply. But with the city came the division of labour and possibilities for economic surplus, hence wealth, leisure, education, intellectual advance and the development of the arts and sciences.'[2]

The object of this paper is simply to draw the attention of the learned world to a rich field for investigation which has till now been almost neglected. The astonishingly rapid expansion of Islam and the extraordinarily capable statesmen which at the very outset the uncultured and unlettered city of Mecca produced are facts which must have some background. Napoleon had remarked that the secret of the valour of the Arab Muslims perhaps lay in their long internecine feuds of pre-Islamic days which formed their character.[3] In a public lecture delivered in 1935 at the Sorbonne, Paris, I had emphasised, that Arabia had already federated economically on the eve of Islam through its periodical fairs and the highly developed system of escorts of caravans. Obviously this economic federation, coupled with the fact of their speaking a common language, consulting the same oracles and worshipping gods in common, and to a great extent, observing the same customs, must have greatly prepared the ground for the political unification which Islam later achieved so rapidly, in the anarchic peninsula of Arabia. Now I propound here another thesis, that the citizens of Mecca had developed a sound and progressive constitution for their city-state long

[1] A paper read at the 9th All-India Oriental Conference, held in December 1937 at Trivandrum.

[2] Encyclopædia of Social Sciences, s.v. *City*, by William B. Munro.

[3] Mémorial de Sainte Hélène, III, 183.

before Islam and had thereby received the necessary training for the administration of the future Arab (Muslim) empire which expanded within the short span of 20 years from the small city-state of Medina to embrace the vast territories of the Persian and Byzantine Empires and others in three continents, Asia, Africa and Europe. As for Europe it is recorded that in 647/27 H. in the time of Caliph 'Uthmān, the Muslim armies penetrated into Spain and remained there till Ṭāriq came many generations later to complete the conquest.[1]

The study of the city-states of Arabia has not yet been taken up seriously. For this purpose I could have selected any city other than Mecca, for instance, Ṭā'if, Dūmatul-jandal, Taimā', Saba', Aden, Ṣuḥār etc. But for me the choice of Mecca was determined by several reasons. Our knowledge about Mecca is surer and ampler than about other cities. Mecca was the cradle of Islam. It was here that the Prophet Muḥammad was born and brought up. It was here that the major portion of his missionary life was also spent. It was here that almost all the prominent figures of the first Muslim Empire were born and bred. Again it was the possession of this city that was coveted by all the three contemporary neighbouring empires, Byzantium, Persia and Abyssinia, and to believe the author of the *Kitābuttīfāq*, even Alexander the *Bicorned*[2] thought it important enough to pay a visit to its sanctuary, the Ka'bah. (Cf. also 'Ainīy, commentary of Bukhārīy, VII, 365 ; Azraqīy, *in loco.*)

As for Byzantium, from the time of Aellius Gallus down to Nero all the emperors cherished the desire of extending their

[1] Ṭabariy, *Annales*, I, p. 2817 ; cf. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, V. p. 555 (Oxf. Univ.).

[2] I think, the appellation of *Dhu'l-qarnain* (bicorned or two-horned) for Alexander the Great, had been suggested to the Arabs by the national head-dress of the Macedonians. In 1934, when King Alexander of Jugoslavia was assassinated in Marseilles, his *bicorn* was among the many relics and ornaments which were placed, in state by the side of the body of the dead king. Cf. also Balādhuriy, *Futūḥ* (ed. Egypt), p. 51 for the expression 'the horned Romans' (ar-rūm dhāt al-qurūn).

influence to the important station of Mecca and made tentative efforts in this direction.[1] According to Ibn Qutaibah,[2] the Byzantine Emperor helped Quṣaiy in his attempt to capture the city of Mecca. But later, Quṣaiy seems to have become independent and neglected Byzantine interests. So, some generations later, when a Meccan, 'Uthmān ibn al-Ḥuwairith of the clan of Asad, embraced Christianity, the Emperor put a crown on his head and sent him to Mecca with a Ukase ordering the Meccans to accept him as their king. 'Uthmān was in a very favourable position, since the Meccans, who were largely dependent upon the Byzantine provinces of Egypt, Palestine and Syria for their victuals and for their trade, could not disregard the Imperial Ukase. But at the last moment, a kinsman of 'Uthmān himself harangued the mass meeting of the Meccans and protested against and ridiculed the impossible innovation of aristocracy and kingship for the free citizens of Mecca. 'Uthmān was disgusted and returned to Syria. The Emperor retaliated by closing the routes of his dominions to Meccans and imprisoned those who sojourned there at that time.[3] This happened probably after the Emperor had given the charter of permission to Hāshim to come to Syria and had given a letter to the name of the Negus, recommending him to open his country to the Meccan caravans.[4] The Emperor could not push further his designs as the war with Iran had begun. Al-Wāḥidīy in his *Asbābunnuzūl*[5] records that the Medinite Abū-'Āmir ar-Rāhib also used to threaten that he would bring in the armies of Emperor.

As for the Persians, after their conquest of Yeman, they began to believe that Mecca had automatically come under their influence. Hence the order of Chosroes to his governor of Yeman to command the Prophet to go over to Iran to see the Emperor. If the Prophet did not obey the order, he was to be arrested and sent to Ctesiphon.[6]

The Abyssinians had actually undertaken an expedition[7] under Abrahah with his famous elephant Maḥmūd[8] (Mammoth ?)

The innumerable incidents of the Meccan and other Arab notables

[1] Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire*, pp. 239, 243.

[2] *al-Ma'ārif*, p. 313 (ed. Europe).

[3] al-Fāsīy, ed Wüstenfeld, p. 144; as-Suhailīy, *Rauḍ 'ul-unuf*, I. 146; Lammens, *La Mecque*, p. 267; Sprenger, *Das Leben u. die Lehre des Mohammed*, I, 89-90.

[4] Ya'qubīy, I, 280; Ṭabarīy, p. 1089; Ibn Sa'd, 1/1, pp. 43, 45; *Lisān 'al-'arab*, s. v. 'Ilāf'; Lammens, *La Mecque*, p. 128, etc.

[5] p. 195. [6] Ṭabarīy, p. 1572 ff.

[7] See Conti Rossini for Abyssinian Wars in Arabia in J.A., 1911, pp. 5–36 and R.S.O., IX, 378 ff; *La Mecque*, p. 280 ff.

[8] Ibn Hishām, p. 29 ff.

having been received by the emperors of Byzantium, of Iran, of Abyssinia, etc. also tend to prove that these emperors wished to extend their influence in the interior of the desert Peninsula through pacific means.

Topographical

Northern and Western Arabia is generally barren and desert. A small oasis with a spring is a sufficient attraction for men to settle down there. If it happens to be on any of the main trade-routes, as Mecca was, it becomes much easier to have there a fixed population. Mecca already existed at the time of Abraham who is said to have visited it, and the Arab authors[1] assure us that here were then dense forests and good pastures in the valley where Mecca is situated. Quṣaiy, an ancestor of the Prophet, had hewed down[2] a large number of trees in order to make room for the houses which he and his tribesmen constructed around the sanctuary of *Ka'bah*. And there is evidence from other periods to the same effect.[3] Even to-day the Boahir's lodge at Mecca is more like a palace on the Malabar Hill, Bombay, than as a building in the *wādi ghair dhī zar'*[4] where it is situated. It was an important junction of the trade-routes to Syria, Yeman, Ṭā'if, and Najd, situated near the spring of Zamzam and protected on all sides by high and impregnable mountains. Its early history is obscure. Its political life we shall discuss in the next section. Certain peculiarities of town-planning may be dealt with here.

Like the *polis* and *asty* (or *high* and *low* towns) of the Greek cities, Mecca had also been divided from time immemorial into *Ma'lāt* and *Musfalah*, a division which has persisted to this day. In the remoter antiquity, *Bakkah* and *Makkah* seem to have been the terms in vogue. In

[1] Azraqiy, p. 47; cf. *Aghānī*, XIII, 108.

[2] Ibn. Hishām, p. 80; Quṭbuddīn, *I'lam bi-a'lam balad 'allāh al-ḥarām*, p. 34; Tabarīy, p. 1087.

[3] Regarding the Jurhumite time, see Azraqiy, *Akhbār Makkah*, p. 47.

[4] Quran, 14 : 37.

his classical history of Mecca al-Azraqīy quotes[1] that 'Bakkah is the place where the sanctuary is situated and Makkah is the city.' The Quran confirms this indirectly when it says 'the first sanctuary erected for the people is the one situated in Bakkah',[2] and again, 'It was He Himself who prevented them from attacking you and prevented you from attacking them in the valley of Makkah.'[3] The term *two Meccas*[4] in the sense of *two cities*[5] used in Ibn Hishām to denote the sister cities of Mecca and Ṭā'if, also suggest the same thing.

Naturally the aristocracy lived in the *ma'lāt* or the acropolis where also the sanctuary and the graveyard were and are situated. We know for certain[6] that when Quṣaīy took possession of Mecca, he transferred all his kinsmen from the *ẓwāhir* (suburbs) to the *baṭḥā'* (the centre or the heart of the city). And *vis-à-vis* the sanctuary was erected the house containing the council hall of *dārunnadwah*.[7] The temple had become a pantheon containing 360[8] idols of various tribes and clans. The *Lāt* and *'Uzzā* were originally the deities of Ṭā'if and Nakhlah respectively[9] but their duplicates were placed around the Ka'bah and were venerated by the Meccans as well.[10] Again, like all Greek towns,[11] Mecca too had its surrounding territory, called *ḥaram*, extending roughly to 125 sq. miles.[12] Islam

[1] *op. cit.*, p. 196, *l.* 12 ('Bakkah mawḍi' al-bait wa Makkah al-qaryah').

[2] 3 : 96. [3] 48 : 24.

[4] (Makkatain), cf. Ibn Hishām, pp. 121, 519.

[5] (Qaryatain), cf. Quran, 43 : 30. See also Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, p. 291 ; Balādhurīy (*ansāb ?*), pp. 34, 37 (cited by Lammens).

[6] Ibn Hishām, p. 80. [7] Qutbuddīn, *op. cit.*, 34.

[8] Azraqīy, pp. 75–6 ; Abū Nu'aim, *al-Muntaqā*, (MS. Bazm Adab. Hyderabad-Deccan), fol. 205b–206a.

[9] Ibn Hishām, p. 55 ; Kalbīy, *al-Aṣnām*, *in loco*.

[10] These must have been small transportable idols since Abū Sufyān was carrying them at the battle of Uḥud, Tabarīy, p. 1395 ; Aghānī, XIV, 15.

[11] Cf. Phillipson, *International Law and Custom in Ancient Greece and Rome*, I, 28 ; Warde Fowler, *City State*, *in loco* ; Halliday, *History of the World* ed. Hammerton, Ch. Greek City-States, p. 1107.

[12] Calculated from the delimitation of the Ḥaram as given by Azraqīy, (pp. 350-61), Aḥmad ibn Muḥammed al-Khaḍrāwīy, *al-Iqd'alk-thamīn fi faḍā'il al-balad al-amīn*, (p. 13, ed. Cairo, 1290) and others.

later extended the area of *ḥaram*, and the limits in each direction are now called *mīqāt*. We do not know if there were in Mecca the necessary forum, race-course, mobilisation ground and reserved pastures of the existence of which at Medina and other cities there is plenty of evidence. The etymology of *Ajyad*, a street in Mecca, suggests, however, its having some connection with race-horses.

Prof. Halliday in his interesting article on the Greek city-states observes[1] :—

'After the turmoil of the ages of migration had subsided there was a change from a normal state of war to one of cosmopolitan peace and from a wandering to a settled life.

'But how these cities came into being? The earliest settlements were undoubtedly in villages. . . . But in general a group of villages found it convenient to fortify some hill or strongly defensible position in the plane, to the shelter of which their women and cattle might be sent when their neighbours crossed the mountain on a summer raid. . . . In this stronghold was usually placed the temple of the god and the palace of the king.

'A natural tendency then arose for the commonalty to leave their villages for dwelling near the city of refuge, and from there to go out daily to their fields; while the nobles found it convenient to establish themselves round the king and the centre of the Government. In this way a lower town (*asty* is the Greek word) developed round the citadel or "polis". In course of time a wall of fortification was erected round the asty.'

Mutatis mutandis it is true of Hedjaz also.

Mecca is situated in a deep valley surrounded by high and impregnable mountains. There is only one highway crossing through the city and two byeways to the city.[2] The people did not need to bother much about a wall of fortification. We read, however, in Quṭbuddīn's history of Mecca :[3]—

that in ancient times Mecca had walls of fortification. So, in the direction of the *ma'lāt* there was a wide wall between the mountain of Abdullāh-ibn-'Umar and the mountain opposite to it.

[1] Halliday, *op. cit.*, p. 1110.

[2] *Mir'āt al-ḥaramain*, I, 178. See also any map of the city of Mecca.

[3] *op. cit.*, p. 7.

There was a gate there with iron plates which the king of India had presented to the prince of Mecca and there was another wall in the direction of *masfalah* in the street called *Darbulyaman* At-Taqīy al-Fāsīy has mentioned: 'that there was a wall in the higher town besides the one mentioned and I do not know when these walls of Mecca were constructed nor who constructed them nor who repaired them'. 'And I have seen' continues Quṭbuddīn, 'in some histories to the effect that there existed a wall in the time of the Abbasid caliph al-Muqtadir'.

These may have been the renewals of ancient, crude fortifications of pre-Islamic days.

The finest esplanade has from the very beginning been reserved for the sanctuary-edifice, and the Arab authors[1] assure us that the ancient inhabitants of this valley were so superstitious that they would not construct any house near the House of God. They preferred to live in the suburbs, and around the Sanctuary they had only tents. It was Quṣaīy, they say, who first thought of erecting dwelling houses around the sanctuary, and in order to reconcile the populace to this innovation, he pointed out:—

'If you will live around the Sanctuary people will have fear of you and will not permit themselves fighting you or attacking you. And moreover, Qusaiy began himself and constructed the council hall of *dārunnadwah* in the north side . . . and it is said that it was situated where there is the Ḥanafi-Muṣallā today wherefrom the Ḥanafi Imam conducts the five daily services.

'The lands on the remaining three sides of the sanctuary were distributed by him among the Quraishite tribes where they constructed their dwelling houses.'[2]

Political

Quṣaīy had married the daughter of the Jurhumite chieftain of Mecca. Hence his claims to the chieftainship after the latter's death. His relatives of the tribe of Quḍā'ah as well as his partisans in the city helped him; and to believe Ibn Qutaibah,[3] even the Byzantine emperor aided Quṣaīy in his enterprise, obviously to extend the imperial authority as far into the interior as possible, in

[1] Tabariy, p. 1097; Quṭbuddīn, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
[2] Quṭbuddin, p. 34. [3] *al-Ma'ārif*, p. 313.

order to assure the security of the overland trade-route to and from India.

Quṣaīy[1] must have inherited many political institutions, such as the guardianship of the sanctuary of Ka'bah. And no wonder if this man of genius himself created some new institutions to assure and to improve his position. It will, however, be difficult to ascertain how many of the ten[2] public offices which became prominent in the time of Quṣaīy, were ancient institutions and what reforms were due to the genius of this brilliant and truly great chieftain. The erection of a Council Hall (dārunnadwah)[3] as well as the imposition of an annual tax, called *rafādah*,[4] are expressly attributed to Quṣaīy. We also know that the institutions of *Nasi'*, *Ijāzah* and *ifāḍah* were left in the hands of the ancient families.[5] Generally, however, only six offices are mentioned as having been in charge of Quṣaīy[6] and they were the more important and lucrative ones.

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi[7] and other authors mention, as just remarked, that there were ten public offices held hereditarily by ten clans of the Quraishites of Mecca. They may have been originally only ten, as was the case in Venice and Palmyra. Citing Chabot,[8] Lammens[9] remarks :—

> . . . un Conseil des Dix, composé des chefs des dix familles principales. Ce Conseil de Dix, l'épigraphie nous en révèle l'existence et le fonctionnement à Palmyre, à côté d'un sénat avec son président et son secrétaire. Conseil et Sénat légifèrent, contrôlent l'exécution des lois fiscales, édictent, au besoin, des pénalités.'

[1] Cf. on him Martin Hatmann's article in the Z. f. Assyriologie, XXVII, pp. 43–9.

[2] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'iqd al-farid*, II, 45–6; Zubair ibn Bakkar, *Ansāb quraish* (MS. of Istanbul, cited by Lammens, *Triumvirat*, p. 114).

[3] Ibn Hishām, pp. 80, 83; Ṭabarīy, p. 1099; Ibn Sa'd, 1/1, p. 39; Azraqiy p. 65.

[4] Ibn Hishām, p. 83; Ṭabarīy, p. 1099; Ibn Sa'd, 1/1, p. 41; Geog. of Yāqūt, s. v. Makkah; *Akhbār Makkah*, ed. Wüstenfeld, IV, pp. 31–2.

[5] Ṭabarīy, p. 1134; Ibn Hishām, pp. 66, 67, 77, 78.

[6] Azraqiy, p. 66 (umūr sittah). [7] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 45–6.

[8] *Choix des Inscriptions de Palmyre*, 24, etc. [9] *La Mecque*, p. 69.

And adds :—

'Ce serait peine perdue de chercher les traces d'une organisation analogue à la Mecque.'

In fact, we find many more than ten institutions, reference to which one can glean from the pages of Arabic authors. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, although he himself expressly mentions that there were only ten chiefs, yet he enumerates 17 functions and ascribes more than one function to several of the said ten holders of offices. To these, four or five more can easily be added from available sources. This is a list of them :—

Nadwah, mashūrah, qiyādah, sadānah, ḥijābah, siqāyah, 'imāratulbait, ifāḍah, ijāzah, nasi', qubbah, a'innah, rafādah, amwāl muḥajjarah, aysār, ashnāq, ḥukūmah, sifārah, 'uqāb, liwā, ḥulwān-unnafar.

Leaving aside the vexed question of the Council of Ten, I would rather try to explain in my own way the political structure and the working of the constitution of the city-state of Mecca.

To begin with, the community or the population was termed *jamā'ah*,[1] a word retained by the Prophet in order to designate his adherents and distinguish them from others, as his epistle to the prefect of Bahrain[2] also testifies. The word *millat*,[3] however, had a sense more religious than political. The word *qawm* has been used in the Quran[4] in a meaning wider than the general body of voters. Those, who possessed the right of vote and a voice in the public deliberations are always termed as *mala'*.[5] It is only with the *tirāḍi* (consent) of the *mala'* that the local potentate could act. The Quran has also employed the word in this sense.[6] The Quran in mentioning the *mala'* of Pharaoh always excludes the Israelites who had no franchise. The

[1] Wāqidy, p. 59, *l.* 3.

[2] Ibn Sa'd, 2/1, p. 27 ; cf. Hamidullah, *Corpus des Traités*, No. 55 ; idem *Documents sur la Diplomatie musulmane*, p. 74.

[3] Cf. Quran, 2 : 130 ; 3 : 95 ; 4 : 125 ; etc.

[4] Quran, 7 : 60, 66, 109, 127 ; 11 : 27, 37 ; 23 : 24, 33 ; etc.

[5] Quran, 2 : 246 ; 28 : 20 ; etc.

[6] Quran, 2 : 233 ; 4 : 29.

king of Egypt in the time of Joseph and the queen of Sheba all had, according to the Quran,[1] their respective *mala'* for consultation. They are the *ūlū quwah* and *ahl-ul-ḥall wa al-'aqd* and they interfere if anything goes wrong.[2] The same is reported to have been the case in Palmyra.[3] This Senate house of Mecca was a council of elders only, since al-Azraqīy[4] and Ibn Duraid[5] assure us that only the quadragenerian citizens of Mecca could attend a meeting of the *dārunnadwah*. The sons of the chieftain Quṣaīy, however, were privileged to be exempt from this age limit.[6] It is probably of this age of franchise that we have a souvenir in the Quranic Verse[7] *ḥattā idhā balagha ashuddahu wa balagha arba'īna sanatan*. In later times more liberal concessions seems to have been in vogue and we hear, for instance, that Abū-Jahl was admitted therein although he was only thirty years of age and this franchise of his was on account of his wise council (*liʃūdi ra'yihi*),[8] and Ḥakīm Ibn Ḥizām, when only 15 or 20 years old.[9] The Council of Elders in Sparta was in fact a council of elderly people and none under sixty years[10] of age could be a member of the local Gerousia.[11]

Prior to Quṣaīy, the Meccans must have deliberated in the open forum or the tent of their chieftain. It remained anyhow, for Quṣaīy to erect a special hall for the meetings of the city-council and to name it dārun-nadwah, a word which has also been commemorated by Ḥassān ibn Thābit,[12] the poet-laureate of the Prophet. It was situated a few yards to the North of Ka'bah but it has since been demolished to extend the mosque of the *Ḥaram* around the Ka'bah. Naturally the Council did not meet at regular intervals but only as occasion required.[13]

[1] Quran, 12 ; 43 ; 27 : 29, 32.
[2] al-Fāsīy, p. 109.
[3] Lammens, *La Mecque*, p. 79.
[4] *op. cit.*, 64, 65, 465.
[5] Ibn 'Asākir, IV, 419, *l.* 2.
[6] *Ishtiqāq*, p. 97.
[7] Azraqiy, pp. 64, 65, 465.
[8] Quran, 46 : 15.
[9] Ibn Duraid, *op. cit.*, p. 97, *l.* 6.
[10] Cf. the Hindustani expression ' a youngster of sixty ' (sāṭhā pāṭhā).
[11] Plutarch's Lives, Lycurgus, Warde Fowler, p. 71, n. 2.
[12] Diwān, No. 145, 183.
[13] Ibn Duraid, p. 97.

It was here that the consultations were held and wars declared or defensive measures discussed.[1] It was here again that marriages were celebrated and treaties of commerce concluded.[2] Foreign guests were also entertained here.[3] Like the aborigines of Nilgris,[4] the pre-Islamic Meccans also performed a particular ceremony when a girl reached her puberty and clad her in the gown of grown up women (dir'). This also was done in the dārun-nadwah.[5]

Apart from this central municipal council, there were as many ward councils or communes as there were tribes or clans in the municipal area. These were called *nādī*,[6] corresponding to the *saqīfah* of Medinite tribes. The *dārun-nadwah* was the '*nādī*' *par excellence*, a common and central *nādī* for all the local tribes. And in fact the famous traditionist and lexicographer Abū-'Ubaid[7] derives *nadwah* and *nādī*, both, from the same root *nadā*. The Quran also immortalises this *nādī* by its '*fal-yad'u nādiyahu*'[8] and '*ta'tūn fī nādīkum al-munkar*'.[9] It was in these family-circles or clubs that foreigners were affiliated to the family[10] and also the ex-communication (*tard* or *Khal'*) of some hot-headed culprit from among the members of the family was proclaimed.[11] It was here that the family-members and casual visitors assembled sometimes even for hearing night-tales (*musāmarah*).[12] Commercial transactions and the arrival and departure of caravans all had to have recourse to these centres.

[1] As an instance, the plan to murder the Prophet which led to his migration to Medina.

[2] Lammens, *La Mecque*, p. 72.

[3] Wāqidīy, ed. von Kremer, p. 23.

[4] Hamidullah, *Nilgri*, p. 26 (ed. Hyderabad).

[5] Ibn Hishām, p. 80.

[6] For a description see Lammens, *La Mecque*, p. 88, etc.

[7] *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, fol. 191a (cited in *La Mecque*, p. 73).

[8] Quran, 96 : 17.

[9] Quran, 29 : 29.

[10] Ibn Hishām, pp. 243, 245 ; Aghānī, xiv, 99.

[11] Aghānī, VIII, 52, 53.

[12] Azruqiy, p. 376 ; *La Mecque*, p. 88 ff n. 8 ; *Aghānī*, XIII, 112.

Regarding Athens we read the following in Jowett's Thucydides[1] :—

> In the days of Cercrops and the first kings, down to the reign of Theseus, Athens was divided into communes, having their own town-halls and magistrates. Except in case of alarm the whole population did not assemble in Council under the king but administered their own affairs and advised together in their several townships.

In Mecca there was the office of heraldry (called *munādī* and also *mu'adhdhin*,—(Mu'adhdhin being retained up to this day, in the original sense, among the Syrian nomads,[2])—to call the meeting.[3] Each tribal chief had his particular *munādī* or *munādīs*.[4] These heralds were used not only for emergency meetings but also for inviting to feasts and for making known the banishment of some member of the family. Non-herald commoners and even foreigners could call for the emergency meeting and for that purpose they used to put off their clothes and cry completely naked. The Arabists know them very well by the common term *an-nadhīr al-'uryān*.

Quṣaīy is represented as a veritable monarch, an autocrat and a supreme chief of the whole city whose word was law,[5] and he was gratefully remembered by posterity for uniting the tribes of Quraish and converting them into the elite of the city, hence his sobriquet of *Mujammi'*[6] (one who unites). After the death of Quṣaīy, however, an oligarchy ensued because Quṣaīy himself had distributed his several offices among his several sons;[7] and probably this was the origin of the reputed Council of Ten[8] at the

[1] Vol. I, 104 (cited by Warde Fowler, pp. 48-9).

[2] Cf. *La Mecque*, p. 160, n. 3.

[3] The word was used even as late as the year 9 H.; cf. Abū 'Ubaid, *kitāb al-amwāl*, section 455.

[4] Ya'qūbiy, I, 281 (*l.* 14), 290, 292; cf. Lammens, *La Mecque*, pp. 64-5; idem, *Berceau*, 1, 229; *Aghānī*, xi, 65, *l.* 5; Ibn Duraid, p. 94; *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ed. Thorbecke, 2/2.

[5] Ibn Hishām, p. 84. [6] Tabariy, p. 1095; Ibn Hishām, p. 89.

[7] Mas'ūdiy, *Tanbīh*, p. 295.

[8] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, p. 45; Mas'ūdiy, *Murūj*, III, 139-20, IV, 121.

dawn of Islam. We do not deny the possibility of Quṣaīy's exercising the supreme authority, nobody challenging him owing to the great deeds he had performed. Yet in later times, terms like *saiyid-un-nās*[1] etc., should not mislead us to take them in the sense of '*doge*' of Venice renown. The office of *qiyādah*[2] in Mecca is to me of dubious character. The brilliant sketch of Wellhausen on *Ein Gemeinwesen ohne Obrigkeit* also tends to arrive at the same conclusion. Yes, there was a marked tendency in various parts of Arabia towards monarchy. As already said, 'Uthmān ibn al-Ḥuwairith had attempted it in Mecca.[3] In Medina 'Abdullāh ibn Ubaīy ibn Salūl was to be crowned king (liyutauwijūhu) as Ibn Hishām,[4] al-Bukhārīy,[5] and aṭ-Ṭabarīy[6] have recorded, when the immigration of the Prophet to Medina changed the idea of his partisans. Sprenger[7] believes that :—

'Schon in ihrem wilden Zustande also haben diese Leute monarchische Ueberzeugungen.'

Religious

The most important civil function in those days of self-help was the administration of the temple. With this are connected the offices of *sadānah*, *ḥijābah*, *siqāyah* and *'imāratu'l-bait*. Again, the offices of *aysār* and *azlām* remind us of Greek oracles of the temples of Delphi and others. Similarly there were individuals pretending to possess supernatural powers like *'ā'if*, *kāhin*, *'arrāf*, *khirrīt*, *munajjim* and even a certain number of those called *shā'ir* or poet. People also believed in *Hātif* or the unseen talker. One met there also with sacrifices (qurbān).

Sadānah (administration of the sanctuary) and *ḥijābah* (gate-keeper of the temple) also meant the possession of the key of the door of the sanctuary-edifice and the exclusive

[1] Azraqīy, p. 64 ; *La Mecque*, p. 69. [2] Azraqīy, p. 64.
[3] Suhailīy, I, 146, cf. supra.
[4] p. 727 ; cf. Qurān, 63 : 8 in any commentary.
[5] *Saḥīḥ* of Bukhārīy, 79 : 20. [6] p. 1511 ff.
[7] *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, I, 249.

power of letting anybody inside the sacred edifice, which always brought pecuniary gratifications to the officer concerned. It is well-known how Quṣaïy bought the office of the gate-keeper for a bagful of wine[1] and how the Prophet after the conquest of Mecca returned the key to the head of the old family entitled to its possession.[2]

The offices of *siqāyah* (supplying water) and *'imāratulbait* (keeper of the temple) are taken notice of by the Quran[3] also. Supplying the pilgrims with water must have been a lucrative job in Mecca where water is so scarce and the sacred water of Zamzam was required by every pilgrim. In Palmyra a similar office brought in annually the considerable sum of 800 gold-dinars.[4] Probably the citizens and the inhabitants of Mecca were exempt from paying any fee in this connection. The office of *'imārah* (keeper) meant according to Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, to make casual rounds and see that the sanctity of the temple was not violated by abusive talks and quarrels and by too loud speaking. Al-'Abbās the uncle of the Prophet attended to that function.[5]

I do not know if the pre-Islamic Ḥajj consisted of as many rituals as to-day and whether certain acts are not amalgamated which had formerly separate existence and had nothing to do with the cult of Ka'bah. It is noteworthy that in the Quran[6] the same verb has been employed both in connection with the Ka'bah and the mounts Ṣafā and Marwah : يطّوف بهما - ليطّوفوا بالبيت العتيق. Still, a circumambulation is observed regarding the Ka'bah and only a walking to and fro the mountains regarding the Ṣafā and Marwah. In connection with Ḥajj, the offices of *ijāzah* and *ifāḍah*,[7] also had a certain importance and gave

[1] Ṭabarīy, chapter Quṣaïy.
[2] See any biography of the Prophet, conquest of Mecca.
[3] Quran, 9 : 19.
[4] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 46.
[5] Chabot, p. 30 (cited in *La Mecque*)
[6] Quran, 2 : 158 ; 22 : 29.
[7] Ibn Hishām, p. 76 ff.

the privilege of first and less congested departure to certain families. But I will dwell more on the institution of *nasi'* or intercalation.[1]

Even in the primitive conditions of their civilization the Meccans of pre-Islamic times had known the inequalities and differences between the lunar and solar years. So, with a rough calculation, every third year an extra month was added to the usual twelve months and this month was intercalated between Muḥarram and Ṣafar, and declared with ceremony, by the office-bearer who always belonged to the family of Banū Fuqaim and was called Qalammas[2] or Qalanbas.[3]

Intercalation brings us to *ashhur-ḥurum* or the months of the 'truce of God'. As everywhere else, the pilgrimage to the sanctuary of Ka'bah during fixed time of the year witnessed considerable commercial activity, as the influx of the pilgrims demanded more imports of victuals, and the new-comers also carried on private business and trade in goods brought by themselves, making the pilgrimage a fair, simultaneously. The Quran[4] also encourages the continuation of the habit in the verse: ليس عليكم جناح ان تبتغوا فضلا من ربكم As this periodical fair brought large sums in the form of *'Ushr* or the tithes of chieftain in possession of the site of the fair, he employed all possible means, including the well-developed system of escorts, to induce foreigners to come over there in larger and larger numbers. The institution of *ashhur-ḥurum* or months of general truce owes its origin to the same need of attracting

[1] For its practical bearing on the history of the time of the Prophet, see my paper in the Proceedings of the second session of the Idāra Ma'ārif Islāmīya, Lahore. For a general treatment of the subject, see the thesis of Mahmoud effendi (later M. Pacha Falaki) in J. A., 1885, pp. 109–92 (also Arabic version), 'Memoire sur le clendrier arabe'. Axel Moberg's recent monographe '*An-Nasi' in der islamischen Tradition*' is useful for the references of the literature.

[2] Qalammas is generally given as the title of the individual who first introduced intercalation in Arabia, but I have also come across the plural form *qalāmisah*, in the *al-Muḥabbar* of Ibn Ḥabīb (MS. Brit. Museum).

[3] A synonym, cf. *Lisan*. Quran, 2 : 198.

foreigners and customers. The longest period of these *ashhur-ḥurum*, known to Arabian history was of three months and was connected and coincided with the hajj of Ka'bah.[1] This clearly shows, in spite of the persistent and repeated denial of Lammens[2] and his partisans, the great importance of this fair which was attended by people from all parts of Arabia and even Syria and Egypt.[3] Incidentally it may be mentioned that certain privileged families of the Quraishites enjoyed this truce of God for eight months consecutively and it was referred to in history as *baṣl*.[4] It is to be noted that this was a personal privilege and the general people could not enjoy its protection. Anyhow it shows a marked tendency in the country towards general pacification instead of *bellum omnium contra omnes*.

It was certainly unfortunate though perhaps not intentional, that every three years when the Qalammas proclaimed in the month of hajj (Dhul-ḥijjah) that the next month would not be the sacred month Muḥarram but that it would be a profane month during which the bedouins were not bound to observe the truce. The continuity of the three consecutive months of truce was intercepted therewith and the result was that hardship was caused to those intending early departure.

The Meccans recognised a truce for three consecutive months and one stray month, viz. Dhul-qa'dah, Dhul-ḥijjah and Muḥarram for the Ḥajj-Akbar of the Ka'bah and 'Arafāt;[5] and Rajab for the celebration of the Ḥajj-Asghar or *'Umrah*[6] of the Ka'bah. The Quraishite influence was responsible for an almost universal respect of this ' truce of

[1] See also the commentaries of the Quranic verse 9 : 36.

[2] Specially in his monographe L'Organisation militaire de la Mecque, J. A., 1916.

[3] Azraqiy, p. 107; Ibn Hishām, p. 282; Ibn Sa'd, 1/1, p. 145.

[4] Ibn Hishām, p. 66; cf. *Qāmūs*, s. v. BSL.

[5] Cf. the instructions of the Prophet to 'Amr ibn Ḥazm where the terms hajj *akbar* and *asghar* are clearly explained (Ibn Hishām, p. 961; cf. also *Tafsīr* Ṭabariy for the verse 9 : 3).

[6] *Ibid.*

God' in Arabia. There were other truces connected with other localities and other fairs and hence the famous expression of the 'Rajab of the Muḍar tribes' occurring in the oration of the Prophet on the occasion of his last pilgrimage,[1] as contradistinguished from the 'Rajab of the Rabī'ah tribes.' These non-Quraishite truces were less rigorously observed. As remarked just now, the Quraishite truces were universally observed except by the two Christianised and proverbially bandit tribes of Ṭay' and Khath'am.[2] It was certainly due to the extensive commercial relations of the Quraishites and their widespread alliances. In this connection, it may be interesting to read a paragraph from the very important work of Muḥammad ibn Ḥabib (d. 245 H.) which has not yet been edited and which has a unique manuscript in the British Museum, I mean the *Kitāb al-muḥabbar* :—[3]

Every trader who set out from Yeman or Hedjaz [for Dūmatul-jandal in the extreme North of Arabia], acquired the services of the Quraishite escort as long as he travelled in the country inhabited by the Muḍarite tribes, since no Muḍarite harassed the Quraishite traders and also no ally of the Muḍarites. So, the Kalbites never harassed them as they were allied to the Banū al-Jusham, and the Ṭay'ites also never harassed them on account of their alliance with the Banū Asad.

It may be recalled that the Ṭayites and Khath'amites[4] did not believe in the Pagan Arab truce of God owing, perhaps, to their Christianity. Our author continues :—

The travellers acquired the services of the escorts of Banū 'Amr ibn Murthid which protected them in the whole of the country inhabited by the tribes of Rabī'ah. . . . When going to al-Mushaqqar in Bahrain, the Quraishite escorts were sought. . . . When going to the fair of Maharah in the southern extremity of Arabia, escorts of Banū Muḥarib were employed. . . . In the fair of ar-Rābiah in

[1] See for the complete text, Ibn Hishām, pp. 968–70; Ṭabarīy, pp. 1753–55; Jāḥiẓ, *al-ḥayāu wa al-ḥaiyatu*, II, 24–6; Ya'qūbiy, II, 122–3; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, chapter *Khuṭbā*; etc.

[2] Ya'qūbiy, I, 313–14; Marzūqiy, Vol. I, 90; II, 166.

[3] Chapter 'aswāq al-'arab', fol. 94–5.

[4] No wonder that it was a Khath'amite who consented to serve as a guide for Abrahah in his expedition against the Ka'bah, cf. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 78

Ḥaḍramaut, the Quraishites were escorted by the Banu Ākil-l-murār and the rest of the people were escorted by the Āl Masrūq of Kindah. It brought glory and eminence to both these tribes yet the Ākil al-murār[1] superceded their rivals on account of the patronage of the Quraishites. . . . 'Ukaẓ was the greatest of the Arab fairs and was visited by the tribes of Quraish, Hawāzin, Ghaṭafān, 'Aḍl, aḍ-Dīsh, al-Jabbār, al-Muṣṭaliq, al-Aḥābish and others.

Although the offices of *qubbah* (canopy) and *a'innah* (reins of the horse) are explained by later Arab authors[2] as 'pitching a public tent in order to collect donations and contributions for some public emergency' and '*hipparch*' or 'the master of the cavalcades' respectively, yet probably Lammens[3] is right when he says that originally qubbah meant the sacred canopy sheltering the transportable idols in wars or during festivals. And by the office of the reins, the same author understands the privilege of conducting a horse by its reins when a deity was taken in procession on horseback.

The mention of the sacred canopy is not rare in Arabic literature and naturally it is difficult to believe that in the primitive Meccan society there could have been two separate offices for the master of the cavalcade and commander of the rest of the army.[4] In Islamic times when many of the rites and rituals of the days of the Jāhiliyah were forgotten owing to their desuetude for centuries, ingenious lexicographers often explained antiquated terms, the signification of which they did not know, by the root-meaning, isolating them from their associations. The mastership of the reins was inherited, it is said, by Khālid ibn al-Walīd deducing probably from the fact that it was

[1] Cf. Olinder, *The Kings of Kinda of the family of Akil al-murār*, (Lund, 1927).

[2] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 45.

[3] His monograph 'Le culte des Bétyles et les processions religieuses chez les Arabes préislamites' in 'L'Arabie occidentale'.

[4] Regarding Athens, however, it is recorded that: 'There are also ten Taxiarchs, one from each tribe . . . and each commands his own tribesmen and appoints captains of companies (Lochagi). There are also two Hipparchs, elected by open vote from the whole mass of the citizens, who command the cavalry, each taking five tribes' (*Athenian Constitution* by Aristotle, Eng. trans., pp. 112–13).

he who led the Meccan cavalry at the battle of Uḥud.[1] But excepting Uḥud, the Quraish never used any cavalry worth mentioning either in Badr or Khandaq or any other battle, horses always being a luxury for the Arab. Moreover, the offices of canopy and of reins are indissolubly connected in literature and entrusted to the custody of the same person,[2] and obviously it is not necessary that the commander of the cavalry alone should be the collector of public subscriptions and vice versa.

Finance

Finance comes next. The ingenious Quṣaīy is said[3] to have found a very good pretext for imposing an annual tax on the people of Mecca by explaining to them the necessity of feeding the poor pilgrims and inviting others to a feast called *Ṣanīʿah*, on behalf of the city as was done by various doges in other parts of Arabia.[4] The surplus must naturally enrich the coffers of the chief. The family of Nawfal[5] inherited this privilege from Quṣaīy, and perhaps the richness of Khadījah may partly be attributed to this source. Al-Yaʿqūbīy[6] asserts that when Quṣaīy had introduced many innovations, like the construction of houses in close proximity to the sanctuary, he suggested this feast to appease the wrath of foreign pilgrims. Anyhow Quṣaīy retained the custom to his profit and the profit of his successors. This tax was called *rafādah*. Quṣaīy also exercised the right of escheat on the property of foreigners dying without heirs.[7]

The import-customs[8] especially during the fair have

[1] In fact the hipparch of the right flank was Khālid ibn al-Walīd and the left flank was led by ʿIkrimah ibn Abī Jahl. Cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 561.

[2] Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, II, 45.

[3] Ibn Hishām, p. 83; Ṭabarīy, p. 1099; Ibn Saʿd. 1/1, p. 41; Yāqūt, s. v. Makkah.

[4] Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, *op. cit.*, fol. 94-96; Marzūqīy, *Azminah* II. 361-66.

[5] Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, II, 45. [6] I, 275-6.

[7] Balādhurīy, *Ansāb* fol. 28/a (cited in *La Mecque*, p. 44).

[8] Even the pre-historic Amalekites are said to have exercised the same right, in Mecca. Cf. *Manāʾiḥ al-kawnīn*, cited in the *Miʾāt al-Ḥaramain*, I, 69.

been another great source of income. The Jurhum-Qaṭūrā confederacy of Mecca had divided the city into two spheres of influence, and each of the unit-chiefs could levy the tax on whoever entered from the main entrance situated in his part of the city.[1] Quṣaīy needed not this division as he was the sole beneficiary[2] of this ; and of course the inhabitants of the city themselves were exempt from this tax.[3] The same was the custom in other cities of Arabia and generally a tithe was the tariff *ad valorem*.[4] A curious incident of free import is mentioned by al-Azraqīy,[5] viz. that once when the Ka'bah was burnt and subsequently demolished by a flood, the Meccans bought a ship, wrecked on the port of Shu'aibīyah, and permitted the crew to come to Mecca and sell whatever they had rescued without paying the customary tithes.

Again, the offerings to the sanctuary must have some guardian and in fact we are assured[6] that the Banū-Sahm held this office of the *amwāl muḥajjarah*. Another source of income but not of public order was the compulsory purchase of a suite of garments from some inhabitant of Mecca as only in that dress, or quite naked, could one accomplish the circumambulation of the Ka'bah.[7] Further, they had developed a system of paying-guests for the foreign pilgrims and took from them some garments or beast of sacrifice, and this tax or fee was called *ḥarīm*.[8]

Administration of Justice

Public Council and judiciary must be distinguished from each other. The latter was concerned with crimes and civil claims only. In Arabia as elsewhere, to rule meant to arbitrate and decide as the very word *ḥakama* signifies.[9]

[1] Ibn Hishām, p. 72 ; Azraqīy, p. 47 ; Aghānī, XIII, 108.
[2] Ibn Sa'd, 1/1, p. 39. [3] *Ibid*
[4] Cf. Muḥammad ibn Habīb and Marzūqīy re fairs in Arabia.
[5] pp. 106–7. [6] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 46.
[7] *Tafsīr* of Ṭabarīy, VIII, 120, commentary of 7 : 31.
[8] Ibn Duraid, 171-2.
[9] For a detailed description see my article in *Majjala 'Uthmaniya*, XI.

The chief of each tribe was also its arbiter.[1] Inter-tribal disputes, however, necessitated recourse to oracles and well-known foreign arbitrators. The *kāhin*, *hātif*, *'ā'if*, *aslām* and *aysār*[2] remind us of the oracles of Delphi and other Greek temples. There was no common judge for the whole city of Mecca after Quṣaiy, as owing to family jealousies discord reigned, and hence the order of chivalry, the famous *ḥilf'ul-fuḍūl* was instituted which aimed at helping the oppressed, be he a citizen or a foreigner arrived in the city-limits.[3] It could have developed into a fixed and organised institution but presently the Islamic movement began and rendered it superfluous in the face of the well-organised judiciary appointed by the central government embracing the whole of Arabia and southern Palestine in the very time of the Prophet.[4]

The office of *ashnāq* may be mentioned in this connection. It is said that the family of Caliph Abūbakr held it hereditarily.[5] It meant[6] that whoever committed a compoundable tort or crime, the officer in charge of *ashnāq* determined the extent and value of the pecuniary liability and the whole city was bound by his calculations, and the family of the culprit subscribed towards the amount. The custom has very clearly been explained in the constitution of the city-state of Medina promulgated by the Prophet soon after his migration to it, and the document containing the said constitution has fortunately come down to us *in toto*.[7] I do not know wherefrom Lammens[8] has taken the explanation which he ridicules, that the officer in charge of

[1] Cf. Ya'qūbiy, I, 300.

[2] Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, *op. cit.* ascribes a whole chapter for the details of the procedure of the Arab oracles.

[3] Ibn Hishām, pp. 65–66; Suhailiy, I, 90-94; Ibn Sa'd, 1/1, p. 42; *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, I, 190.

[4] See for details my article in the *Islamic Culture*, April 1937, 'Administration of Justice in early Islam'.

[5] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 45. [6] *Ibid.*

[7] Ibn Hishām, pp. 341–44; Abū-'Ubaid, *kitāb al-amwāl*, ss. 517; Ibn Kathīr, *al-bidāyah*, III, 224–26.

[8] *La Mecque*, pp. 67-8.

aḥsnāq paid the blood or compound-money from his private purse.

Ambassadorship

The last item in civil administration, though by no means the least, was that of the *safīr-munāfir*.[1] This is ascribed to Banū 'Adīy, the family of Caliph 'Umar. This Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi explains in a succinct manner :—

'Whenever there was war, they sent 'Umar as their envoy plenipotentiary; and if and when a foreign tribe challenged the priority of the Quraish, it was again he who went and replied and the Quraish agreed to whatever he uttered.' [2]

Military

In connection with war, our authors mention several hereditary offices. Of these *canopy* and *reins* have already been disposed of. Others are *'uqāb*, *liwā*, and *ḥulwān-an'nafr* :

The office of *'uqāb* or standard-bearer is said[3] to have reposed in the Banū Umaiyah. Apparently this was the office of the custodian of the national flag in time of peace and of unfurling it as a call to mobilisation. In the actual expedition other persons as well could be elected and entrusted with this responsibility.[4]

Our authors[5] distinguish between the office of *'uqāb* and that of *liwā* (Banner) but do not give the difference between them. I have not been able to solve the difficulty, especially as the offices belonged to two different families. Perhaps the *'uqāb* was a war-flag, and *liwā* a tribal one used when there were other allies also.

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi concludes his narrative with the description of a very curious office which no other source mentions, and says :—[6]

'As for the *ḥulwān'an-nafar* (Gratuity of the Mobilisation), there was no monarchic king over the Arabs (of Mecca) in the Jāhiliyah. So whenever there was a war,

[1] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 45. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.* [6] *Idem*, p. 46.

they took ballot among the chieftains and elected one, be he a minor or a grown-up man. Thus on the day of Fijār, it was the turn of the Banū Hāshim and as a result of the ballot al-'Abbās, who was a child, was elected and they seated him on a shield, to carry him.

This is not the place to describe in detail the military organisation[1] and the laws and practices of the Quraish in time of war and neutrality. I shall only make a passing reference to the *mirbā'* or the fourth part of the booty, the *fuḍūl* or the undividable fractions, the *nashīṭah* or the captures before the general plunder, and the *ṣafīy* or the choice—which were the rights and prerogatives of the commander of the tribe in a razzia or other expedition.[2] Ra'sulḥajar al-khushanīy al-Qa'qā' at-tamimiy, and Ḍirār ibn al-Khaṭṭāb al-fihrīy are mentioned by Ibn Duraid[3] among those who were entitled to the *mirbā'* in the Jahiliyah.

I have no time to give in detail all the arguments which Lammens[4] has put forward in support of his interesting thesis that the Meccans had established and developed a standing army of mercenaries and negro slaves. His article is considerably documented, yet the main purpose of the learned—though unfortunately in the main much prejudiced and unsympathetic—Jesuite Father was professedly to show that the Quraish were a cowardly people who dreaded fighting and only in order to assure their communications so essential for the maintenance of their wide commercial interests, they had organised in Mecca a standing army of mercenaries and slaves. A conqueror like Napoleon was astonished at and had envied[5] the military achievements[6] of these early Meccans, and if a prejudiced Jesuit priest does not want to see any value in the valour

[1] For certain details see Mas'ūdiy, *Tanbīh*, pp. 279–80.

[2] Marsūqiy, II, 330. [3] *Ishtiqāq*, pp. 64, 145, 318.

[4] 'Les Aḥābish et l' Organisation militaire de la Mecque au siècle de l' Hégire' in J. A., 1916 or in 'L'Arabie occidentale', pp. 237–93.

[5] Mémorial de Sainte Hélène, III, 183. [6] See *supra*, introduction.

of Meccans like Khālid ibn al-Walīd, Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ and Abū 'Ubaidah, it will not be their fault.

Social

The Greeks called the outsiders Barbarians, and the Greek word for enemy actually meant the outsider.[1] The Arabs on the contrary used, while referring to foreigners, the harmless term *'ajamī*, meaning a dumb person as distinguished from their own oratory and rhetoric. But everywhere in Arabia as well as Greece foreigners sojourned and even became domiciled.

In Greece the resident aliens formed a special class between the slaves and citizens and were called metics.[2] 'The metics enjoyed for themselves and their families all the protective rights held by the citizens; but they could hold none of the state-offices, neither could they vote or own real property in the state. They must each have as patron some citizen to stand as surety for their good behaviour. They had to pay a direct metic tax of twelve drachmas for each man, 6 drachmas for each unmarried woman. In other respects they were on a footing of equality with citizens, serving the city-state in its wars and taking part in all public religious festivals.'[3] The Arab *Mawālī*, especially the Meccan ones, were less harshly treated. There were no special taxes imposed upon them. They enjoyed with their patrons all the civil rights (the client and the patron both being alike termed *mawlā*) with this obvious limitation that a client could contract no new foreign client of his own. He became a full member of the family of his patron and exercised all the privileges of an original tribesman with the exception, however, that he should not accord protection or asylum to a foreigner without the concurrence

[1] Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, I, Introduction; cf. also F. Roth, Ueber Sinn und Gebrauch des Wortes Barbar (Nuremberg, 1814).

[2] Halliday, p. 1124.

[3] Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, Introduction, cf. The City State domination.

and assent of his patron.[1] In fact the Arabs were bent upon Arabicisation[2] whereas the Greeks were told by their philosophers, that Nature intended the foreigners to be the slaves of the Greek.[3] And again, in Greece :—

> the members of a political group were united primarily by a common ancestry, and a common religion. Society was organised in 'phratriæ' or brotherhoods, that is, in groups of related families, and these 'brotherhoods' were in turn united by a supposed common ancestry in a larger group called 'phyle' or tribe. The bond of blood was reinforced by the bond of religion.[4]

The internal organisation of Meccans was much more elaborate and complex, owing to the unusual importance attached to geneology in their life. There were *'arīfs* or the leaders of ten persons (cf. Decurion) and the *qā'ids* are said to command groups of a hundred (cf. Centurion). Then there were the subdivisions of *qabīlah*, *baṭn*, *fakhidh*, *sha'b*, etc. described in detail among others by Wüstenfeld in the preface of his 'Register' of the 'Geneologische Tabellen', on the authority of Arab authors.

The pre-Islamic Meccans lacked a common religion believed in by all the populace and they lacked a sacred Book or written code of law to be observed by all. Among the Meccans there were pagan idolators, polytheists, associators, atheists and even animists and materialists besides those who had embraced Magism, Judaism and Christianity. Nevertheless the average citizen had reached the stage of believing one, common, supreme god over and above all the petty tribal deities and they called Him Allah. Their political consciousness too had developed so much that the interest of the state was everywhere the supreme consideration. So, when the Meccans were unexpectedly beaten in the battle of Badr, they subscribed to the war-fund the whole of the profits of the caravan just returned

[1] Ibn Hishām, p. 251; Ṭabarīy, p. 1203.

[2] For details see Hamidullah, *La Diplomatie musulmane*, I, 74.

[3] Aristotle, *Politics*, I, 2, 6, quoted by Lawrence in *Principles of International Law*.

[4] Halliday, pp. 1108–9.

under Abū Sufyān from Syria.[1] The Meccans used to send their newborn children to Sahara or desert habitations of bedouins for being reared under the care of bedouin-women. Brought up in the pure and simple village life, they combined many a virtue of the bedouin and none of the vices of the metropolitan life. The Prophet himself had spent several of his early years in the same manner. I may refer you here to the social laws of Lycurgus, which, though barbarous, aimed at the physical and mental training of the younger generations of the Spartans in Greece.

The Greek nature was characterised by love of knowledge, as a contrast to, for example, the love of wealth attributed to Phœnicians and Egyptians. The Quraishite Meccans may be said to be distinguished by their love of arts and letters. It was this love of art which probably induced 'Utbah ibn Rabī'ah ibn 'Abdshams to build a crystal palace (Dār-al-Qawārīr) in Mecca.[2] They felt so much at home in poetry that the very terms *bait*, *miṣra'*, *asbāb*, *awtād*, *fawāṣil* as much mean a tent and its parts as a couplet and its constituent elements. The object and end of the Greek philosophers was the good life.[3] One is tempted to quote here in the end the famous Quranic verses in which the end of human life according to the pagans and the Muslims has so vividly been described :—

'There are some men who say, O Lord give us good in this world; but such shall have no portion in the next world. And there are others who say, O Lord, give us good in this world and also good in the next world and deliver us from the torment of the Fire. They shall have a portion of that which they have gained: God is swift in taking an account.'[4]

[1] Ibn Hishām, p. 555; Ibn Sa'd, 2/1, p. 25ff.
[2] Balādhurīy, *Futūḥ* (ed. Egypt), pp. 63, 64.
[3] *Politics*, 1, 2, 3.
[4] Quran, 2 : 200–2.

EL-FĀRĀBĪ'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

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Fārābī's Education. Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Tarkẖān el-Fārābī, one of the greatest philosophers that the Muslim world has produced, was a Turk by birth and was born at Wāsij in Fārāb a district in Transaxania. When he came to Baghdad he was still in his teens and it said that he was not conversant with the Arabic language. After gaining enough proficiency in that language he became the pupil of the Christian *savant* Abu Bishr Maṭṭa b. Yūnus,[1] well known as the translator of a number of works by Aristotle and other Greek writers from Syriac, in which they had already been translated, into Arabic, and as the commentator on Aristotle's Categories and Porphyry's Isagoge. Not satisfied with what he had learnt with him, he went to another Christian philosopher Yūhanna b. Jīlād[2] at Ḥarrān, from whom he acquired further instruction in philosophical sciences.[3]

Political Conditions. Those were the days of great turmoil in the Islamic realm. Fārābī was born in 257/870 in the reign of Aḥmad 'Abu'l Abbās el-*Mu'tamid* 'ala'llāh[4] and died in 339/950 in the reign of Abu'l-Qāsim el-*Muṭi'* li'llāh,[5] and was thus a contemporary of two great Sufis, Abū Bakr esh-Shiblī and Manṣūr el-Ḥallāj, as also of one of the greatest poets of Arabic, one who, in the pride of his poetic art was foolish enough even to lay claim to Prophethood (a claim which he later discarded), the poet el-Mutenebbī.[6] The Islamic State was rent asunder by a number of causes, religious, racial, philosophic and

[1] D. 328/939.

[2] Or Khailan'. *Vide* Qifti, Tariḫul Hukama, Leipzig, 1903, p. 277.

[3] Authorities for Fārābī : Qifti ; Ibn Khallikān, Vol. III.

There are references to his political thought in *Carra de Vaux, Avicenne* and in such works as *Encyclopædia of Islam* and *Jewish Encyclopædia*, but to my knowledge no one has so far attempted an elucidation of his political philosophy in any detail.

[4] 334/864—363/974. [5] 247/861—334/945. [6] 303/915—354/965.

cultural, and new dynasties were springing up within the Abbasid realm which were destined to weaken the Caliphate to such a degree as to make the Caliph a puppet in the hands of any adventurer who might seize his person. These dynasties were mostly Persian or Turkish and differed from the Abbasids in their racial as well as sometimes their religious tenets. Most of the scions of the new houses belonged to the Shi'ah while the Caliph was the centre of orthodox Sunnīism. It was during el-Fārābī's lifetime that the last Apostolic Imam, Muḥammad el-Mahdi, aged 13, had disappeared while looking for his father Hasan el-Askari;[1] this event must have created a deep impression on the upholders of the hereditary Imamate, and it is no wonder that the Shi'ah Buwaihid, Mu'izzud-dowlah took the opportunity of his triumphal entry into Baghdad in 341/952 to declare the 10th of Muharram each year to be a day of mourning in memory of the tragedy of Karbala.[2]

This order was promulgated a couple of years after Farabī's death, but another house had been in control of affairs at Baghdad long before. The members of this house, named Ḥamdāni after its progenitor, were different from their successors, the Buwaihids in that they were at least half Arab and hailed from Mawṣil. The Ḥamdanids, specially Ḥusain b. Ḥamdān and his brother Abu'l-Haija' 'Abdu'l-lah b. Ḥamdān played the kingmaker in the time of Ja'far Abu'l Fadl *el-Muqtadir* b'il-lāh,[3] Muḥammad Abu'l-Manṣūr el-*Qāhir* bi'l-lāh,[4] Muḥammad Abu'l-'Abbās er-*Rāḍī* bi'l-lāh[5] and Ibrāhīm Abu'-l-'Abbas el-*Muttaqī* li'lāh,[6] whom they helped to set up, depose, reinstate and re-depose as they liked. Of the Ḥamdanids we are mostly interested in 'Ali, one of the three sons of Abu'l-Haija', who proved to be one of the greatest patrons of learning of his day. 'Ali had led a successful expedition against the Greeks in 936 when he was but twenty-one years of age,

[1] 265/878.
[2] Ameer Ali, *Short History of the Saracens*, p. 303.
[3] 295/907—320/932.
[4] 320/932—322/934.
[5] 322/934—329/940.
[6] 329/940—333/944.

and it was he who tried to save the Caliph Muttaqī from the clutches of the Barīdis,[1] taking him to his capital, Mawṣil. Muttaqī was so pleased with 'Ali's conduct that he conferred on him the title of Saifu'd-dowlah, and it is as Saifu'd-dowlah that he is known to all students of the history of the Abbasid Caliphate.

Saifu'd-dowlah's Court. Saif held a brilliant court first at Mawṣil and then at Aleppo, where he had to move in 333/944, the year before the Buwaihid[2] occupation of Baghdad. This court was thronged with philosophers, *savants*, poets and *literateurs* much in the same way as the court of Lorenzo the Magnificent was at Florence in the fifteenth century. It has already been mentioned that the Abbasid Caliphs of this period were regarded as the centres of orthodoxy, and it is no wonder that there was no place at Baghdad for all that seemed new or outlandish in the tenets current there. Those were the days of religious unrest, and the Hanbalite[3] doctrine, which leans towards the puritanism of the type of early Islam was increasing its influence. On the other hand Greek works were being translated into Syriac and Arabic, and the century was the 'Golden period of Arabic translations'.[4] The work had really begun in the reign of Māmūn[5] in 217/832, when he founded the Academy of Beitu'l-Ḥikmah, and from that date onwards many books had been translated from Greek into Syriac and Arabic. These works could not but have a direct influence on Muslim thought, and it was natural that those in the ascendant in the centre of the Caliphate should look askance at precepts which they considered to be, if not wholly, at least in part

[1] Barīdis, so called because they were descended from a *postmaster*. They played an important part in the time of Muqtadir. One of them, Abū Abdullah was appointed Wazīr by Amīru'l Umara Bejkem, the Turk.

[2] The Buwaihids or Buyids were descended from Abū Shuja 'Buwaih of Dailem. They attained great eminence during the period with which we are concerned.

[3] Hanbalites, followers of Ahmad b. Hanbal, the fourth Orthodox Imam, 164/780—241/855.

[4] O'Leary, *Arabic Thought*, ch. 4. [5] 198/813—218/833.

opposed to the principles on which Islam was supposed to stand.[1] The scions of the new dynasties, however, had no such scruples, and it is remarkable what a large patronage was given to science and philosophy, literature and art by men like Saifu'd-dowlah who created an atmosphere of great toleration in their respective centres. While Shiblī[2] was being persecuted and Manṣūr el-Ḥallāj[3] done to death in a cruel manner, Saifu'd-dowlah nurtured at his court persons of the mettle of Fārābī and Mutenebbī, one a prince among poets and the other the doyen of Muslim philosophers. It was with the feelings of real praise not of vain flattery that el-Mutenebbī sings of his patron:

[4] و بمهجتي يا عاذلي الملك الذي * استخطت كل الناس في ارضائه
الشمس من حسّاده والقمر من * قرنائه والسيف من اسمائه
ابن الثلاثة من ثلاث خلاله * من حسنه و إبائه و مضائه

Administration. It is well here to say a few words about the administration of the State in which Fārābī flourished, so that we might be able to gauge what difference there was between the actual condition of affairs and the ideal which he propounded. The division of the dīwānu'l-'Azīz into various *dīwāns* or offices has been described elsewhere,[5] and here it will suffice to mention the transition of this form of administration to the authority of the emīrs and sultāns who were just beginning to appear

[1] It is remarkable that in spite of this seeming influence of what was regarded as anti-Islamic thought among a section of the Muslims, there was the most complete toleration of non-Muslim religions, and the Jews, Christians and Zorcastrians were free to worship as they liked.

[2] 247/861—334/945. [3] 244/858—301/913.

[4] Mutenebbī, *Diwān*, Qasīdah I:

'O thou! who tauntest me, thou shouldst understand that I am willing to sacrifice my very life for the King whom I have tried to please in the face of all others.

'Sun envies him, Moon accompanies him and Sword is a part of his very name;

'But there is no comparison between these three and his great qualities, namely his Resplendence, his Sense of Honour and his Alacrity.'

[5] Sherwani, *el Mawerdi and the Qabūs-nāmeh*, p. 9.

side by side with the Caliphs. Baghdad had, during the years now being scanned, some truly great ministers like Ibnu'l-Furāṭ, 'Alī b. 'Īsā[1] and others, but they could not withstand the onslaught of new forces which were then making themselves felt. It was in the time of Rāḍī that er-Rā'iq was made Emīr, and later the Turk Bajkam was created Emīru'l-Umarā, a title which was henceforward granted to almost everyone who got the upper hand at Baghdad, and thus denoted the actual political power in the capital. It thus entirely eclipsed the Wazirate which had been the connotation of the chief executive officer of the caliphate almost from the beginning of Abbasid administration. From now onwards, the wazir had to bow down to the will of the Emir who happened to be the actual custodian of the Caliph. It was in this sense that Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, the grandson of Ḥamdān was created Emīr Saifu'd-dowlah by Muttaqī in 942. The first to adopt the title of Sulṭān was Ahmad b. Buwaih and he was also created Mu'izzu'd-dowlah, and his name along with that of his brother 'Alī 'Imadu'd-dowlah's names was inscribed on the coins of the realm along with that of the Caliph Muti'.[2] Yet another title appears, i.e. that of malik or king, and the same Mu'izu'd-dowlah liked to be addressed as a Malik, although the first to receive it at the hands of the Caliph was Nuru'd-dīn Zangī, son of his more famous father 'Imadu'd-dīn Zangi who was created el-Maliku'l-'Ādil or 'the Just King' by the Caliph Muktafi[3] much later than the period we are scanning. The office of the Caliph was becoming more and more like that of Medieval Popes with little political authority than that which a powerful Sulṭān, Emīr or a self-styled Malik might leave to his credit. The Caliph became a pawn on the chessboard of politics, highly respected and revered as one with the mantle of the Apostle of Islam on his shoulders, but fit

[1] *Vide* the fine work, Bowen, *'Alī b. Isa, the Good Vizier*, Cambridge, 1928.

[2] Photo of the coin in Bowen, *op. cit.*, opposite page 392.

[3] 530/1135—555/1160.

only to be passed from hand to hand and to be placed on the boards much as his actual guardian liked.

Fārābī's versatility. Such was the general condition of the Abbasid Caliphate during Fārābī's lifetime. The versatility of Fārābī knew no bounds, for he found time to be versed in philosophy, logic, politics, mathematics and physics, and not only wrote books on music but actually composed musical pieces. Among numerous works which he has left behind him he has to his credit commentaries on practically the whole of the current Organon, works on Logic, a summary of Plato's *Nomoi* or the Laws, commentary on Aristotle's Nicomæchæan Ethics, books on Natural Sciences such as Commentaries on Aristotle's Physics, Meteorology, the Sky and the World as well an independent work on the Movement of Heavenly Bodies. He further wrote, a number of works on Psychology and Metaphysics and in Mathematics commented on some of Euclid's problems as well as on the famous Almajest of Ptolemy, and beside a number of treatises on Plato Aristotle.[1] A man with such learning had no place in the ninth century Baghdad and as, we have pointed out, we find him regularly attached to Saifu'd-dowlah's court. In 334/946 Saif took Damascus and Fārābī became a permanent resident of that delightful place, spending his time in the gardens of the erstwhile Umayyad capital, discussing philosophical questions with his friends and writing his own opinions and compositions sometimes in a regular form, sometimes on stray loose leaves. It is said that he was so indifferent to worldly matters that he never tried to obtain any sumptuous livelihood and was content with the four dirhems which the Emir paid him as his daily honorarium. He died in 339/950 at the ripe age of nearly eighty years.

Fārābī's position in the world of learning. In pure philosophy Fārābī became as famous as any philosopher of Islam, and it is said that a *savant* of the calibre of

[1] For a complete list, vide Qifti and Oleary, *op. cit.*

Avicenna found himself entirely incapable of understanding the true bearing of Aristotle's Metaphysics until one day he casually purchased one of Fārābī's works and by their help he was able to grasp their purport.[1] Thus it may well be asserted that 'Al-Fārābī was in the truest sense the parent of all subsequent Arabic philosophers', so that it is only natural that he is regarded by the Muslims as the *mu'allimun'ithhānī* or Second Preceptor, the First Preceptor being Aristotle himself. We are here less connected with general philosophical and logical principles propounded by the Master than with his political philosophy. It is to be noted here that the Arabic world then was not cognisant with Aristotle's work on 'Politics', while the other political work, ascribed to him, namely the *Constitution of Athens* has been unearthed only in our own time, and the only Greek material on politics available in Arabics Fārābī' in days consisted only of Plato's 'Republic' and the 'Laws'. It may be granted that he drew on the Arabic version of the 'Republic' and was so much conversant with the 'Laws' that he actually prepared a summary of that important work, but there is no doubt that he was solely responsible for all other political material found in his political treatises, and it was the result of his own considered thought, not a mere copy of the Platonic ideal depicted in the 'Republic' and modified in the 'Laws'. It is necessary to bear this in mind for the reason that most of what has been written on Fārābī has been from the point of view of pure philosophy, and there is no doubt that he had to draw on neo-Platonic ideas current in the Arab world of those days in his commentaries on Aristotle, Porphyry and Ptolemy, although even in that realm he has much that is original, a fact which is amply proved by his original works on Plato, Aristotle and Galen. We might accept the proposition that he was 'inspired by Plato'[2] in his setting up of the Ideal City, but there is a mass of new material

[1] O'leary, p. 171. [2] Encyclopædia of Islam, Art. *Fārābī*.

in his political writings not found in Plato and taken from local sources. It is therefore a matter of importance that such material should be analysed and Fārābī be given his proper place in the scheme of political philosophy.

His political works. The list of Fārābī's works which has come down to us contains five on politics, viz., a Summary of Plato's 'Laws', *al-Siyāsatu'l-Madanīah*, the *Arāu ahli'l-Madinati'l-Fāḍilah*, the *Jawami'u's-Siāsah* and the *Ijtimā'atu'l-Madanîyah*. Unfortunately I could not lay my hands on the last two, while the Summary of Plato's Laws need not detain us. Moreover it is the *Siyasat* and the *Fadilah* which form the most important political contribution of the Master, so much so that Qiftī says in his *Tārîkhu'l-Ḥukamā* that these two works 'have no equal.'[1] Of these it is interesting to note that the *Madīntu'l-Fāḍilah*, the 'Model City' was written in 330–331/941–942 a few years before Fārābī's death when he was living the life of a recluse at Damascus enjoying the patronage of Saifu'd-dowlah, and thus may be said to be the result of his mature thought at a time when he had torn himself away from the turmoil of the world around him.

Of the two treatises the *Siyasat* consists of the enunciation of practically the whole of the exposition of political theory which Fārābī wished to propound. It starts with the differentia between men and animals, dealing with the need for collective action, the contentious nature of man and its effects, the need for the existence of the 'Model City' or State[2] and the ideal Head of the State, on to other forms of State among the Ancients and in the Days of Ignorance,[3] such as tyrannies, autocracies, republics, etc. The other work, the *Ara'* as its full title

[1] Qiftī, p. 278.

[2] Fārābī, following the Greek writers, makes the City identical with the State; while his 'nation' means an aggregate of States politically distinct but culturally similar.

[3] 'Days of Ignorance' is a technical term denoting the period of Arab history before the rise of Islām.

shows, concentrates more on the Model State. Besides covering more or less the same ground from another and more particularised view point it deals with such aspects of political questions as Sovereignty, forms opposed to the Model State, theories of Communism and Individualism, touching on what came to be called the Patriarchal theory and describing in certain amount of detail what might be named the Theory of Mutual Renunciation. Thus it will be seen that, although the two treatises are not very large, they contain quite a lot of material for deep thought and show us the new drift of Islamic political ideas in the middle of the tenth century A.C.

Human intellect and powers.—We will take both treatises together and try to analyse them so far as political philosophy is concerned.[1] After enumerating the underlying principles of all bodies, etherial and physical, Fārābī goes on to say that the differentia between man and other terrestrial bodies is what he calls the العقل الفعال or the Agent Intellect, which is really an emanation from the First Cause and which raises man to the highest heights. It is this Agent Intellect which inspires man's intelligence to be aroused to activity which Fārābī names the عقل المستفاد or Gained Intellect. The Agent Intellect is likened to the sun which 'gives light to the eyes and without which the power of sight is only latent, while with the help of the sun's light it becomes patent.'[2]

Man's powers can be analysed into power of Reason (القوة الناطقة), power of Thinking, power of Feeling and finally, power of Contention (القوة النزوعية). It is the power of Reason through which he conquers knowledge and differentiates between good and bad in morality and in actions, profit and loss; while the power of Contention

[1] The *Arāu ahl'i-l-Madīnatil'l-Faḍilah* (*Ārā*) and the *'Siyāsatu'l-Madaniah* (*Siyasa*). The text of the *Ārā* has been edited by Datrici and printed by Brill in 1895, but the edition used by me is that of the Nil Press, Cairo. The *Siyasa* has been published by the Dairatu'l-Ma'ārif, Hyderabad Dn. in 1346 H.

[2] Siyāsa, 6. This division is found in El-Kindi as well. For an exposition *vide* O'Leary, p. 248.

makes him want something or get away from something else and is the basis of love and hate, truth and untruth, anger and mental rest. The power of Thinking necessitates another power to retain traces of feeling after the thing felt has passed away, while this again resolves into the well-known Five Senses. It is to be noticed, says Fārābī, that the last three powers are found in man as well as animals while the powers of Reason and the power of Contention are peculiar to mankind.[1]

Human groupings.—From the very nature of his being and of his needs as well as for the sake of amenities of life and for attaining the highest possible degree of progress, it is incumbent on men to gather in large groups. This is not peculiar to any particular set of men but is the case of all men alike.[2] There are many kinds of human groupings, and they can be divided into the imperfect and the perfect. The imperfect groupings are those of the village, of the wards of a city, collections on the roads and the halting place. All these are really in the service of the City,[3] which is larger than all these and is the smallest perfect grouping of men. After the City comes the middle grouping, that of the Nation (ملة), which is resident in one particular part of the earth, evidently without any political cohesion, while the largest human grouping is, of course, mankind inhabiting the terrestrial globe. All these imperfect and perfect groupings are really connected with one another, for the halting place is a part of the road, the road a part of the ward, the ward a part of the City, a city a part of the nation, the nation a part of mankind.[4]

[1] Siyās., 4 and 5.

[2] Siyās., 39; Ārā, 77. Ghazzāli has developed this idea to a fuller extent in his Iḥyā, III. 6, v. This is described in Sherwani, El-Ghazāli on the Theory and Practice of Politics, Hyderabad Dn., 1935.

[3] Ārā., 78.

[4] This is certainly an improvement on Aristotle, I, 2, where he divides the groups into Family, Village and State. It was only natural that he could not see beyond Greece, or perhaps only beyond the City State, while Fārābī knew how practically half the world could be successfully united in a politico-cultural bond.

Natural and Artificial barriers to human Unity.—Although Fārābī thus demonstrates in a remarkable manner the essential unity of man he is careful to describe the reason why one nation differs from another naturally and what kinds of artificial barriers have been set up between them. The natural differences between nations arise in their relation to the celestial bodies, or, as we should say, owing to geographical factors resulting from the relation of the particular part of the earth to heavenly bodies, causing heat, cold and vapoury substances to change the climatic conditions of the place.[1] This reacts on the habits and customs of the people causing a bar to appear between one nation and another nation. The artificial barriers consist mostly in differences in language which make mutual communication difficult as between them.

Thus in spite of obvious need for co-operation mankind is divided into numerous groups. Fārābī says that the greatest good and the high-culmination is attained in the unit of perfect assemblages, i.e., the 'City' or State,[2] and it is on this that he concentrates his attention.

Theory of Mutual Renunciation of Rights.—It is remarkable how Fārābī anticipates Hobbes by many centuries and lays down the principles under which men tacitly enter into what might be called a Compact of Mutual Renunciation of Rights. The need for insistence on fair dealing and justice is necessary because some men are cruel, overbearing or clever while others are naturally weak either mentally or physically. When men first realise that society cannot be maintained by such a discrepancy in their condition, 'they gather together and consider the state of affairs and each of them gives up in favour of the other a part of that by which they overpowered him' and each makes it a condition that they would keep perfect peace with one another and 'not take away from the other

[1] Siyās., 41.

[2] The word used is '*madīnah*', but from all that Fārābī has written, we must conclude that what he means is the smallest political integration, i.e. the State, whether large or small.

anything except on certain conditions.'[1] Thus it is the contract of Mutual Renunciation of Rights which is at the bottom of the incidents of Statehood and peaceful occupations, and if it comes to pass that in spite of this tacit compact any one of the citizens tries to press down a section of the population all the others join hands and by mutual help retain their liberty.[2]

It will be seen that this Compact is a great improvement on what was to be enunciated in Europe by Hobbes and others of his kin, for, instead of artificially making it the basis of the State Fārābī makes it the basis of all transactions in the State and presupposes human groupings. He thus really takes off most of the wind from the sails of those who might not agree with the artificiality of the State. And then, instead of an artificial and a purely autocratic sovereign as the result of the utter helplessness of the people as Hobbes would have us to believe, he makes the people realise their strength earlier, makes them unite and put an end to any of them who was out to enslave them by underhand methods.

Sovereignty.—We now come to the question of the Ruler, or as later European political scientists would call him, the Sovereign. No doubt Plato had developed the matter of the government of his ideal City in his Republic and Laws. He had made the All-knowing and All-Powerful Philosopher sovereign in the former, who should have no other interest but those of the State;[3] but when he felt that such a 'philosopher' was not available he replaced him in the Laws by a board of Phylakes or Guardians and proposed to give them the education which would make them wise governors of the State.[4] Fārābī starts from the nature of the work of Leadership and impresses on his readers that what is wanted for the office is the power of

[1] Ārā., p. 113. Cf. Hobbes, Leviathan, part II, ch. xvii.

[2] Ārā., p. 113.

[3] Plato, Republic, 414 B. For an enumeration of Plato's views on the Philosopher-King, *vide* Nettleship's *Lectures on Plato's Republic*, Lecture I.

[4] Chance, *Ideal City according to the Greeks*, p. 136.

making proper deductions. 'There are some who have the intellect to draw conclusions more than others, while others can convey their deductions to others with greater facility.' Now this power of deductions is the bottom of all leadership. Those who can draw conclusions from given facts lead those who can not, while such as have not the capacity to convery to others what they have themselves learnt have not the true mark of leadership. It is not necessary that a leader should lead the people in every branch of life but only such as have a lesser capacity to deduce and convey their deductions in the branch in which he excels them. In the same way there can be a first leader and a second leader in the same branch, for the first leader would lead the second who is his inferior in the power of deduction while the second would lead his own intellectual inferiors.[1]

And now we come to the Reīsu'l-awwal, the Foremost Leader or the Sovereign of the State. This Reīs should be one who by his nature and bringing up, does not want to be instructed by others.[2] He has the inherent capacity for observation and of conveying his sense to others. Here Fārābī anticipates the doctrine of Sovereignty which was, for the first time, detailed in Europe by Bodin in the sixteenth century A. C.[3] but the former's Sovereign is more logical, perhaps more autocratic than that of the latter and comes very near John Austin's Sovereign. Fārābī says that there is no human superior over the head of the Foremost Leader, for if there is one then that one would be the Foremost Leader and this would sink to the position of the Second Leader.[4]

[1] Siyās., 45-47. [2] Ārā., 86 ff.

[3] 1530–1596. Bodin qualifies his theory of Sovereignty by supposing certain fundamental laws which cannot be changed by the Sovereign. To the modern man it is more a question of policy than of power whether the Sovereign can change them or not.

[4] Fārābī comes remarkably near Austin (1790-1859) who says that in a 'determinate human superior, not in the habit of obedience to a like superior' is Sovereign in that society. What a small difference is left between this conception and that of Fārābī's who wrote a thousand years before Austin!

If the Foremost Leader be the Model Head of the Model State, he should be able to control the actions of all in the state, and should be the possessor of the Latent Intellect, (عقل الهيولانى) as well as the Gained Intellect, and these two aroused to activity by the Agent Intellect would make Fārābī's ideal Sovereign. He says that the Ancients, i.e. the Greeks, put the ideal so high that no ordinary human being would be found to fulfil it, and the honour would be reserved for those who are the chosen of God the Almighty.[1] Instead of being dogmatic after the Platonic fashion, he enumerates twelve attributes of an ideal Sovereign, but himself says that if this ideal is ever attained its possessor would become the proud ruler of the habitable globe.[2] The following are the twelve attributes of the Fārābian Sovereign: Perfection in physical organs; great understanding and visualization of all that is said; a perfectly retentive memory; power to get at the root of things with the least argument; power to convey to others exactly according to his wish; a deep love of learning; shunning playfulness; a lack of desire to excess in eating, drinking and sexual intercourse; love of truth and hatred of lying; breadth of heart and love of kindness; love of justice and hatred of force and tyranny with power to distribute justice without any effort; fearlessness in doing things as he thinks ought to be done; and possession of enough wealth.[3] Fārābī knows well that all these fine qualities cannot be found in one single human being,[4] so he says that one with just five or six of these qualities would make a fairly good Leader. If, however, even five or six of them are not found in a person, he would have one who has been brought under a Leader with these qualities, and would thus seem to prefer some kind of hereditary Headship with the important condition that the heir should follow in the footsteps of his worthy predecessor. In case even such a person is not available, it is

[1] Siyās., 49. [2] Ārā., 86.
[3] Ārā., 87. *Vide* Rep. 485-487 analysed in Nettleship, *op. cit.*, p. 199.
[4] *Ibid.*

preferable to have a Council of two or even five members possessing an aggregate of these qualities, provided at least one of them is a *ḥakīm*, i.e. one who is able to know the wants of the people and visualise the needs of the State as a whole.[1] This *ḥakīm* is a desideratum of every kind of government, and if such a one is not procurable, then the State is bound to be shattered to atoms.

Fārābī no doubt indulges in a certain amount of idealism. But he must be credited with the knowledge of the impossibility of attaining the ideal set forth in the form of twelve attributes and to find means of getting over practical difficulties. These means are, firstly, a council of efficient men, efficient in certain definite traits of character which, to Fārābī, go to form the minimum desideratum for the smooth working of the State, the supervision of a Chief with the right amount of knowledge and feeling for the welfare of the people, and lastly, respect for the basic laws and traditions of the State. His solution is more practical than that of Plato, for example, for when Plato becomes hopeless of finding the 'philosopher-king', he only substitutes him with a number of *phylakes* or Guardians each of them excelling the other in attributes which were not found in one![2] Moreover Fārābī takes care to make his substitute Leaders respect and conform to the laws laid down by greater Leaders in days gone by.

I have given Fārābī's theory of Sovereignty and of the Model Sovereign in detail, for one thing as it contrasts very favourably with the state of affairs in the Caliphate of his days. As has been stated earlier the Caliph had become a mere puppet first in the hands of his capable wazirs, and later on all real political authority had passed

[1] Here Fārābī comes very near the Platonic philosopher-king. However there is a visible difference between the Platonic 'personification of reason' which Plato himself negatives in his 'Laws' and the Fārābian 'Ḥakīm' *vide* Chance, 'Until Philosophers are Kings', p. 135.

[2] These 'guardians' would be '*above* the law' while our councillors shall have to take their cue from laws already laid down. Chance, p. 135.

to the hands of Turkish and Persian nobles who had come to control the affairs from the Oxus and the Indus to the extreme limits of the Caliphate. What Fārābi does is to analyse the causes of weakness in the body-politic and to enunciate the attributes of the ideal sovereign, thus bringing into prominent relief the contrast between his ideal and the actual before him. Besides, the lack of intellectual toleration then the order of the day at Baghdad, one of the reasons why he migrated to Saifu'd-dowlah's court must have been that in this Emir he saw a person coming nearer to the ideal than the puppets who bore the mantle of the Apostle of Islam, puppets lacking in practically all that goes to make even a decent substitute for the ideal.

Internal organization of the State.—Fārābī is not satisfied only with the appointment of the best man or of a committee of best men available to the helm of the State, but considers the internal organization of the State as well. He says that the dignities of the citizens in the State services depend on their nature as well as on their bringing up, and the Supreme Head should organize groups of men in each larger group according to their worth in the work of the particular department. It is when the Supreme Head gives every one the position he merits, only then is the State said to be properly organized. The Supreme Head ought to feel more or less as the likeness of the First Cause, i.e., God the Almighty,[1] and take lesson from His work in that He has put every one and every thing in the place best fitted, otherwise the work of the Creation would not run as smoothly as it does[2].

It has been said that the Supreme Head, from his very nature, does not take orders from any human superior, but as you go down the ladder of superiority, this state of affairs changes, and except the Supreme Head each man becomes master and servant at the same time, taking orders

[1] Siyās., 54.

[2] Plato says that 'Good life consists in a progressive assimilation to God as far as possible', *Vide* Chance, p. 136.

from one superior in rank and authority and giving orders to one inferior, till the lowest rung of the ladder is attained.[1]

Here Fārābī likens the whole structure of government to human body and says that as in human body the chief organ, i.e., the heart, should be the most perfect, so the *Reīs* or Head of the State should be as humanly perfect as possible. It is the heart which signifies the stations of the various organs of the body and it is through it that the different organs know which other organs should serve them, and which in their turn, they have to serve; in the same way the Heart of the State, i.e., the Supreme Head should determine the status of various rungs of Society, in a word, the rights of the different classes which go to form the Community. The body consists of organs the importance of which is decreased as they recede from the heart till finally we come to the lowest bowel and the bladder which are served by no other organ and which stand hardly any comparison with the pivot of the whole body, the heart. In exactly the same manner, says Fārābī, in a well organized Commonwealth the Supreme Head collects, arranges and organizes the different functionaries in a proper manner, and their status increases or decreases according to the distance between them and the Supreme Head.[2]

We know that biological analogies have their strong as well as their weak points, and while they serve the purpose of explaining political problems in a facile manner, they are apt to overshoot the mark by representing political institutions as mechanical as the organs of human body. Herbert Spencer has been rightly criticised for not only *comparing* the body politic with the body physical but also for *making* political capital of the analogy.[3] Fārābī, and

[1] The analogy is found in Aristotle, *Politics*, i, 5, §§ 8, 9, but there Aristotle uses it to establish the institution of Slavery; Fārābī on the other hand, wants to ensure the proper government of the State in spite of the diversity of component parts. *Vide* Chance, Until Philosophers are Kings, p. 179.

[2] For further similes, *Vide* Ārā, p. 79.

[3] Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, part 2.

after him Ghazzāli, use biological similes, Ghazzāli for finding an ethical basis of the State,[1] and Fārābī for simply showing the essential unity of the Commonwealth in spite of the obvious diversity of its component parts.[2]

Communism and Individualism.—Although Fārābī has the translation of Plato's 'Republic' by his elbow and says that the citizens of the Model City have things in common among them, he does not fall into the Platonic impossibility of making everything—even women—the common property of male citizens. As a matter of fact it is quite clear that, apart from the common property to which everyone would have equal rights, each man, and each class, would also be allowed individual property apart from the opportunity to acquire individual knowledge and scope for individual action.[3] Moreover he is shrewd enough to know the essence of individualistic theory and recognizes that there are people who think that man is a natural hater of his own kin and that what unity there might be between man and man is through dire necessity. Such a theory discards communism as against the very nature of man, and considers the sense of unity to be for some distinct avowed object.[4]

It will thus be seen that not only does Fārābī consider Individualism to be a proposition worth consideration but even his Communism is entirely opposed to the Greek or the Platonic idea under which human beings were to become mere chessmen without any individuality of their own apart from their individuality as members of the 'City'.

Motives for Collective Action.—Fārābī enumerated those motives under which the Individualistic State, or as

[1] *Vide*, Sherwani, *El-Ghazzāli on the Theory and Practice of Politics*, p. 14.

[2] *Vide* Ārā, pp. 78 ff.

[3] Ārā, 93. How different is this 'communism' from the Platonic ideal where public men should have no houses, no land, no money of their own. *Rep.*, 421 C-422 A. *Vide* Nettleship, p. 136.

[4] *Ibid.*, 88.

he calls it, the 'State of Ignorance' comes into being, or, in other words, the causes which lead men to form a political society.[1] According to him the first cause of the co-operation of man and man is force, when one person who has resources, physical or moral at his disposal, makes a whole body of the people subservient to him. The second possible motive as given by Fārābī comes very near what is called the Patriarchal Theory, for, says he, some people consider the very incident of birth entails co-operation between father and children as against all others so that those descended from the same father are more likely to co-operate with one another than others not belonging to the group.[2] Another variety of co-operation is that caused by marital relationship between two groups, while a fourth alternative motive is the proper organization of the people by the Supreme Head, the *Reīsu'l-awwal*. We have mentioned above that Fārābī has got a special theory of the Compact for Mutual Renunciation of Rights, and he says that according to some this would be the basis of political co-operation which would result from oaths and promises which would ensue from the pact that no one would harm or hate his fellow-man and all would be like members of the same body if any need arose to defend the political society from a common enemy. Language and custom also form a strong bond for unions of men, while lastly, though not the least, comes the geographical factor, the habitation in the same City which binds people together.[3]

Here is a fine analysis of the causes of the establishment and maintenance of States, and although Fārābī enumerates them as the opinions of different persons or groups in states other than the model State, still what he is really doing is to give an analysis of the underlying

[1] As has been mentioned above (p. 34, n. 3) in Islamic ideology 'Ignorance' means pre-Islamic State; but here this epithet has been used to denote the condition of political societies which do not conform to the 'model'. The term must not be taken to denote any prejudice whatever.

[2] Ārā., 110. [3] *Ibid.*

factors which went to build the states in his own time, states, that is to say, which were not 'Model States' according to the classical ideal but were practical, human institutions in regular working order, and as human institutions vary very little in their innermost essence, we would find that most of Fārābī's *dicta* hold true today much as they did a thousand years ago. We can well wonder at his modern trend of thought when we know that he flourished long before the almost puerile controversies between the Papists and the Imperialists during the Middle Ages of European history.

Varieties of States—Empires.—While enumerating the varieties of the 'Cities' or States other than the model Commonwealth, Fārābī asks some questions which are very much alive even today. As has been said, at least when dealing with states other than the Model City, he is drawing on his own personal experience, and although the nomenclature of these political societies slightly differ in the two books before us, the principles underlying his thought are more or less the same. He divides States into a number of categories, such as 'States of Necessity', of 'Ease', of 'Desires', etc. according to the most prominent object of the citizens. Thus in the States of Necessity, the primary object of the Head is to arrange for the necessities of the citizens, in States of Desires, it is to make the life of the people luxurious with plenty of resources in order that they might 'eat, drink and be merry', while in the case of States of Ease the citizens would be content if they are assured of a life of comfort and their desires would not go beyond moderate limits.[1]

Apart from this classification, which seems to be idealistic to a certain extent, Fārābī has a definite place for the trait of political character under which a nation wants to have hegemony over other nations. He gives reasons for this 'mastery' (*ghalbah*) and says that it is sought for by a people owing to its desire for safety, ease or luxury

[1] Arā, 90.

and all that leads to these pretended necessities. The integrated and powerful states want that they should control the resources of other states so that they might be able to get all they want. There is nothing, says he, against human nature for the strong to overpower the weak, so nations which try to get other nations under their control consider it quite proper to do so, and that it is justice both to control the weak and for the weak to be so controlled, so that the subdued nation should do all it can for the good of its masters.[1] There is no doubt that all this seems jarring to our ears but we must remember that this is not Fārābī's ideal, and secondly, that with all the lapse of centuries and the international ideology which is the current coin in Politics, the psychology of the nations today is much the same as described by the Master centuries ago.

Fārābī says that the people of an Imperialistic State, the *madinat't-taghallub*, excel in having mastery over others either physically or spiritually in such a way that the latter should be at their service in body and in mind. But the more chivalrous among them are such that even when they have to shed human blood they do so only face to face, not while their opponent is asleep or showing his back, nor do they take away his property except after giving him proper warning of their intentions. Such a community does not rest till it thinks it has become supreme for ever and does not give any other nation an opportunity of overpowering it, always regarding all other peoples their opponents and enemies and keeping themselves on guard.[2]

Colonization.—Fārābī is quite clear about the principles of colonization.[3] He says that it is possible for the denizens of a State to scatter about in different parts of the Globe because they have been overtaken by an enemy or by an epidemic or through an economic necessity.

[1] Ārā, 111 ff. [2] Siās., 64 ff. [3] Siās., 90.

There are two alternatives open to the colonists: either they would migrate in such a way as to form one single commonwealth, or else divide themselves in different political societies. In any case these colonists would really form distinct communities owing to the uniformity in their character, their methods and their purpose, and (probably as they would have no local prejudices or local traditions) they would be at liberty to frame any laws according to their needs provided there is an agreement for such a change. It may, however, come to pass that a large body of these people are of opinion that it is not necessary to change the laws which they have brought from their mother country, then they would simply codify existing laws and begin to live under them.[1] It will thus be perceived that Fārābī not only contemplates colonization but also self-government of a republican kind, a contemplation which is well in accord with modern conceptions.

The Ideal Head of the State.—There is one very significant passage in which Fārābī gives us his ideal of the Headship of the 'non-model' state. After enumerating the qualities requisite for the Headship of these states individually, he says that the best among these Heads is one who makes the citizens of his commonwealth acquire independence, plenty and contentment, while he himself wants neither plenty nor self-aggrandizement but is content with praise for his words and acts, and nothing would please him more than if his words and acts are spoken of kindly in his own lifetime and after him.[2] This is truly a noble ideal but one which is seldom fulfilled by even the best of those who hold sway over their fellowmen.[3]

[1] Siās., 51. [2] Siās., 62.

[3] There is a definite contrast between the eastern and the western conceptions in this respect. While in the west we come across numerous quarrels between the kings and the peoples in the shape of demands for supplies and redress of grievances, we find that eastern monarchy is nearly always mellowed by deep regard for the welfare of the subjects. The result is that even under despotism there is a greater love for the monarch in the east than is found in most European monarchies, and western monarchies have been allowed to exist on only when they have ceased to interfere in all that is material to the welfare of the people.

It will thus be seen that most of what Fārābī says is just the sort of thing which we come across in our own day. Alliances and ententes, races for armaments, colonies for the sake of raw materials and as markets for finished products, mutual leanings and suspicions, are the order of the day in much the same manner as Fārābī contemplates in what he calls States of Ignorance. The only difference between him and ourselves is that the citizens of his non-model states are quite frank about things, while we say one thing and do just the opposite to what we say. Fārābī's Imperialist frankly rules subject races for his own economic welfare, while the modern Imperialist does so as a great burden on his shoulders and 'for the good of the subject people' or for purely 'humanitarian ideals'. Fārābī says that that the reason for Empire building is the same as human nature which always craves to overpower the weak, and the modern mind might feel upset at this argument. But it must be remembered that slavery has quite recently been forbidden *de jure*, and even now it cannot be said that the ideal of the human race is equality of status and service. One is not quite sure which is preferable for the society, individual slavery where the slave is well treated and protected like a member of the family, or where so-called free men, women and children are bombarded, gassed, maimed, tortured and put to death for the greed of their property and their country.

Conclusion.—We have given a few political theories propounded by Fārābī. As will be seen, their compass is very large, and they cover practically all that is connoted by the term political theory, viz., the formation of the State, Sovereignty, criteria for sovereign power, integration of men in families, families in tribes, tribes in states, states in empires, with the enunciation of communism, individualism, the patriarchal theory, republicanism, colonization as well as numerous other topics. No doubt the nature of the treatises before us demands that these topics should only be lightly touched, but even that shows what a modern trend

of mind the Master had. There is no doubt some of his theories are based to a certain extent on Greek thought, chiefly Platonic and neo-Platonic, current in his day, but much of what he wrote was also based on his own clear vision and political experience. He was definitely the first purely theoretical political scientist of the Islamic world, and his brochures decidedly foreshadow theories such as those of the Social Contract and Sovereignty which were to be the stock-in-trade of European *savants* centuries afterwards.

TALBIYĀT AL-JĀHILIYYA

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The practice of *talbiya* or responding to the call of pilgrimage with zeal, by saying لبيك اللهم لبيك (here am I, Lord, at Thy service, here am I) is traced back by the Traditionists and Exegetists to Prophet Abraham who is known to have enjoined the pilgrimage to the Holy House under divine injunction. God says in the Qur'ān (XII 26–27), "And when We assigned to Abraham the place of the House, saying: Do not associate with me aught, and purify My House for those who make the circuit and stand to pray and bow and prostrate themselves; they will come to you on foot and on every lean camel, coming from every remote path." Accordingly Abraham is said to have cried from the top of Mount Abū Qābūs, "Ye people, your Lord hath built a house and enjoined pilgrimage to it; so ye respond to the call of your Lord." Exclaiming thus, Abraham looked towards north and south and east and west. Then every person upon whom pilgrimage was made obligatory, responded to him, saying لبيك اللهم لبيك (*al-Jalālain*, p. 277). It is also related on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās that when Abraham finished the construction of the House of God, it was said to him, "Proclaim amongst the people the rite of pilgrimage." Thereupon he said, "But my voice will not go far." "Proclaim," said God, "on Me rests the delivery of the message." So Abraham exclaimed, "Ye people, God has prescribed for you the pilgrimage to the Ancient House." Then everyone between the heaven and the earth heard his voice and responded to it with the *talbiya*, the Yemenites being the first people to respond to his call (*Fath al-Bārī*, Vol. III, p. 263).

Some of the authorities, thus, explain *talbiya* as meaning the response to the call of Abraham when he

proclaimed the rite of pilgrimage. They hold that no one has made or will ever make pilgrimage from that date till the day of Resurrection save and except those who responded to the call of Abraham. They responded from the loins of their fathers and from the wombs of their mothers, in the world of Microcosm, saying لبيك اللهم لبيك.

Be that as it may, there can be little doubt that the practice of undertaking pilgrimage with zeal by saying لبيك اللهم لبيك was probably adopted from the first responders to the call of Abraham. This practice is known to have been in vogue amongst the idolatrous tribes of Arabia. The Prophet changed their polytheistic formula of *talbiya* and adapted it as لبيك اللهم لبيك لبيك لا شريك لك ان الحمد والنعمة لك والملك لا شريك لك (Bukhārī, Ḥajj, b 26). The Caliph 'Umar is said to have observed the *talbiya* with these words of the Prophet and also to have added to them لبيك اللهم لبيك لبيك وسعديك والخير في يديك لبيك مرغوباً ومرهوبا اليك ذا النعماء والفضل الحسن or والرغباء اليك (*Muslim*, p. 276). Shorter forms are also known to have been used by the Prophet.

Ibn 'Abbās relates that when the polytheists would utter لبيك اللهم لا شريك لك, the Prophet would say, "Hold, hold, else woe to you." But they would continue الا شريك هو لك تملكه وما ملك So saying they used to circumbulate the Holy House (*Muslim*, p. 276).

The above is known as the *talbiya* of al-Jāhiliyya. It was, however, used by the Quraish. All the tribes of Arabia did not use this form of *talbiya*: different tribes used different formulæ. In his Risālat al-Ghufrān, Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī has given the forms of *talbiya* used by 7 tribes, classifying them under 3 kinds, viz. Masjū', Mamhūk and Mashṭūr. I have been able to collect, mostly from manuscript sources, the forms of *talbiya* used by 25 tribes, viz. Quraish, Qais, Thaqīf, Kinānah, Tamīm, Banū Asad,

Hudhail, Rabī'ah, Bakr b. Wā'il, al-Yaman, Jurhum, Ḥimyar, al-Azd, Quḍā'ah, Hamadān, Madhḥij, 'Akk, Kindah, Bajīlah, Khuzā'ah, al-Nakhla', al-Ash'aryyīn, al-Anmār, Banū 'l-Namir and Sa'd. They are given below under the names of the tribes arranged alphabetically.

It will be seen that these *talbiyāt* throw interesting light on the religious ideas of the pagan Arabs. Polytheists as they were, these idolators, during their pilgrimage to the Ka'bah, came to acknowledge a supreme God, *Ilāh*, Who was the Master of their gods and idols with all that they possessed: al-Lāt and al-'Uzzà were in His hands. The gods and idols made their submission to Him and made peace with Him: His forgiveness was often sought for them by their votaries. They were worshipped and pilgrimage and offerings were made to them only with the sufferance of the Supreme Deity. The idolators made pilgrimage to His House leaving their idols in the hills or in the care of other people. They came crying their *talbiyāt* from the back of jaded she-camels that passed hurriedly through the plains and the hills, through the horrors of thunder and lightning. They came to show their devotion and servitude to the Lord of the House of Ka'bah for Whose sake they visited Mecca, ran between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah, sacrificed big camels at al-Mash'arain and for Whose sake they practised charity and said their prayer. They came to make their obeisance to a Lord Whose blessings and favours were hoped for. The more materially-minded of them, e.g. the Banū'l-Namir, visited His House for such favour as pouring cloud, but they generally spoke of making their pilgrimage with a genuine religious motive for merit and not for any material gain. 'We came to Thee with sincere devotion (النصاحة or الصياحة) and not for trade (الرقاحة),' they would say. They came with their women and children to seek mercy and merit of the worship of a Lord Who is not worshipped in a church or in a synagogue. He is the Lord of the earth and the sky, the Creator of the universe. He causeth water to flow down. He is crowned with glory

and magnificence. The pagan Arabs gave their Supreme God such names as al-Raḥmān, al-Dayyān, al-Ma'būd, al-Mustajīb, al-Ḥamīd, al-Maḥmūd, al-Ṣamad, al-Qahhār, Karīm, Majīd, Ghāfir and Hād which are found in the Qur'ān and the Tradition. Some of them even prayed in the manner of a Muslim. The prayer of Khuzā'ah, فاغفر فانت غافر و هاد, sounds Islamic. The Prophet is known to have used in his prayer the verse 'إن تغفر اللهم فاغفر جمّا وأي عبد لك لا ألمّا, which occurs in the *talbiya* of al-Ash'aryyīn.

Howsoever the pagan Arabs speak of their sincere devotion and servitude to the Supreme God, they scarcely use any humble tone in their *talbiyāt* in which they rather betray their boastful nature and spirit. The Banū Hamadān brag, 'We are not like a people who are ignorant and rebel against Thee.' The tribe of Khuzā'ah vaunt themselves as the most powerful people after 'Ād. The Banū Asad plume themselves on their virtues: fidelity, generosity, fortitude, protection (of the weak), their number, wealth and children. The Himyarites referring to their royal line of descent, describe themselves as possessors of wisdom, intellect and piety. In their supplication to the Supreme God they do not forget to denounce their enemies. The Tamimites thus decry in their *talbiya* the Bakrite as infidels and withholding people from offering their thanksgiving to the Supreme Deity!

We can thus see that the pagan Arabs had, of course, their own gods and deities to worship but their idolatry was of a different type than the base, fetish worship prevailing in many other countries. The idea of the presence of an all-powerful and all-pervading Divinity supreme over everything—supreme over their gods—was working amongst the Arabs, preparing thus the field for the propagation of the sublime monotheism as preached by the great Arabian Prophet.

١ تلبية أزد

يا ربِّ لولا أنت ما سعينا ، بين الصفا والمروتَين فَيْنَا ، ولا تَصَدَّقْنَا ولا صَلَّيْنا ، ولا حلَلْنا مع قريش وأبنا ، البيتَ بيتَ الله ما حَيِيْنا ، والله لولا الله ما أهْتَدينا ، بحَجِّ هذا البيتَ ما بَقِيْنا *

٢ تلبية بني أسد

لبيك اللهم لبيك ربَّنا أقبلَتْ بَنو أسد ، أهل الوفاء والنَّوال والجَلَدْ ، فينا النَّدي والذَّري والعَدَدْ ، والمال والبنون فينا والوَلَد ، الواحد القهّار والربّ الصمد ، لا نعبد الأصنام حتي نجتهد ، لربِّها ونعتبد ، لها الدماء وحبِّها حتي نُرَدْ *

٣ تلبية الأشعريين

اللهم هذا واحد إن تَصُّ ، أتمّه ألله وقد أتمّا ، إن تغفرْ اللهم فاغفرْ جَمّا ، وأيّ عبد لك لا ألمّا *

٤ تلبية الأنصار

لبيك حبًّا حقًّا ، تعبُّداً ورِقًّا ، جئْناك للنصاحَهْ ، لم نأتِ للرِّقاحَهْ *

٥ تلبية بجيلة +

لبيك اللهم لبيك عن بَجيلَه ، ذي بارق مخضيله ، بِنيّة الفضيله ، فنِعْمتِ القبيله ، حتي ترى طائفةً بكعبةٍ جليلَه *

٦ تلبية بكر بن وايل

لبيك حقًّا حقًّا ، تعبُّداً ورِقًّا ، وأتيناك للصياحه ، ولم نأت للرِّقاحه *

+ ويروى أيضا فى تلبية بجيلة : لبيك عن بجيلة ، الفخمة الرحيلة ، ونعمت القبيلة ، ماعتك بالوسيلة ، تؤمل الفضيلة *

٧ تلبية تميم

تالله لولا أن بكراً دونك ، ما زال منا عُنُقٌ يا تُونَكَ ، بنو عَقارٍ وهم يَلُونك ، يبرُّك الناسُ ويفجرونك *

ويحكي عن تميم في تلبيتها +

لبيك ما نهارُنا تَجَرُّه ، إدلاجُه وحَرُّه وقَرُّه ، لا نتقي شيئاً ولا تضرُّه ، حجًّا إليك مستقيماً بِرُّه *

٨ تلبية ثقيف

لبيك اللهم لبيك ، هذه ثقيف قد أتوك ، خلَّفوا أوثانهم وعظَّموك ، وقد عظَّموا المال وقد رجوك ، عُراهم واللاتُ في يديك ، دانت لك الأصنام تعظيماً اليك ، قد أذعنت بسلْمها إليك ، فاغفرلها فطال ما غفرت *

٩ ـ تلبية جرهم

لبيك مرهوباً وقد خرجنا ، والله لولا أنت ما حججنا ، مكةَ والبيتَ ولا عجَجنا ، ولا تصدَّقنا ولا ثجَجنا ، ولا تمطَّينا ولا رجعنا ، ولا أتتبعنا في قُرّي ولا ضِحْنا ، على قِلاص مُرهِفات هُبْنا ، يقطعن سهلاً تارةً وحَزْنا ، أشرقْ كيما ننثني في الدَّهْنا ، لكي نَحُجَّ قابلاً ونَعْنَي ، نحن بنو قحطانَ حيث كُنّا ، ننحر عند المَشْعَرَين البُدْنا *

١٠ تلبية حمير

لبيك اللهم لبيك عن الملوك الأقيال ، ذوي النُّهى والأحلام ، والواصلين الأرحام ، لا يقربون الآثام ، تنزَّهنا وإسلام ، فلُّوا لربِّ كَرّام *

١١ تلبية خزاعة

نحن ورثنا البيت بعد عادْ ، ونحن من بعدهم أوتادْ ، فاغفرْ فأنت غافر وهادْ *

+ ويروى أيضا فى تلبية تميم : لبيك لولا أن بكرا دونك ، يشكرك الناس ويكفرونك ، ما زال منا عنق يأتونك *

١٢ تلبية ربيعة

لبيك اللهم لبيك لبيك ربيعةُ ، سامعةٌ مطيعةُ ، لرب ما يُعبد في كنيسة وبيعةْ ، وربِّ كُلِّ واصلٍ أو مُظهرٍ قطيعةْ *

١٣ تلبية سعد

لبيك عن سعد وبنيها ، وعن نساء خلفها تعنيها ، سارت الي الرحمة تجتليها *

١٤ تلبية عكّ ومذحج جميعاً

يخرج رجل من مذحج ورجل من عك فيقول :

يا مكّةَ الفاجرَ مُكِّي مَكًّا ، ولا تُمَكِّي مذحجاً وَعكًّا ، فيقرك البيتَ الحرام دَكًّا ، جئنا الي ربك لا نشكّ ، تمكّكتَ العظم أخذتَ ما فيه من المُخّ *

١٥ تلبية قريش

لبيك اللهم لبيك لبيك ، لا شريك لك ، الا شريكا هو لك ، تَملِكه وما ملك ، أبو بنات في قَدَك *

١٦ تلبية قضاعة

لبيك ترمي كلّ جَرْس ملهوذ ، ولاحبٍ مثل عجاجات العُوذ ، نؤمّ بيتَ المُستجيب المعبود ، إنّ الإله للحميدُ المحمود ، نُعطي إله البيت منّا المجهود *

١٧ تلبية قيس

لبيك اللهم لبيك أنت الرحمان ، أتتك قيسُ عيلان ، رجالها والركبان ، بشيخها والولدان ، مُذْ ليلةَ للدَّيّان *

١٨ تلبية كنانة

لبيك اللهم لبيك يوم التعريف ، يوم الدماء والوقوف ، وذي صباح الدماء من ثَبَجها والتريف *

١٩ تلبية كندة

لبيك ما أرّس ثبيرٌ وحدَه ، وما أقام البصر فوق جُدَّه ، وما سقى صوبُ الغمام رُبْدَه ، أنّ الذي تدعوك حقًّا كِنْدَه ، وفي رجَب وقد شهدنا جُهْدَه ، لله نرجو نفعَه ورِفْدَه *

٢٠ تلبية مذحج

اليك يا ربَّ الحلال والحَرَم ، والحجَر الأسود والشهر الأصَمّ ، على نِلاص كحَلِيّات النَّشَم ، جئناك ندعوك بعاهٍ وهَكَم ، نُكابِدُ العصرَ وليلةً مُدْلَهِمّ ، نقطع من بين جبال وسَلَم ، وهَولِ رعد وبروق كالضَّرَم ، والعِيس يعتمِلْن جَلادًا وكَرَم *

٢١ تلبية النضع

لبيك ربَّ الأرض والسماء ، وخالقَ الخلق ومُجْرِي الماء ، معصَّبٌ بالصيد والسناء ، لعابش فضائلُ النَّعْماء ، في العالمين وجميع بَقَدِيه الآباء والأبناء *

٢٢ تلبية بني النمر

لبيك عن بني النمر ، جئناك في العام الزمر ، نأمل غيثًا ينهمر ، يطرق بالسيل الخمر *

٢٣ تلبية هذيل

لبيك اللهم لبيك لبيك عن هذيل ، أدلجَتْ بليل ، تعدو بها ركائبُ إبل وخيل ، خلّفَتْ أوثانَها في عَرْض الجَبَيل ، وخلّفوا من يمغَظ الأصنام والطَّفيل ، في جبل كأنه في عارض مُخيل ، تهوي إلى ربٍّ كريم ماجد جميل *

٢٤ تلبية همدان +

لبيك مع كل قبيل لبّوك ، همدانُ أبناء الملوك قد دعوك ، فاسمَعْ دُعاها في جميع الأملوك ، كيما تؤدّي حجّها يُعطوك ، لعلّها تاتيك حقًّا لاقوك ، قد تركوا الأوثان ثم آتّنابوك ، لسنا كقوم جَهلوا و عادوك *

٢٥ تلبية اليمن

عُدّ إليك عانيهْ ، عبادك اليمانيه ، كيما تحجّ ثانيه ، علي قلاص ناجيه ، أتيناك للنّصاحه ، ولم نأت للوَقاحه *

+ و يحكى من همدان فى تلبيتها : لبيك رب همدان ، من شاحط و دان ، جثناك نبغى الاحسان ، بكل حرف مدهان ، نلوى الهاك الغيطان ، نأمل فضل الغفران *

DR. TAHA HUSSAIN AND PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIC POETRY

K. Muhamed, M. A.

الشعر الجاهلي والدكتور طه حسين

أيها الرئيس المحترم
وأيها السادة المولعين بالأدب

نشأة الشعر الجاهلي

قال الأستاذ كليمان هوار أستاذ آداب اللغة العربية في جامعة باريس في ص ٣ من كتابه تاريخ آداب اللغة العربية "إنّ الأسفار الطويلة على ظهور الإبل حببت إلى العربي نشيد الألحان يتلهى بها ويشفي ما يصيبه من أوصاب ودوار. ثم أدرك العربي المنشد والحادي أنّه كلما سارع في الإنشاد رفعت الناقة رأسها وأوسعت خطاها كأن بين خطاها وأوزان الشعر إرتباطاً فظهرت تلك الضروب عفواً لأنها ثمرة طبيعية من ثمر العبقرية البدوية -

ويؤيد ذلك ان الرجز اول ما استعمله العرب لسوق الجمال وهو الحداء في إسطلاحهم وكأنّه وضع لهذا الغرض لأنّ العربي يقضي اكثر أوقاته في معاشرة جمله أوناقته . وعندهم ضربان من الرجز المشطور والمنهوك والمشطور هذا وزنه -

دع المطايا تنسم الجنوبا * ان لها لنبأ عجيبا
حنينها وما اشتكت لغوبا * يشهد أن قد فارقت حبيبا
ما حملت إلافتي كئيبا * يسر مما اعلنت نصيبا
لو ترك الشوق لنا قلوبا * اذاً لآثرنا بهن النيبا
انّ الغريب يسعد الغريبا

ولو ركبنا ناقة ومشت بنا الهوينا لرأينا مشيها يشبه وزن هذا الشعر تماماً -

والمرجح أنّ العرب قالوا الشعر قبل القرن السادس لأن سانت نيلوس أحد حكام قسطنطينية - وقد ترهب في آخر القرن الرابع للمسيح -

أثبت أنه سمع أناشيد العرب الجميلة في صحراء سيناء . وقد أورد في تاريخه للكنيسة المؤرخ اليوناني سوزمين الذي عاش إبان القرن الخامس سنداً آخر تأييداً لقول سانت نيلوس . ويذكر سوزمين في كتابه واقعة تغلب ملكة العرب مانيا أو مافيا على جيوش الرومان في الربع الاخير من القرن الرابع للمسيح وهزمها إياهم في فلسطين وفينيقية . وفي هذا السياق يقول سوزمين إن شعراء العرب نظموا الأناشيد والأغاني وحفظوها ورووها وتغنوا بها تذكاراً لانتصار ملكتهم على الأحفيين . وأبعد مما قال هذان المؤرخان برهاناً عن قدم صناعة الشعر عند عرب الجاهلية ما يزعم أهل التحقيق أن صاحب سفر أيوب في التوراة عربي الأصل وأنه نظم ذلك الكتاب شعراً عربيًا في نحو القرن العشرين قبل الميلاد على أثر نزوح الحمورابيين من بين النهرين ثم تُرجم إلى العبرانية وعد من أسفار المقدسة وضاع أصله العربي كما ضاع أصل كليلة ودمنة الفارسي .

ولا جرم أن النهضة العربية لم تتقدم القرن السادس لأن اللغة العربية أخذت في هذا الحين بالتوحد بفصل سوق عكاظ وغيرها من أسواق العرب . وهذه الأسواق كمواسم عامة عديدة التي يومها أصحاب المصالح من جميع الأمم . وكان من أعظم هذه المواسم عند العرب قبل الإسلام سوق عكاظ . وكانت تعقد في ذي القعدة في واد ذي نخيل بين الطائف ونخلة وتحضرها قبائل العرب كافة . وقد بدأت هذه السوق في أواسط القرن السادس للمسيح وانتهت في منتصف القرن الثامن . وسوق عكاظ أشبه بالمعارض التي تقيمها الامم المتمدنة الآن . وكان الشعراء ينتهزون فرصة إجتماع القوم فينشدون قصائدهم على مسمع من الجماهير المحتشدة فيبارون في إستخراج القصيدين منهم . ولم تزل عكاظ وغيرها من الأسواق قائمة في الإسلام إلى أن كان اول ما ترك منها سوق عكاظ في

أوائل القرن الثاني للهجرة و آخر ما ترك من الأسواق سوق حُباشة في زمن داود بن عيسي بن موسي العباسي في آخر القرن الثاني للهجرة. و مهما يكن من الأمر فإن قريشاً كانت بمركزها الجغرافي وحضارتها و فصاحتها الفطرية اكاديمية اللغة العربية تسهر عليها و تنقيها و تنظمها كما تفعل المجامع اللغوية في عواصم اوربا. و كان للأسواق القومية أوفر الفضل في ذلك لأن الزعامة كانت لقريش فيحكمون بما يبدولهم ويذعن القوم لحكمهم. فأخذ الشعراء بانتقاء الألفاظ المألوفة بين الجميع المطابقة للغة المحاكين كي تفهمها القبائل المختلفة و يفوز شعرهم بالإستحسان. فعمت الموضوعات والتعابير المشتركة و أخذت اللغات المتباينة تقترب من لغة زعماء المواسم وهي لغة قريش. فلنراجع إلي ما قال السيوطي في المزهر عن توحد اللغة العربية تحت سيطرة كبار قريش. جاء في المزهر ص ١٠١ ج ١ :

" و أفصح العرب قريش قال ابن فارس في فقه اللغة باب القول في أفصح العرب أخبرني ابو الحسن احمد بن محمد مولي بني هاشم قال: اجمع علماؤنا بكلام العرب والرواة لأشعارهم والعلماء بلغاتهم و أيامهم ومحالهم ان قريشاً افصح العرب السنة و أصفاهم لغة و ذلك ان الله تعالي اختارهم من جميع العرب واختار منهم محمداً صلي الله عليه وسلم فيجعل قريشا قُطّان حرمه و ولاة بيته فكانت وفود العرب من حجاجها وغيرهم يفدون إلي مكة للحج و يتحاكمون الي قريش مع فصاحتها و حسن لغاتها ورقة ألسنتها فإذا أتتهم الوفود من العرب يتخيرون من كلامهم و أشعارهم أحسن لغاتهم و أصفي كلامهم فاجتمع ما تخيروا من تلك اللغات الي سلائقهم التي طُبِعُوا عليها فصاروا بذلك أفصح العرب الا تري انك لا تجد في كلامهم عنعنة تميم ولا عجرفية قيس ولا كشكشة أسد ولا كسكسة ربيعة ولا كسر أسد وقيس ؟ قال ابن عباس : " نزل القرآن علي سبع لغات (لهجات) منها خمس بلغة العجز من هوازن و هم الذين يقال لهم عُلْيا هوازن وهم خمس قبائل او اربع منها سعد بن بكر و جشم بن

بكر و نصر بن معاوية و ثقيف" قال ابو عبيد " وأحسب أفصح و هؤلاء بني سعد بن بكر و ذلك لقول رسول الله صلّى الله عليه و سلم انا أفصح العرب بيداني من قريش و أنّي نشأت في بني سعد بن بكر و كان مسترضعاً فيهم وهم الذين قال فيهم ابو عمرو بن العلاء افصح العرب عُلْيَا هوازن و سُفْلَى تميم" و عن ابن مسعود انه كان يستوجب ان يكون الذين يكتبون المصاحف من مضر و قال عمر لا يُمْلِيَنّ في مصاحفنا الا غلمان قريش و ثقيف و قال عثمان اجعلوا المُمْلِي من هذيل والكاتب من ثقيف قال ابو عبيد فهذا ما جاء في لغات مضر وقد جاء لغات (لهجات) لاهل اليمن في القرآن معروفة و يروي مرفوعاً نزل القرآن علي لغة الكَعْبَيْن كعب بن لؤي و كعب بن عمرو وهو ابو خزاعة . قال ثعلب في امالية ارتفعت قريش في الفصاحة عن العنعنة والتلتلة والكشكشة والكسكسة والتضجع والعجرفة .

" وقال ابو نصر الفارابي في اول كتابه المسمي بالالفاظ والحروف كانت قريش اجود العرب انتقاداً للأفصح من الألفاظ و أسهلها علي اللسان عند النطق وأحسنها مسموعاً و أبينها ابانة عما في النفس ، ولم يؤخذ عن حضري قط ولا عن سكان البراري ممن كان يسكن اطراف بلادهم المجاورة لسائر الأمم الذين حولهم . والذين نقل اللغة واللسان العربي عن أفصح القبائل و أثبتها في كتاب نصيرها علماً و صناعة هم اهل البصرة والكوفة فقط من بين أمصار العرب "

إنّ العربي من فطرته ذو نفس حساسة و شعور راق و أريحيّة واثقة سريع الطرب سريع الغضب فيه بديهة وارتجال . ومن أجل ذلك لا يلبث أن يجيش صدره بمعني حتي يلفظه لسانه فلذلك كان أكثر شعرهم غنائيًا أو موسيقيا يعبرون به عن إحساسهم ويصورون به شعورهم وهو يصدرعن أربعة فواعل: الرغبة والرهبة والطرب والغلب . علي أنّ لغة العرب شعرية لما فيها من أساليب الكناية أوالإستعارة

ودقة التعبير وكثرة المترادفات مما يسهل وجود القافية . فالعرب من أنطق الأمم ولغتهم أوسع اللغات ولفظها ادل من سائر الألفاظ وفيها الأمثال والحكم . وتأثير شاعرية العرب شمل ساكني بلاد العرب بلا إستثناء حتى أنها إنتشرت بين اليهود وعبيد من الزنج والنوبة وإن لم يكونوا عرباً . وفضلاً عن هذه الاسباب فقد كان كل مظهر من مظاهر الطبيعة يمذق قرائح العرب للشعر ويعزز نموه بين أظهرهم وفي ظلام الليل الهادئ تحت النجوم المترجرجة ، الوهاجة لدى الغيوم المتقطعة اما وقف شعراء العرب متأملين ؟ سماء صافية ، هواء نقي ، حياة بداوة ، غزوات مطردة ، عدم الإكتراث لاحوال المعيشة ، قلة الإهتمام بمستقبل هذه الحياة . الا تثير هذه الطوارئ قرائح الشعراء للنظم ؟

وكان العربي في مبدإ عهده ينظم الشعر ولا يعرف ما قوافيه وأعاريضه وما علله وما زحافاته ولكنه سمع اصوات الزعاير وحفيف أوراق الأشجار وخرير الماء وبكاء الحمام فلذلك صوت تلك الطبيعة المترنمة ولذلك أن يبكي لبكائها وأن يكون صداها الحاكي لنغماتها فإذا هو ينظم الشعر من حيث لا يفهم منه انه خيال قريحته ولا يدرك من أوزانه وضروبه الا أنها صورة من حركات ناقته . ولما نطق امرؤ القيس بقوله (قفا نبك من ذكرى حبيب و منزل) لم يكن يدري أن الخليل سيقول يوماً (فعولن مفاعيلن فعولن مفاعلن) فإن الشاعر الذي نظم هذا الشعر وهو فوق راحلة ظالع لم يخطر بباله ان ستكون لألفاظه قوانين تقيدها .

إن العرب شعب سامي حقاً ونفسه في القول أقصر من النفس الآري ولكنه ليس أضعف ولا أقل فصاحة في التعبير منه ولم يكن في أفق الشاعر الجاهلي سوى امور ثلاثة جمال المحبوب وذكرى المنازل والأخذ بالثأر ولكن هذا الجنس السامي وإن ضاق مجال الشعر في نظره

فقد اتسع خياله في القول . ولئن كان اليونان قد أعطوا العالم الياذه والأوديسه لهوميروس والمعزنات الكبرى لسوفكليس و ايخيل لو أوريبيد فقد أعطي الجنس السامي للعالم قصائد جميلة مطولة و مقطوعات بليغة و أبيات مفردة كرنات المثاني لا تقل قيمتها الوجدانية في مجموعها عن ذلك الشعر القصصي .

كان الشاعر العربي حكيم القبيلة و عالمها و هاتفها . و من الشعراء المتقدمين الذين تميزوا بهذه الخصال زهير بن جناب الكلبي من قضاعة كان يأمر بالحرب والسلم ويختار المنازل ويحدد موعد ضرب الخيام وقد تولى الإمارة علي بكر و تغلب معاً وظل مقدماً عند ملوك اليمن والشام وكأن الأمراء يستشيرونه ويعملون برأيه .

إن عصرنا هذا في اوربا هو عصر الحقائق الحسية والمادية فما أشبهه من جهة الشعر بعصر الجاهلية و هو عصر الطفولة الشعرية عند العرب ! و أبيات امرئ القيس والمرقش والمهلهل المتلمس والنابغة والأعشي تقارب في المعني آثار أقلام كتاب اوربا في القرنين التاسع عشر والعشرين كجارج اليوت و فولتير و أناطول فرانس و غيرهم مقاربة تكاد تكون تامة . وفي عبارة أخرى أن الشعر الجاهلي بسيط ساذج لم يهذبه العلم ولم تصقله الحضارة ولم تتصل به أشعة الخيال الحديث فتنير ظلمته فهو أصدق الشعر و أجدره أن يكون صفحة صحيحة لتاريخ عصره .

صحة نسبة الشعر الجاهلي على وفق نظرية الدكتور طه حسين

ولا يخفي أن الكتاب "الأدب الجاهلي" للدكتور طه حسين أوجد ثورة في عالم الأدب العربي لأن المؤلف يسرد فيه آراءه المنتجة من تجرباته مع الأدب العربي في الجامعة المصرية ضد صحة نسبة

الشعر الجاهلي . ويلوح لنا أنّ المؤلف من أوّل الكتاب إلي آخره يكتب بالتعصب أو بلون منه علي ما يتوارثون الرّواة من أقدم الزّمن إلي أحدثها من الشعر من العصر الجاهلي . وكذلك هو يجهد — أو علي الأقلّ يبتهد أن يجهد — في بعض كتبه الأخري سالفاير الإسلام من مجد وإبتكار. ويخيل إليه أن كلّ ما ينتسب إلي الشعراء الجاهليين كامرئ القيس وعبيد وعلقمه وعمرو بن قميئة ومهلهل، وجليلة وعمرو بن كلثوم والحارث بن حلزة وعنرة بن العبد والمتلمس والأعشي وأوس بن حجر وزهير والحطيئة وكعب بن زهير والذبابة وغيرهم اتتحال إسلامي . وما كان ليقبّل المعلّقات العشر لرجالها وشعر مهلهل وسائر شعراء الجاهليّة لهم لأنّه يدّعي بأنّ حمّاد الرّاوية وخلف الأحمر وغيرهما من الرّواة أنفسهم نظموا الشعر وحملوه علي الشعراء المذكورين أسماءهم . ولكن فات للدكتور أن يفطن لتعصّبه فيما يدّعي لأنّه ليس من المعقول أنّ إنساناً يقضي عمره ويبذر نبوغه في نظم شعر بليغ جيّد ثم ينسبه إلي غيره من الموتي أو الاحياء وكان أجدر به أن ينسبه لنفسه ليفتخر به ، بل أيّة فائدة تعود علي رجل يجهد مواهبه في الصياغة والنظم ثم يتخلّي عن ثمرات فكره باختياره ولا يصح هذا الفرض إلاّ إذا كان الرّواة نوّكي أو معتوهين . ولا يثق الدكتور طه بما تناقلت ذاكرة العرب مع أنّه يعرف في موضع عرضاً بأنّه لم يعرف أمّة من الامم القديمة إستمسكت بمذهب المحافظة في الأدب كالأمّة العربيّة . وبما أنّ الدكتور صمّم في نفسه أن يشك في كل ما ينمي إلي شعراء الجاهليين فليس من مقدّر الرّجال أن يخلصوه من طغيانه . علي أنّه يدّعي عدم المجاراة في بحثه الأدبي وفقاً لمنهج ديكارت في النقد . ومن البديهي أنّ إستشهاده بآراء ديكارت

لتأييد نظريته فحسب ، ليس غير . ولو كان الإستشهاد لأجل الإستشهاد للجأ إلى من هو مذهبه في النقد أصدق وأصح من مذهب ديكارت اعني مذهب هيبوليت تين . ولِمَ إختار مؤلف أدب الجاهلي ديكارت أسوة له علي من هم أحدث عصراً وأقوم قيلاً في النقد كهيبوليت تين وأوجست كونت وأرنست رينان ؟ وسهل جداً لنا أن نري أن مؤلف الأدب الجاهلي لم يتخذ من مذاهب النقاد مع تعددها واتساع نطاقها وكمال التيسير في حرية الإختيار سوي مذهب ديكارت الذي كان فيلسوفاً رياضياً ولم يكن ناقداً معنياً مثل من ذكرنا أسماءهم فواضح جداً أن مؤلف الأدب الجاهلي آثر ديكارت لظنه ان ديكارت مام المشككين وأنه هو شديد الشغف بالشك لذاته لا لكونه وسيلة لليقين .

ويجلو للصقديرين بل غير متعصبين وحدهم أن قيمة شعر أية أمة من الامم ـ مهما كانت عريقة في الهمجية ـ تتبادر للذهن علي قدر اتحادهم مع أولئك الشعراء وعطفهم عليهم في خصوصيات بياناتهم وقدرتهم علي مختلف الإستعارات والأوصاف التي امتازت ولا تزال تمتازبها كل لغة من لغات العالم . ولا تتكشف لمستشرق أوربي مثلاً مقاصد الشعر الجاهلي ومعانيه حتي يتصور في خياله أنه يقضي نفسه علي بيداء واسع ممل المنظر أكثر أوقاته في معاشرة ناقته وأنه ربما يعشق بحبيبته فيتذكرها وهو يسوق ناقته فيعدوها بأبيات علي وزن الرجز . وزد علي ذلك أنه ينبغي للمستشرق أن يتصور في ذهنه حينما يطالع الشعر الجاهلي أنه يكون علي كل حال مستعداً للعرب أني وقعت لأن من حمية الجاهلية الإقدام علي العرب . ولا يستطيع المستشرق الأوربي أن يفهم نفسه أن يستحسن الشعر الجاهلي حتي يتظاهر بأنه هو عربي صميم وحتي لم يتفق مع شعراء العرب علي أهوائهم وعواطفهم .

و بعد هذا التمهيد فلنلتفت أنظارنا إلي ما دبّج يراعُ الدكتور طه حسين في الكتاب الثاني في الأدب الجاهليّ . وقد جاء :

" ذلك أنّ الكثرة المطلقة مما نسميه أدباً جاهليّاً ليست من الجاهليّة في شيئ ، وإنما هي منتحلة بعد ظهور الإسلام ، فهي إسلاميّة تمثل حياة المسلمين وميولهم وأهواءهم أكثر مما تمثل حياة الجاهليين . وأكاد لا أشك في أن ما بقي من الأدب الجاهلي الصحيح قليل جدًّا لا يمثل شيئاً ولا يدلّ علي شيئ ، ولا ينبغي الإعتماد عليه في استخراج الصور الأدبيّة الصحيحة لهذا العصر الجاهلي . وأنا أُقدّر النتائج الخطيرة لهذه النظريّة ، ولكني مع ذلك لا أتردد في إثباتها و إذاعتها ، ولا أضعف عن أن أعلنها إليك وإلي غيرك من القراء أن ما تقرأه علي أنه شعر امرئ القيس أو طرفة أو ابن كلثوم أو عنترة ليس من هؤلاء الناس في شيئ ، وإنما هو انتحال الرواة أو اختلاق الاعراب أو صنعة النحاة أو تكلف القصاص أو إختراع المفسرين والمحدثين والمتكلمين "-

لهجات العرب

ولا جرم أنّ بعض قبائل العرب كانت متباينة اللهجات فكانت قريش من جرّاء سيادتها علي سائر القبائل و لجوارها الكعبة صارت كالمجمع اللغوي بين أهل العرب فاطبةً حينئذاك . و أصبح من اليسير أنّ لهجة قريش ارتفعت علي سائر اللهجات لأنهم صاروا أقدر العرب علي إنتقاء أفصح الألفاظ وألينها وأظهرها . ومن المعلوم أنّ قريش شدّوا رحالهم لأجل التجارة إلي اليمن فالعراق فحوران فالحبشة فبلاد الفرس والهند . و في إبّان مبادلتهم البضائع مع الأمم المجاورة لهم استعار قريش من لغة الفرس أكثر مما اقتبسوا من سواها . وقد ذكر السيوطي في كتابه المزهر من الكلمات التي إستعربها قريش كالكوز والجرة

والإبريق والقصعة والسندس والياقوت والكحل والعنبر من الفارسية وكالفردوس والقسطاس والترياق عن اليونانية واللاتينية وكالمسح والكاهن وما شابههما من اللغة العبرانية وأسواق الأدبية بين العرب كدومة الجندل وذي المجاز وهجر وعمان والمشقر وصحار والشحر وعدن ومحبة جميعها هذبت على التدريج لغةً واحدةً فهي لغة قريش. وقد حصل لقريش تنقيح لغتها لسيادتها على الأسواق التي ذكرناها آنفاً ولتصيّرها بفطرتها وإستعدادها لحسن الإختيار وبفرط الجهد في صنعة التنقيح والتهذيب.

ومن الواقع أن النبي قال "أنزل القرآن على سبعة أحرف" فلنفرض أن معنى "أحرف" هو "اللهجات" وأن لهجات قبائل العرب اختلفت بعضها عن بعض لإختلاف طبائعها ومساكنها. ولا غرابة فيه لأنّا نشاهد اليوم تعدد لهجات الناطقين بالضاد في الشام والعراق ومصر والمغرب مع أنّ الأصل واحد فيها جميعاً وهو لسان عربي مبين الذي أُنزل فيه القرآن الكريم. فهذه الأشطر الآتية من الأبيات الجاهلية تمثل لنا تباين اللهجات الرائجة بين أظهرهم.

تقول وقد مال الغبيط بنا معاً * عقرت بعيري يا امرأ القيس فانزل

والغبيط بلغة طيئ مركب من مراكب النساء.

..... كجلمود صخر حطه السيل من عل

وفي "من عل" ثلاث لغات من علو وعلا ومن علي بالرفع والنصب والجر.

ومن الشعر الوارد بلهجات العرب غير ما ذكرنا ماجاء بلغة قديم دارم حيث يبدلون الياء جيماً قال الشاعر:

خالي عويف وأبو علج المطعمان اللحم بالعشج

اي (ابو علي) و (العشي)

وأمثال هذا التباين في " الهجات " كثيرة .

السياسة وإنتحال الشعر

وكلّ ما يقول مؤلّف أدب الجاهلي تحت هذا العنوان لا يدلّ إلا علي ما يختفيه في أعماق قلبه من الضغينة والحقد علي الاسلام وحَمَلَتِه . حقًا انّ مؤلّف الأدب الجاهلي أمسك عداوة الإسلام في قلبه يقرص فرصة الإيقاع به . ونظراً لبلوغ غايته السيّئة تَصَيَّد المؤلّف أضعف الرّوايات وأسخفها عن النبي و خلفاء الراشدين و عمن عاصروهم من الصحابة . وقال المؤلف : " وكان شعراء قريش يهجون مع الأنصار النبي وأصحابه وهم من خلاصة قريش و يجب أن يكون هذا الهجاء قد بلغ أقصي ما يمكن من الحدة والعنف " .

واضح جليًا أنّ قاريْ هذه العبارة يحسب أن أفصح العرب كان يخشي جانب هؤلاء الشعراء أو أنهم نالوا منه بما قد يحط من قدره في نظر أصحابه وأنصاره ؛ ولكنّ من الواقع أن فحول الشعراء من قريش كانوا يتقدمون إلي محمد ﷺ تائبين معتذرين مثل ابن الزِبَعْرَي وكعب بن زهير . وكان محمد ﷺ يُعجَب بمواهب الشعراء ؛ بيد أنه لم يشجع من الشعراء إلا من انشدوا مستحثين مكارم الأخلاق من الناس ومذبين عن عِرْضهم . وأما الشعراء الذين تناولوا غيرهم لأي غرض من الأغراض بالهجاء والأذي فهم غير محمودين بالمرّة مصداقا للآية " والشعراء يتبعهم الغاوون الم تراانهم في كل وادٍ يهيمون و أنهم يقولون مالا يفعلون " سواءٌ كان الشعراء من قريش أو من الأنصار كان يخلق بهم ان ينظموا الشعر عن مواضيع فيها صلاح للناس كافةً . ولما انحرفوا عن تلك الجادّة ارتكبوا بلا محالة جُرْمًا ليس أقلّ مُضِرًا عن ثورة ذي خَطَرٍ للمجتمع الإنساني فلذلك لايمكن لنا أن

نلوم أي مصلح في أيّة زمن لاضطهاده أولئك الشعراء المذمومين . فليس من المستغرب إذاً أن النبيّ قال لأصحابه "ما يمنع القوم الذين نصروا رسول الله بسلاحهم أن ينصروه بألسنتهم" لأنه وأتباعه كانوا على الحق فبرزله ثلاثة من الأنصار حسان بن ثابت و كعب بن مالك و عبد الله بن رواحه فهولاء الشعراء الثلاثة الذين كانوا يدافعون عن الأنصار لم يقمهم النبي . و أمّا ما يذكر مؤلف أدب الجاهلي عن شأن سعد بن عبادة قائلاً "..... لا يضايقهم إلا سعد بن عبادة الأنصاري الذي ابى أن يبايع أبابكر و أن يبايع عموماً و أن يصلّي بصلاة المسلمين و أن يحجّ بحجهم وظل يمثل المعارضة قوي الشكيمة ماضي العزيمة حتي قتل غيلة في بعض أسفاره" فهو افتراء على القارئ لأنه وردت أخباره في ص ٣٠٣ ج ٢ اسد الغابة في معرفة الصحابة لابن الأثير - أصدق مصدر عن سعد بن عبادة - أنّه كان صحابيّاً عظيمًا و أنّه كان نقيب بني ساعدة وشهد بدراً وكان سيداً جواداً و وجيهاً في الأنصار ذارياسة و سيادة اعترف قومه له بها و أنّ رسول الله دعاله يرفع يديه وهو قائل "اللهم اجعل صلواتك و رحمتك على آل سعد بن عبادة" و روي عن النبي أيضًا أنه قال "إن سعداً لغيور اني لأغير من سعد والله أغير منا (وغيرة الله ان تؤتي محارمه) فرجل هذه مناقبه و مكانته عند رسول الله و مقامه في قومه يستبعد عليه أن يخرج على إجماع الأمّة . و إقتداء بعمل النبي أخذ عمر يقاوم أرذل الشعراء عيشة و أفحشهم كلاماً . وليس من إمكان مؤلف ادب الجاهلي أن يحط من قدر كياسة عمر بن الخطاب في إستحسان الشعر الجاهلي لأن ابن سلام الذي أقر بثقته المؤلف يشهد بأن ابن الخطاب كان خبيراً بمباني الشعر و معانيه . و في هذا الصدد يذهب مؤلف الأدب الجاهلي إلى حدّ أن يقول إن عمر مرّات يوم فإذا حسان في نفر من المسلمين ينشدهم شعراً في مسجد النبي ؟ فأخذ بأذنه كما يفعل جلواز أو شرطي في هذه الأيام بمجرم فاحش وقال : "أرغاءً كرغاء البعير ؟ و كأن مؤلف الأدب الجاهلي يتعدي تفضيح أفعال

صحابة النبي وأقوالهم مستنداً لبلوغ غايته على أضعف الروايات وأسخفها من على صفحات كتب الفكاهة. ويؤيد تاريخ الإسلام أن عمر كان ينشط من عدل عن الشعر إلى القرآن، ولكنه مع ذلك حث المسلمين على حفظ الشعر الجيد كما روي عنه أنه قال "رووا أولادكم ما سار من المثل وحسن من الشعر" البيان والتبيين ج ١ ص ٢١٣. ويقول مؤلف الأدب الجاهلي في موضع آخر هكذا: "كان عمر قرشياً تكره عصبيته أن تزدري قريش وتنكر ما أصابها من هزيمة وما أشيع عنها من منكر". ومن المشهور أن عمر كان أميراً حازماً وخليفة عادلاً يريد أن يضبط أمور الرعية وأن يؤسس الدولة الصدنية على المساواة والحرية والإخاء وقد نجح في سعيه في الواقع نجاحاً تاماً فأتى له أن يكون ألعوبة في يد العصبية! وكذلك كان عثمان يسير على خطة النبي في حث العرب على حفظ القرآن ترك ما عداه من الشعر إلا أقله. وأخيراً وقع إختيار مؤلف أدب الجاهلي لسوء حظه على قصة من قصص الخيالية لاتبات نظريته ولكن معالجته تلك المادة تقضي لذا مزاج المؤلف من دون إحساسه به. وأقتبس سياق القصة من نسيج كلامه: "أما الأنصار فكانوا يتحدثون أن هذين الرجلين (أي عبد الرحمن بن حسان وعبد الرحمن بن الحكم أخي الخليفة مروان) كانا صديقين؛ ولكن عبد الرحمن بن حسان الأنصاري كان يحب امرأة صاحبه القرشي ويختلف إليها؛ فبلغ ذلك صاحبه فراسل امرأة عبد الرحمن بن حسان؛ وأنبأت هذه زوجها فاحتال حتى حمل امرأة صاحبه على أن تزوره في بيته؛ وأخفاها في إحدى الحجر؛ واحتالت امرأته حتى حملت القرشي على أن يزورها؛ فلما استقر به المقام عندها أقبل زوجها فأرادت أن تخفيه فأدخلته في إحدى الحجر، فاذا هو بري امرأته؛ فسد الأمر بين الصديقين". ومن البديهي أن مؤلف الأدب الجاهلي مولع بأمثال هذه القصة

وبايرادها على مجمع من التلامذة . بلى ! وماذا يرى قارئ عاقل وراء هذه القصة ؟ أهو انتحال الشعر الجاهلي بحقاً ؟ كلاّ . ولم يكد يطمع مؤلف الأدب الجاهلي في هذا المجال من الكلام إلاّ إلى الحملة على الإسلام و بالفعل لم يقل في هذا الباب شيئاً مذكوراً عن العصر الجاهلي . لماذا ؟

الدين وانتحال الشعر

وقال مؤلف الأدب الجاهلي في الصحيفة ١٠١ في كتابه : " وفي القرآن سورةٌ تسمى (سورة الجنّ) أنبأت أنّ الجنّ استمعوا للنبي وهو يتلو القرآن فآمنت قلوبهم و آمنوا بالله وبرسوله فلم يكد القصاص والرواة يقرؤون هذه السورة وما يشبهها من الآيات التي فيها حديث عن الجنّ حتى ذهبوا في تأويلها كل مذهب و استغلّوها استغلالاً لاحدله ، و أنطقوا الجنّ بضروب من الشعر و فنون من السجع "-

ولا شبهة أن مؤلف الأدب الجاهلي يستهزأ من خلال نبذتين المذكورتين بعقيدة المسلمين عن الجنّ فكذلك يغمز فيهما خِلسةً بشخص النبي وصحّة نبوته . وبعدئذٍ يقول " فلأمرٍ ما إقتنع الناس بأن النبي يجب أن يكون صفوة بني هاشم و أن يكون بنو هاشم صفوة بني عبد مناف و أن يكون بنو عبد مناف صفوة بني قصي و قريش صفوة مضر و عدنان صفوة العرب والعرب صفوة الإنسانية كلها " فهذه العبارة تمس بشرف النبي فلا تَسُرّ المؤلفَ نسبةُ بني المسلمين إلى عائلة كريمة . وما كان ليسمح مؤلف الأدب الجاهلي بإعتزاء الوجاهة إلى قبيلة النبي وأمّته لأنّ ذلك لا يُضْفِيهِ رَاحَةَ البال و طَمأنِينَةَ النَّفْسِ . فلذلك هو مضطر إلى أن يسخر من معاصريه عامّةً ومن أهل العرب خاصّةً -

فلنلتفت الآن إلي ما يقول المؤلف عن مسألة الجنّ و ذكره في القرآن وفي الشعر العربي . ومن المعلوم أن ملتون الانجليزي صاحب ديوانه " الفردوس المفقود " افتتح ديوانه مستغيثاً بربة الشعر Sing Heavenly Muse'. فكذلك غوته أكبر شعراء ألمانيا وأدبائها لأنّ بطل كتابه المشهور فوست من الجن واسمه مفستو فيليس Mephistopheles ، و خلاصة الكتاب أنّ مفستو فيليس إستهوى الشيخ الحكيم فوت وإشتري منه قلبه بثمن بخس وهو الشباب والحب والجمال وأوقعه في غرام مرغريت العذراء الصفوفة وكان ينقله من مكان إلي مكان بقوة لا يملكها إلّا الجنّ و يطلعه علي أسرار لا تخفي علي الجن ويطوف به أماكن يسكنها الإنس والجن وكان وليام شكسبير يعيش قبل غوته . وكان هو ولا يزال يعتبر أشعر شعراء انجلترة بل أشعر شعراء العالم . ومدار قصصه التمثيلية علي الجنّ و تدخّلهم في أعمال البشر و تدبير شؤونهم . و قد ألّف جميع الأمم القديمة والجديدة كاليونان والرومان والانجليز والألمان والطليان قبل العرب و بعدهم بذكر الالهة والارباب والربات والملائكة والجن والشياطين في شعرهم فلعلّ الدكتور طه ألم بذلك من قبل . ومع ذلك لم يتخذ وسيلة للطعن في أفكار قرائح تلك الامم والتشهير بها والسخرية من أصحابها . وإذاً لِمَ إتخذ الشعر العربي و سورة الجن وحدهما هدفاً لسهامه ؟ و ذلك تعصب علي تراث أبناء جنسه من الأدب والثقافة ؛ ليس غير .

ولكلمة genius في اللغة الانجليزية لون من المشابهة في التلفظ والمعني بكلمة ' الجن ' في العربية . حقّاً أنّ الذين لهم اليد الطولي في اللغتين العربية والإنجليزية معاً يستعملون الكلمة " عبقري " تفسيراً لكلمة genius في الإنجليزية ؛ فيبيّن لنا أنّ هذا التفسير صحيح لأن

عبقراً معناه كما جاء في أقرب الموارد " موضع تزعم العرب انه كثير الجن ومنه قول لبيد " كهول و شبان كجنة عبقر "

و سيعجب مؤلف أدب الجاهلي أشد الإعجاب إذا علم أن وليم شكسبير، أعظم شعراء العالم بأسرها إستعار مواده لروايته المسماة مكبث التي هي إحدى روايات المجموعة الكبرى في العالم من مصادر عربية . وقول نيكلسون شاهد على ذلك وهو يقول في كتابه تاريخ الادبي للعرب ص : ٢٥ :

" ان ماقع لتبع اسعد كامل و كنيته ابو كريب في الحديث الذي جري بينه وبين الساحرات الثلاث يذكر كل قارئ ببعض مواقف "مكبث" وأن في تاريخ ابنه حسان حادثاً يشبه سير " غابة برنام " في قصة مكبث . فان قبيلتي طسم وجديس لما اقتتلتا أفنت جديس طسما ولم ينج من طسم الارياح بن مرة فلجأ إلى تبع حسان بن اسعد فأوعز اليه ان يحارب جديسا و كانت اخت رياح متزوجة من رجل من جديس واسمها زرقاء اليمامة و كانت ترى الجيش من مسيرة ثلاثين ميلاً فلما قربوا من مسافة نظرها قالوا كيف لكم بالوصول مع الزرقاء فاجتمع رأيهم علي أن يقتلعوا شجراً تستر كل شجرة منها الفارس إذا حملها فقطع كل واحد منهم بمقدار طاقته وساروا بها فاشرفت الزرقاء كما كانت تفعل فقال قومها ماترين يازرقاء و ذلك في آخر النهار قالت اري شجراً يسير فقالوا كذبت او كذبتك عينك واستهانوا بقولها فلما أصبحوا صبحهم القوم فاكتسحوا اموالهم وقتلوا منهم مقتلة عظيمة ثم ان حساناً هذا تآمر عليه زعماء حمير " كما يحدث في قصة مكبث " و حملوا اخاه عمرو علي اغتياله فطعنه بخنجر ثم صعد علي العرش بعده ولكنه عوقب عقاب

القاتل بالارق والذعر كما يحدث لمكبث بعد مقتل ابن عمه ثم صرعه الندم فأوقع بشركائه في المؤامرة الواحد بعد الآخر ولم ينج من بطانته من القتل الا ذورعيان لانه كان نهي عمرو عن قتل اخيه حسان وقيد النهي في شعر نظمه ووضعه في حرز مختوم وسلمه الي عمرو فلما حاول عمرو اغتياله طالبه بالحرز وأقنعه ببراءته من دم اخيه"

وإنما نظر شكبير إلي مصادر العربية نظر الشاعر المتفنن الواسع الخيال الكثير الرجاء ثم أخرجها للناس قطعة تمثيلية نادرة؛ فنظرته حسين إليها نظر مشك الكثيب فلم ير إلاّ الخرافة فيها. ولَيَدْهَشَنَالِمَ يعظم الدكتورطه أبداً كل دقيق وجليل من تراث الفكر المغربي وحضارة المغربيّة بينما يعتبر ثروة فكر الشرق وتمدن الشرق مع إهانه؟ وهنا نريد أن نسأل مؤلّف الأدب الجاهلي سؤالاً آخر فهو: هل يعتقد امامهُ الفيلسوف رينيه ديكارت بالجن والشياطين والابالسة إعتقاداً راسخاً؟ إذاً لِمَ لا يقبل المؤلّف مذهب إمامه؟ أليجوزله أن يتبعه في جميع آرائه كما يتبع منهجه في النقد بالضبط؟

وقد هاجت آراء كليمان هوار عن صحة شعراميه بن أبي الصلت سَخَطَ الدكتورطه حسين عليه لا لأنه إستدل بها علي مدنيّة القرآن لها بل حاول أن يبرهن صحة نسبة الشعر الجاهلي أجمَعِهِ. أما امية بن أبي الصلت فكان هو من رؤساء ثقيف وفصحائهم المشهورين. وهو قرأ الكتب القديمة وأتقنها مع قسم وافر من التهذيب وأذكر فيما يلي بعض أبيات أمية بن أبي الصلت وسيتجلي لكم منها أنه كان من المتحنفين قبيل الإسلام. فهذه بعض أبياته:

اله العالمين وكل أرض * ورب الراسيات من الجبال
وشق الارض فانبجست عيوناً * وأنهاراً من العذب الزلال

كل دين يوم القيامة عند * اللّه الا دين الحنفيّة زور
ولابراهيم الصفي بالنذ * راحتساباً و حامل الأجزال
أبَنيّ اني نذرتك للّه * شحيطاً فاصبر فدي لك حالي
بينما يضلع السرابيل عنه * فكه ربه بكبش جلال
ربما تجزع النفوس من الامر * له فرجة كحل العقال
ودفع الضعيف وأكل اليتيم * و نهك الحدود فكلّ حَرِم ... الخ

فيدعي مؤلّف الأدب الجاهلي أن أسباب الإنتحال ليست مقصورة علي السياسة والدين بل هي تتجاوزها إلي أشياء أخري كالقصص والشعوبيّة والرواة وما شابهها ولكنّي ضَرَبْتُ صَفْحاً عنها لقلة الوقت ـ

إمرؤالقيس

و بعد أن بحث عن إنتحال الشعر الجاهلي علي سبيل التمهيد والإجمال يتعرض مؤلّف الأدب الجاهلي لإنتقاد شعراء الجاهليّة فرداً فرداً بالتفصيل . و هنا نحن نكتفي بالتفحص عن نقد المؤلّف عن أشعر الشعراء الجاهليّة . ألا هو إمرؤ القيس ! ويقول مؤلّف الأدب الجاهلي : "أليس من اليسير أن نفترض بل أن نرجح أن حياة إمرئ القيس كما يتحدث بها الرواة ليست إلا لونا من التمثيل لحياة عبد الرحمن حفيد الأشعث استحدثه القصاص إرضاءً لهوي الشعوب اليمنيّة في العراق ـ"

و عجيب جدّاً أنه لا يخطر ببال مؤلّف الأدب الجاهلي ـ مع إلمامه بمبادئ النقد الغربي الحديث ـ كيف يمكن له أن يفترض بل يرجح في دقائق النقد بلا برهانٍ قاطعٍ . و هل يظنّ أن له جميع الحقوق لكي يجول هُوَ في مجال الإفتراض والترجيح من تلقاء نفسه

بينما الآخرون لا حقّ لهم أن يثقوا بما يتناقلون الناس من الشعر جيلاً بعد جيلٍ ؟ وهل يرى أنّ لنفسه وحده إحْتِكَارَ التضمين فلا لأحد آخر أيّ نصيب منه ؟ كلاّ ثم كلاّ ! إنّ مؤلّف الأدب الجاهلي تخيّل ثم خَالَ كما قال المعرّي -

ومن آثار تردده في بعثه أنّه تارةً يؤكد أن امرؤ القيس نفسه لم يعشْ وطوراً يؤيّد إنحصار حياته في حياة عبد الرحمن حفيد الأشعث ومرةً ثالثةً يثْبتَ صحّةَ نسبة نصف شعره له ويهضب النصف الآخر إختراقاً إسلاميًا في زمان متأخر. وأعجب من هذا كله أنه يجد مشابهة تامّة بين أطوار حياة امرئ القيس وحياة هوميروس الشاعر اليوناني. وشتّان ما بين هوميروس وامرئ القيس من المقارنة ! لأنّ الاولّ كان شاعراً قصصيًا وبينما الثاني إلى الشعر الغنائي لَميل. وكذلك كان هوميروس شاعراً ضريراً يستمدي بفضل شاعريّة من إبناء وطنه حاجاته وأمّا امرؤ القيس فكان صاحبَ جاهٍ وجلالٍ ونخوة جاهليّة مع رغد من العيش. رغْماً عن هذا كلّه حاول مؤلّف الأدب الجاهليّ المطابقة والمقارنة بين هوميروس وامرئ القيس ؟ ولكن عبثاً. وذلك لأنه صار مضطراً إلى تلك النتيجة لا لأنّه مشغف من تلقاء نفسه بأمثال تلك النتيجة ولكن خياله الشيطاني يحمله عليها. وعن خصوص السموأل بن غريض بن عاديا أيضاً يشك مؤلّف الأدب الجاهلي شكه المطبوع عليه. وقد أنكر شعر السموأل ومع ذلك أنكر وفاءه المضروبة به الأمثال كأوفى من السموأل مُسْتَدِلا في إلحاحه بأنّ حياة السموأل كان أقرب إلى السادة البدْويّة منها إلى حياة أصحاب العصر. فغريب جدًا ـ على رأي الدكتور طه حسين ـ أن الشاعر الذي

يعيش عيشةً بسيطة خشنة لم يُجِد الشعر أبدا . و أما عن رحلة امرئ القيس إلي قسطنطينيّة فيري مؤلّف الأدب الجاهلي فيها غريباً ليس أقلّ موجباً للهزء إذ أن الشاعر المجوّال لم يَصِفْ في شعره شيئاً عن قصر ملك الروم و كنائس قسطنطينيّة و فتاة الأمبراطوريّة التي فتنها؛ و في الإختصار لم يقل شيئًا عن مظاهر الحضارة اليونانية في قسطنطينيّة التي لا بدله من أن شاهدها إبّان مكثه هنالك . و عندنا وجود شخصيّة امرئ القيس ثابت بشهادة مؤرّخ الشاعر اليوناني نونوس Nonnose في ص ٦ من كتابه حيث يقول : "قبل أن يترك امرؤالقيس الامير الشاعر الكندي جزيرة العرب في طريقه إلي قسطنطينية تخلي عن ولايته الشرعيّة علي بنته هندو عن ادارة مالها لابن عمه يزيد بن حارث . ولمّا بلغ امرؤ القيس بلاط الأمبراطور جوستنيان احسن الامبراطور لقاءه و اكرم وفادته و قلده حكومة فلسطين". فهذه الابيات الآتيه تبطل كذلك إدّعاء مؤلّف الأدب الجاهلي أنّ امرؤ القيس لم يزر قسطنطينية :

بكي صاحبي لما رأي الدرب دونه * و ايقن انا لاحقان بقيصرا
فقلت له لا تبك عينك إنما * نحاول ملكاً او نموت فنعذرا
واني زعيمٌ ان رجعت مملكاً * بسير ترى منه الغرانق ازورا
لقد أنكرتني ـ بعلبك و أهلها * ولا بن جريم في قري حمص انكرا
و ان أمس مكروباً فيارب قَينَةٍ * منعمةٍ اعملتها بكران
لها مزهرٌ يعلو الخميس بصوته * اجشّ اذا ما حركته اليدان

و في الختام أريد أن أقتبس بعض أبيات مثنوي لمولانا جلال الدين الرومي لكي تستبين لكم حقيقة التعصب وتأثيرها علي الإنسان كأمثال الدكتور طه حسين لأنه صار في الواقع أحولاً:

گفت استاد احولي را کاند رآ
زو برون آ راز وثاق آن شيشه را *
چون درون رفت احول اندر خانه زود
شيشه پيش چشم او دو مي نمود *
گفت احول ز ان دو شيشه گو کدام
پيش تو آرم بگو سر چش تمام *
گفت استاد آن دو شيشه نيست رو
احولي بگذار وافزون بين مشو *
گفت اي استا مرا طعنه مزن
گفت استا ز ان دويک را در شکن *
چون يکي بشکست هر دو شد ز چشم
مرد احول گردد از ميلان وخشم *
شيشه يک بود وچشمش دو نمود
چون شکست او شيشه را ديگر نمود *
خشم و شهوت مرد را احول کند
ز استقامت روح را مبدل کند *
چون غرض آمد هنر پوشيده شد
صد حجاب از دل بسوي ديده شد *

و يقيني آن مؤلف الأدب الجاهلي إن قرأ الشعر الجاهلي بامعاني وإشفاق، لا تجلت له شخصيات أكثر الشعراء الجاهلية في شعرهم . ولكن إيضا حهاليس بيسير إلا لمن إستقصي بالتأمل والروية في ديوان كل واحد منهم علي منهج هيبوليت تين الفيلسوف الفرنسي الذي آثر عليه ديكارت مؤلف الأدب الجاهلي بغرض ما .

و أهم مصادر هذه المقالة " آداب اللغة العربيه " لجرجي زيدان و " التاريخ الادب العربي " لنكلسون و " تاريخ آداب اللغة العربية " لكليمان هوار و " الشهاب الراصد " لمحمد لطفي جمعه و " المزهر " للسيوطي .

SECTION IV.

CLASSICAL SANSKRIT.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

DR. F. W. THOMAS M. A., PH. D., D. LITT., C. I. E.

Hitherto the Vedic Sanskrit has been little studied from the aesthetic point of view. The scholars have been too intensely occupied with the questions of etymology, literal meaning and grammar to have leisure for the appreciation of the form and content as literature. They have not indeed failed to recognise a degree of deliberate art in the management of metre and cadence, in the employment of parallelism and alliteration; as regards the matter, they have been not insensitive to striking images, as when it is said:

'Away fly my thoughts to a wish for the better,
like birds to their dwellings.'

or to the feeling for natural beauty manifested in the hymns to the dawn or the forest goddess, or to vigour in action expressed by hymns to Indra, or to confiding friendship shown in those to Agni. No doubt also that sense of finish or perfection, which in later Sanskrit rhetoric is designated *prasāda*, has been at least negatively realized. But perhaps the scholars have been more alive to naivities of early thought and primitive belief. In the world of the *Ṛg Veda* we are not yet sufficiently at home to take up easily the attitude of *bhoga*, or enjoyment, which must have been part of the intention and experience of the composers and audiences of the hymns. But at any rate we are awake of what Jacobi emphasized, namely a hieratic character in the language and atmosphere.

When we come to the *Brāhmaṇas*, we are in an exclusively professional milieu. They are the work of priests instructing their pupils concerning the execution and significance of their rituals. In this we expect no manifestations of literary art: the merit of such texts, like that of any modern text-book, is that of conveying the sense in a clear and direct manner without verbiage. The interest of the matter is admitted before hand by teacher and pupil in common and needs no glozing. Once we have accepted the whole business of ritual as of serious value—and it is only with ritualistic texts in other literatures that the *Brāhmaṇas* should be compared—these qualities are not to be denied to the *Brāhmaṇas*, which, moreover, have a certain marked terseness and show occasional traces of humour. But even in a text-book, say of geography, or geometry, there might be occasions where some wide-reaching idea or some aesthetic effect might naturally break through the business-like tone of the work; and this is especially intelligible in a study bearing upon religion, which even in its ashes has always an underglow of human emotion. Hence we are not surprised to find in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* the long—touching story of Śunaḥśepa and in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* the theme of the *Kaṭha-upaniṣad* related with a touch of poetic art. The older prose *Upaniṣads* retain the terseness of the *Brāhmaṇa* style in narrative; but here the depth and seriousness of the thoughts, and the feeling of friendly earnestness in a momentous quest, push any idea of aesthetic appreciation into the background. It is in the epic, the work of court-poets and troubadours, that we first find the deliberate intention of interesting and surprising the hearer and the first deliberate employment of rhetorical device. It would be interesting to investigate at length the epic beginnings of the later styles; for instance, even in the ancient story of Nala one may find a passage or two where word bombast is employed in quite the spirit of the later *Gauḍa* style.

We may sum up by saying that the Vedic literature though mainly professional, is not the work of persons

whose profession was literature. Literary art appears in it as a by-product in the attainment of another object or as a spontaneous intrusion of human feeling.

The Sanskrit literature, on the other hand, may be said to be wholly under the dominion of conceptions of art and method. This is obvious in the case of the bulk of it, which is in metrical form. Of course, a good part of the works in *Śloka* metre, which are concerned with matters of practical prosaic interest, such as *dharma-śāstras*, *purāṇas*, works on sciences and arts, wear their artistic limitations lightly. But a metrical form inevitably carries with it further stylistic effects and exercises an influence upon the matter. The *Bhagavad-gītā*, in which the content can certainly not be said to be of secondary interest, would nevertheless have an entirely different tone, if it were in prose: indeed it might be difficult to disentangle the religious and the aesthetic impressiveness of the poem. There would be little object in doing so; for in religion poetry is not an alien, but a kindred element, perhaps essential to its highest flights. In other spheres it may be detrimental. Consider, for instance, the *Paurāṇic* geography in contrast with the enterprising travels of Indian traders and missionaries, both by land and sea, from early times; is it possible that the system would have continued to be tolerated, if it had not been a sort of Sunday belief attached to a poetic and imaginary word? *Per contra* consider how much more real is the impression produced by the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya, almost entirely prose, from that which we receive in perusing the later metrical texts. Analogous observations might be made in connection with other departments of the literature, for instance the medical. The metrical form has to my feeling a distinct tendency to detach the contact from the world of every day reality.

But, when we say that the Sanskrit literature is dominated by artistic conceptions, we mean much more than that it is so largely in verse. It is governed by formal ideas

in regard to exposition. Take, for instance, the *Sūtra* style: here we have the domination of a principle extraneous to the matter, the principle of brevity in exposition. Originated perhaps on practical grounds, it became a recognized style, with the result that in the end the *Sūtra* or its later substitute, the metrical *Kārikā*, became a mere heading, while the whole work of explanation and discussion was taken over by the prose *Bhāṣya*. The Sanskrit here betrays a positive passion for formally complete and methodical exposition, a tendency which attains perhaps its most perfect manifestation, and we must add beauty, in the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. The method has also the merit of securing continuity in the development of a system and of avoiding in part one of the curses of modern literature of knowledge, *viz.* the production of new books which except to some extent in the mode of exposition contain nothing new. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the system of standard text with developing commentaries does involve a measure of sophistry in adapting the old text to the new interpretations.

A fully self-conscious idea of form and system appears at the outset of each *Śāstra*, where a clear understanding is demanded in regard to the connection in which the matter arises, the exact subject the persons for whom the treatise is meant, and the object to be attained by it. Here the controlling influence of purpose is made to cover the whole procedure, and this naturally involves a clear conception and methodical arrangement of the matter. Those works are not designed for the satisfaction of a casual intellectual interest. In the long run that sort of undisciplined enjoyment is not sanctioned by Sanskrit literary science; despite the modest professions which the writers so often insert in their openings or colophons, a didactic purpose or the attainment of a satisfaction of a supernormal, superindividual character is, as the *alaṅkāra* theory holds, the only rationale of a work of literary art.

Nowhere perhaps is the requirement of form so exactingly observed as in the latter expositions of philosophies and of logic. Here it sometimes seems as if the whole effort were directed to the expression of a given meaning in the most precise technical terminology, with unwearying repetition of *avacchedakas*, *pratiyogins*, *abhāvas* and so forth, and the smallest number of syntactical means, principally the Instrumental and Ablative terminations, *tvena*, *tayā*, and *tvāt*. This seems absolutely justifiable in discussions where the slightest laxity of expression or vagueness of connection may let in fallacies from the domain of common sense; and this style may be regarded as an Indian equivalent for the use of algebraic symbolism in European logic and an advance in the direction of that philosophic language which must be an ideal of abstract thought.

There are some departments, beside religion and philosophy, where finish of form may lend a natural, and not an adventitious, exquisiteness to the matter. In the poetry of the emotions, for instance in erotic poetry, the delicacies of expression are fully in place, because, these emotions, beside their crude and commonplace bases in general humanity, have real niceties of adjustment in connection with particularities of person and situation. Here it may be said that the Sanskrit literary art, with its abundant resources in terms and expressions, implications and rēticences achieves one of its most notable triumphs. We are here in the sphere of the *Śākuntala* and the *Megha-dūta* and how many thousands of anthology verses relating to the passions.

Speaking of reticences and omissions, I should like to mention that not sufficient appreciation has, in my opinion, been bestowed upon the prose of the Sanskrit drama and of some other works. In the dialogues in these dramas there are no superfluous frills or gossip or inconsequential talk. Everything is kept within the situation and has a significance in relation to the action, a feature which, if not realised by

the reader, conveys an impression of tameness, but which in an actual performance is likely to produce its effect.

Akin to the literature of sentiment is that of the ethical. Here it is human observation and wisdom that furnish the point of view. Here also the material is susceptible of infinite variation according to the emotion or detachment, the tolerance, indignation or humour of the observer. There would be, I suppose, a consensus among critics that in this department of ethical observation the Sanskrit literature displays an unrivalled richness, perspicacity and depth. It is here that the conception of Sanskrit literature as artificial or Alexandrine, most completely collapses. So far from that being the case, it may be said that in this department of it, and there alone, Indian humanity, or indeed our common humanity, finds a full expression. But what lends to this literature an unsurpassable charm is its artistic setting. So far as this is a matter of verbal or metrical effect as in—

Kariṣyāmi kariṣyāmi kariṣyāmīti cintayā ।
Mariṣyāmi mariṣyāmi mariṣyāmīti vismṛtam ॥

and so far as it is further a matter of wit or point as in—

Sarvāḥ sampattayas tasya santuṣṭam yasya mānasam ।
Upānadbaddhapādasya nanu carmāvṛteva bhūḥ ॥

although in both respects the material is of astonishing amount and quality—we need not dwell upon it. But consider delightfully intimate pictures of country and town life seen in—

Āpadām āpatantīnām
hito'py āyāti hetutām ।
Mātṛjaṅghā hi vatsasya
stambhībhavati bandhane ॥

and in—

Matir eva balād garīyasī
yadabhāve kariṇām iyam daśā ।
Iti ghoṣayatīva ḍiṇḍimaḥ
kariṇo hastipakāhataḥ kvaṇan ॥

the exquisite courtesy of the king's expression of gratitude to a prospective tutor of his somewhat unmanageable sons—

Kīṭo' pi sumanaḥsangād
ārohati satām śiraḥ |
Aśmāpi yāti devatvam
mahadbhiḥ supratiṣṭhitaḥ ||

and the moral force of –

Ajarāmaravat prājño
vidyām artham ca cintayet |
Gṛhīta iva keśeṣu
mṛtyunā dharmam ācaret ||

The sentiment is, of course, not all sweet: witness the frequent keen denunciations of the *khala*, the bad man, the burlesque humour applied to the world—wide denunciation of doctors in—

Vaidyanātha namas tubhyam
kṣapitāśeṣamānava |
Tvayi samnyastabhāro 'yam
kṛtāntaḥ sukham edhate. ||

and the deep derision or pessimism expressed by the terribly course comment in—

Abhyasya Pavanavijayam
vyākhyaya ca śaivasāṁhitāḥ sakalāḥ |
Marakasamaye gurūṇām
gūḍhavad asavo viniryātāḥ ||

If this is not literature in its most poignant reality where is that to be found ?

It may seem a little unreasonable to consider under the topic of literary art that department of Sanskrit laterature which may be said to come in fact nearest to nature. What indeed is more true to Indian nature than the apologues of animal life, conveying the direct observation, the reflection and the humour so richly developed in its country folk ? But we have only to compare the animal table as it has

existed so widely among simple people and as it is found in other literatures, or even as it exists, with a charming didactic setting, in the Pāli *Jātaka*, in order to realize that in works like the *Hitopadeśa* it has absorbed more of a philosophy of life and is more affected by stylistic practice. As concerns the *Hitopadeśa* I cannot refrain from the remark that in respect of aptitude of style, this work seems to me one of the most perfect in the Sanskrit language. Observe the great range of actions and characters, bad, ordinary and exalted, which the text passes before our eyes, the shrewdnesses, follies, depravities and wisdoms which it details. Yet never does it depart from its attitude of detached observation, never does the prose give a word too much or display a trace of rhetoric, except in one or two places where a touch of the mock heroic is required for the purpose of burlesque. One would say that the work was indifferent to good and evil, were it not that its whole purpose is instruction in regard to the dangers and deceptions of life.

It cannot be said that Sanskrit is ill adapted to plain prose narrative. On the contrary, the art of story-telling, whether in verse or in prose, is one of the most copiously evidenced excellences of Sanskrit literature. The merits which appear so conspicuously in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and in the *Daśakumāracarita*, clarity, point, wit and avoidance of superfluity, could be exemplified in countless other works. Nor is ordinary straightforward narrative unexemplified, we may say, particularly in prose letters or other short communications contained in plays. I do not here include such texts as Bāna's *Harṣacarita* and *Kādambarī* which have an ambitious literary aim, though the concluding part of the latter work, added by the author's son, winds of the story with a really pleasing brevity and skill. Much of ordinary Sanskrit narrative must have been of a passing interest and must therefore have been lost to us, so that perhaps we may do less than justice to the adaptability of the language to such purpose. Nevertheless, it may perhaps be admitted

that the lack of ordinary historical writing, so abundant in some literatures, is in Sanskrit not accidental. Apart from a deep philosophy, ordinary history is in fact, a rather prosaic subject. As a matter of research, it has indeed the same claims as other subjects of knowledge; as an idea it represents the evolutionary principle that in the end all truth may have to assume a historical form; and, as a method, it involves the ultimate doctrine of science that no prepossessions, nothing anthropomorphic, must be suffered to enter into our realization of fact. Here we have, I think, something really out of harmony with the spirit of Sanskrit literature. The willed form, the predetermined theory, the logical construction, of Sanskrit cannot forthwith be reconciled to a study which regards all theory as a dangerous interference with the ultimate liberty of fact and all inference as merely suggestion with a view to verification.

Lastly, I need hardly remind you that the Sanskrit language itself is a formed, a corrected speech. Orginated by a process of elimination from the Vedic, it was established by the labours of grammarians as a norm amid a mass of mixed and shifting parlances, prevailing in different areas and different social strata. We may be sure that the *Nouveaux riches* and slangy youth of Post-Vedic India endeavoured with varying success to employ the language of culture and that the more compliant among the educated accepted now this, now that particular item which had emerged in the linguistic struggle for life. In some cases a sectarian movement patronized a particular speech currency, Sanskritic or Prākṛtic, and secured for it a certain fixity. But evidently those who accept one irregularity are defenceless against the introduction of others, and we see the Buddhist Sanskrit and the Jaina Prākṛit and the Buddhist Pāli (until a certain epoch) becoming more and more irregular, as they more and more lose the support of vernacular usage. In the end the Indian Buddhism and Jainism, from Aśvaghoṣa and Umāsvāti onwards, conformed to the classical Sanskrit

retaining only some traces of their former independence in vocabulary or preference among forms of admitted legitimacy. The Classical Sanskrit, having behind it the pre-established authority of the grammarians and the solidarity of the Brāhman teaching caste, won the day in every province which it invaded. The Sanskrit itself, we know, was not exempt from change. Divorced from contact with ordinary popular life, it was not indeed capable of growth, but it could suffer, and in ordinary use it did suffer, from impoverishment, the conjugational system being replaced by passive expressions with participial forms and the case systems being evaded by the growth of noun-composition, which in effect leaves the case-relations largely unexpressed. But, at any rate as a standard, the Sanskrit of Pāṇini remains valid and a modern play or a philosophical discussion in Sanskrit would create no difficulty by exactly reproducing the language and style of Kālidāsa or of Śaṅkara.

With this slight sketch we may connect a few reflection upon what the Sanskrit has accomplished and what it may still hope to achieve.

Certainly we must not attribute to the Sanskrit language that development whereof its formation was itself a part, namely that disciplining of Indian society and mentality which followed upon the philosophical anarchy of the time of Buddha and accompanied the growth of extensive empires, especially, it may be, if Mr. Jayaswal is right, the Śuṅga empire. But, obviously, the propagation of a norm of language would be powerful instrument in the process. Outside the limits of Āryan India this would be of special importance. For to the new people in Further India and elsewhere who became subject to Indian influence it was necessary to impart some definite language and system of things; and for this purpose Pāṇini and Manu were instruments ready to hand. It is remarkable how early are some of the Sanskrit inscriptions of Further India and how thoroughly

the style and expression continued to conform to Sanskrit models. The same, at a rather later date, was the case in Java and Sumatra. In South India and Ceylon the early infusion of Āryanism may not have penetrated very far before the Buddhist and Jain propaganda reached those countries in superior force. Nevertheless something of a Hindu Brāhmaṇic kind had been planted there and the Government system of the Maurya empire which in Aśoka's time existed as far South as Mysore, was, of course, no Buddhist system, but a development from the old Hindu kingdoms. Thus even the Buddhist propaganda served in the end for the extension of the Brāhmaṇic system, once this was predominant in the main area of Hinduism. To Central Asia Indian influence came, no doubt, in a Prākṛt Buddhist form with a Kharoṣṭhī alphabet. But the early documents show numerous effects of Sanskrit influence, and the florid epistolary style is plainly a product of the chancelleries of Hindu states. With the prevalence of the Mahāsarvāstivāda school the Sanskrit would inevitably tend to obliterate the traces of the early Prākṛt, and the transit of pilgrims such as Hiuen-Tsang, tended constantly to impose the philological norm prevailing in India.

There is one extraordinary service which in these extra-Indian territories the Sanskrit rendered to linguistics and which by consequence it continues to render to research in that sphere. In its early development the Sanskrit grammar had carried to a remarkable degree of refinement the observation and the phonetics of pronunciation. The Paṇḍit had phonetics, so to speak, in his blood. To this interest in exact phonetics we owe the result that so many languages of Further India, Malasia and Central Asia were furnished with alphabets consisting of the Brāhmī with such modifications and additions as were required in each particular case. They received therefore an alphabetic definiteness forthwith and were fitted to be vehicles not only of official

and other business, but also of translations and original works of Buddhist or Brāhmaṇic literature. Thus, while the Hindu culture greatly influenced official administration and so forth, the Sanskrit created literatures, some of which, like the old Javanese and the Tibetan, have never passed out of view, while others, including a number in Central Asia have been brought to light in recent years. In regard to the alphabets the point to emphasize is the phonetic precision which may certainly be credited to their inventors. Minor questions still remain as to the precise values attached to the individual signs by the Paṇḍits in the particular regions where the several alphabets were constructed. But in general it seems certain that in the spelling, whether of Central Asia or of Further India, we have an exact representation of the pronunciation of respective languages at the date of introduction of the alphabets. This is all the more important because the languages in question, Central Asian, Tibetan, Burmese, Siamese, etc., to which we are now able to add the Chinese, have all undergone the most sweeping changes in pronunciation since the date of fixture in writing. Thus the Paṇḍits have rendered to the philological history of these languages a service of vast and still hardly explored importance, a service which no other set of persons and no other alphabetic system could have performed. At the same time our knowledge of the respective languages is due in the main to the Buddhist, in further India also in part to Brāhmaṇic, literature which has been discovered in their medium.

These few observations will suffice to show that as an instrument of research the Sanskrit, far from manifesting any exhaustion, has acquired through the discoveries of modern times an immensly increased importance. It is in fact a *sine qua non* for research, philological and historical in the whole area which we have indicated. With the awakened self-conciousness of Buddhism and the revival of scholarships in the several communities the Sanskrit literature of

Buddhism is likely to attract a growing interest in the whole of eastern Asia.

What of India? Perhaps the principle is on the way to general acknowledgement that for higher education on the humanistic side the Sanskrit is in India an imperative requirement. It would indeed be preposterous, if those Indians whose interest is turned to matters social, literary and historical were without access to that knowledge which alone can enable them to realize the situation in which they find themselves. With the aid of English, it is no doubt, possible in large centres to lead an entirely modern and international life of political and social interests and amusements. But such a life, divorced from the total milieu and dependent upon stimulus from abroad, is without roots in its own soil and related to its surroundings rather by irritation than by sympathy. We must look forward beyond the period of overwhelming influx from Europe to a period of equilibrium when for further progress India will depend at least as much upon her own powers of originations as upon importation from abroad. The English language, so widely spread over the earth, will remain, no doubt, its international medium. Will it require another common language for its internal needs, and if so, has the Sanskrit still a chance? I do not feel competent to deal with this question. But there are certain obvious considerations. There might be no such common medium, or there might be a duality or plurality of such with local distribution; in that case the problem is not solved, but is postponed to a later stage. One of the living vernaculars might take over the function, a solution which, as we know, has its advocates; and this would have the undoubted advantage that the modern vernaculars have shown no reluctance to adopt from abroad such vocables as may be convenient for modern life. But in view of the great linguistic divisions of the country, if it is to be one country, it may be worth while, at the risk of appearing to flog a dead horse, to ask whether the Sanskrit, perhaps in a further

simplified form, may not again rise to the occasion. That the Sanskrit can be adapted to the expression of all modern contents may be said to have been demonstrated a century ago by the pioneer experiments of Dr. Ballantyne and his colleagues in Benares. Lately, I have enjoyed a perusal of a little work in Sanskrit by a distinguished Ācārya, giving an account of his pilgrimage to the Badarikāśrama. The author had no difficulty in communicating through the Sanskrit, with no great apparatus of syntax, all the incidents of the journey, by rail, etc., and all features of the places visited which he desired to record. One awkwardness of employment of Sanskrit is apparent; in order to represent the words 'railway train' and 'station', the author is obliged to employ with great frequency, the cumbrous expressions '*bāṣpaśakaṭaprabandha*', 'steam carriage arrangement' and *bāṣpaśakaṭaprabandhāvasthitisthāna* 'stopping place of steam carriage arrangement'; the English word 'mile' has to be represented by *ardhakrośa* 'half-koss', and so forth. We see here the disadvantage of the employment of a classical language, which, being without the means of establishing new *rūḍhi* meanings of simple terms, is obliged to represent new objects by paraphrasing or descriptive translation. I do not regard this difficulty as fatal, because with use the requisite *rūḍhi* curtailments might result; for instance the *bāṣpaśakaṭa* might become the *bāṣpin*, and also the Sanskrit should be allowed the freedom of appropriating *rūḍhi* terms which have established themselves in the actual vernaculars or even of borrowing them direct from foreign speech, as it often necessarily does in the case of titles and proper names. A second difficulty resides in the pronunciation of Sanskrit, which, as we know, differs widely in different parts of India. This might be not very serious as regards written communications; and even in regard to word of mouth it might not be unreasonable to ask the different peoples to surrender any deviations from the correct old pronunciation of Sanskrit established upon the unshakable authority of the early works on phonetics.

One advantage of Sanskrit in comparison with any vernacular is that in very many cases it is already known in the vernaculars, both Āryan and Drāviḍan, as the single original form of competing vernacular derivatives. The *necessary* amount of syntax need not be greater in the case of Sanskrit than of a vernacular. Outside of India the Sanskrit would carry with it a convenience by facilitating a solidarity with those countries whose religious literature has a Sanskrit basis, an area which, as we have seen, comprises a great part of central and eastern Asia.

I therefore do not feel that the idea of Sanskrit resuming its place as a common literary medium for India is a hopelessly lost cause, since the alternative are either that there should be no such medium (other than the English which, it should be remembered, is in regard to many necessary Indian notions itself without resource) or the dominance, despite unavoidable reluctances, of some particular vernacular.

NIRṆAYAKAUSTHUBHA

OR

LAGHUNIRṆAYAKAUSTUBHA

OF

VIŚVEŚVARABHATTA

Its dates and Contents.

HAR DUTT SHARMA, M. A., Ph. D.

The importance of fixing approximate dates, etc., for performing various religious ceremonies and duties has been recognised by the Hindu Society from time immemorial. Innumerable references and remarks about *Kāla* lie scattered in the vast literatures of Astronomy, *Purāṇa* and *Smṛti*. But it is the *nibandha*—writers who devoted special treatises to this subject. Amongst the available treatises the earliest is *Kālaviveka* of JĪmūtavāhana who flourished in Bengal about the 11th century A. D. Prof. P. V. Kane has pointed out (*Hist. Dh.* I, p. 319) that JĪmūtavāhana names seven predecessors who dealt with the subject of *Kāla* cf.

"जितेन्द्रिय-शङ्खधरान्धूक-संभ्रम-हरिवंश-धवल-योग्लोकैः ।
कृतमपि कालनिरूपणमधुना निःसारतां याति" ॥

(Kalaviveka p. 8.)

After JĪmūtavāhana, the subject received exhaustive treatment at the hands of many *nibandha*-writers. From the 11th century down to the middle of the 18th century several works have been written on this subject.

The object of this article is to present a work which probably is the last work. There is only one manuscript so far known of this work and that is deposited in the

Government collection of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona. Following is a short description :

No. 350 of 1875-76 ; size 88/3 inch by 4 inch ; Extent : - 45 leaves ; 9 lines to a page ; 27 letters to a line, Country paper ; Devanāgarī characters; handwriting legible; benedictory phrase, topics and the colophon are tinged with red pigment ; corrections made with yellow pigment; paper old and musty.

Begins—

"श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

प्रणम्य जानकीजानिं महाशब्दोपनामकः ।
विश्वेश्वरः सुबालानामबोधार्थमादरात् ॥ १ ॥
हेमाद्रिमाधवौ वीक्ष्य मयूखं कौस्तुभं तथा ।
यत्नान्निर्णयसिन्धुं च मदनं निर्णयामृतम् ॥ २ ॥
कल्पद्रुमं च तिथ्यर्कं कालतत्त्वविवेचनम् ।
फक्किकाभिर्वितनुते लघुनिर्णयकौस्तुभम्" ॥ ३ ॥

etc.

Ends—

"अथ पुण्यतिथयः—

अमावास्या तु सोमेन सप्तमी भानुना तथा ।
चतुर्थी भानुपुत्रेण अष्टमी बुधसंयुता ॥
चतस्रस्तिथयः पुण्याः सूर्यग्रहणसन्निभाः ।
स्नानं दानं तथा श्राद्धं तत्सर्वं चाक्षयं भवेत् ॥
तुलामकरमेषेषु प्रातःस्नानं सदा भवेत् ॥

इति कार्तिकमाघवैशाखस्नानानि । तानि मलमासादौ गुर्वस्तादावपि कार्याणि । यदा वैशाखादौ मलमासपातस्तदा मासद्वयं स्नानदानादि ।

इति पौण्डरीकयाजिविश्वेश्वरविरचितं निर्णयकौस्तुभं समाप्तम् । संवत् १८६३ फाल्गुनशुक्लभृगौ लिपिकृतं श्रीनन्देन शुभम्" ॥

Like other works on the suoject, the *Nirṇayakaustubha* starts with the discussion of the nature of *tithi* and the divisions of the day. Then the anniversaries of the ten avatāras is fixed. Next follow the important festivals like

Rāmanavamī Dolotsava, *Madanotsava* occuring in different months. Then comes the fixing of *grahaṇa* (eclipses) followed by a discussion about the *saṅkrānti*. The description of *puṇya-tithi* brings the work to a close.

Apart from its intrinsic merit, the importance of the work lies in the fact that it names about 38 authorities. The author, before finally giving his own opinion on any point, enters into a discussion and gives the views of other writers on the subject. Some of the writers are quoted as many as 24 times. These names are very helpful in determining the age of our author and in bringing together at one place the writers on the subject of *Kāla*. I have depended upon Prof. Kane in giving the dates of the writers or works against their names. Figures in brackets indicate the number of times a work or an author is quoted in the *Nirṇaya-kaustubha*.

1. Anantabhaṭṭa (1) Several people of that name
2. Aparārka (1) Commentator on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* about 1115-30 A. D.
3. Acāryacūḍāmaṇi or Smārtācāryacūḍāmaṇi or Smārta (2) Raghunandanabhaṭṭācārya, 1490-1570 A. D.
4. Āśvalāyana (1)
5. Kātyāyana (1)
6. *Kālatattvavivecana* (9) by Raghunāthabhaṭṭa, 1620 A. D.
7. *Kāladarśa* (2) by Ādityabhaṭṭakavivallabha, 1200-1325.
8. *Kṛtyaratnāvalī* (10) by Rāmacandra, son of Viṭṭhala, 1648-49.
9. *Kaustubha* (20) *Smṛtikaustubha* by Anantadeva son of Āpadeva, about 1675 A. D.
10. *Govindārṇava* (1) *Smṛtisāgara* or *Dharmatattvāvaloka* by Śeṣanṛsiṁha, between 1400-1450 A. D.

11. Candrikākāra (1) Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭamaunin, son of Raghunāthabhaṭṭa, 1620 A. D.
12. *Tithyarka* (3) by Divākara, son of Mahādeva, about 1683.
13. *Tristhalīsetu* (1) by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, about 1550-60.
14. *Divodāsīya* (5) Earlier than 1500 A. D.
15. *Dīkṣita* (2) Earlier than 1100 A. D.
16. *Dīpikā* (1) *Kālanirṇaya* or *Tithinirṇaya*?
17. *Nirṇayadīpa* (2) mentioned in *Nirṇayasindhu*.
18. *Nirṇayasindhu* (23) by Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, 1612 A. D
19. *Nirṇayakṛt* (1) Same as above?
20. *Nirṇayāmṛta* (14) by Allāḍanātha, earlier than 1500 and later than 1250.
21. *Purāṇasamuccaya* (1)
22. *Pratāpamārtaṇḍa* (1) by Pratāparudra, about 1500 A. D.
23. *Prapitāmahacaraṇāḥ* or Asmatprapitāmaha-Ratnākarabhaṭṭacaraṇāḥ (4).
24. *Prayogaratna* (1) many of this name.
25. *Bhāgavata* (1).
26. *Madanapārijāta* (1) by Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, 1360-90 A. D.
27. *Madanaratna* (17) by Madanasiṁhadeva, 1300-1500 A. D.
28. *Manu* (1).
29. *Mayūkha* (16) by Nīlakaṇṭhabhaṭṭa, 1610-45.
30. *Mādhava* (21) Mādhavācāryā, 1330-60 A. D.
31. *Rāmakalpadruma* (1) by Anantabhaṭṭa, son of Kamalākara, about 1640-70.
32. *Vidhānapārijāta* (1) by Anantabhaṭṭa, son of Nāgadeva, composed at Benares in 1625.

33. *Vṛttikṛt* (1)?
34. *Vratārka* (1) by Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, son of Nīlakaṇṭha, between 1625-75.
35. *Smṛtikaustubha* (5) see No. 9 above.
36. *Smṛtyarthasāra* (1) by Śrīdharācārya?
37. *Hemādri* (24) 1260-70 A. D.
38. *Nārada* (1).

Thus we see that the *Nirṇayakaustubha* quotes a work of so late a date as 1683 A. D. Hence, he cannot be earlier than that, and Prof. Kane is wrong in putting him earlier than 1500 A. D. (*Hist. Dh.* I, p. 742). Another statement of Prof. Kane which requires revision is that on p. 573 of his *Hist. Dh.* I, he says that *Nirṇayakaustubha* is "mentioned by Raghunandana and Śaṅkara in *Saṁskārabhāskara*." In the first place, Raghunandana (= Raghunandanabhaṭṭācārya, author of *Smṛtitattva*) is very respectfully mentioned as Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi or Smārtācāryacūḍamaṇi or Smārta *twice* by *Nirṇayakaustubha*, and the work of Śaṅkara (Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, son of Nīlakaṇṭha), *viz.*, *Vratārka* is also *once* mentioned by *Nirṇayakaustubha*. Secondly there is no *Saṁskārabhāskara* composed by Śaṅkara, except that what is also called *Saṁskāramayūkha* by Nīlakaṇṭha revised by his son. And this is quoted 16 times in the *Nirṇayakaustubha*.

Now we see that the only information afforded by the manuscripts about the author Viśveśvara is that he was surnamed as *Mahāśabda* (in the first verse) and *Paṇḍarīkayājin* (in the last colophon) and that he was the great grandson of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa. We know of one Viśveśvara of the Śāṇḍilya Gōtra, surnamed *Mahāśabda*, who was the son of Rāmeśvara, grandson of Gaṅgārāma and great grandson of Ratnākara and who composed *Pratāpārka* (based on his ancestor's *Jayasiṁha-Kalpadruma*) under the patronage of Pratāpasiṁha, grandson of Jayasiṁha of Amber. I am tempted to quote an Extract from *Pratāpārka* as given in Ulwar cat. of Peterson (Pp. 129-130, No. 328).

"स्वस्ति श्रीमनुजातिराजितमहावंशावतंसोऽखिल-
क्षोणीपालविशालसद्गुणगणैर्भूमण्डले विश्रुतः ।
आसिन्धुस्फुरदुज्ज्वलोज्ज्वलयशाः स श्रीभृतो भूभृतां
भूषा श्रीजयसिंहभूपतिपतिर्भूमण्डलाखण्डलः ॥ २ ॥
येन श्रीश्रुतिमार्गपङ्कजवनीसूर्येण धर्मादरा-
ल्लुप्तप्राय इहाखिलः श्रुतिपथः प्राकाशि धर्मावहः ।
येनाकारि तुरङ्गमेध उदिताच्छास्त्रोक्तमार्गात्पुन-
र्भूदेवामरशाखिना सुकृतिना काले कलावप्यहो ॥ ३ ॥
तस्यासीत्तनयः प्रसिद्धविनयः श्रीमाधवो माधव-
श्रीपादाब्जरतिर्धरासुरनतिर्भूमीपतिः सन्मतिः ।
यत्सौन्दर्यकला विलोक्य विकलः कामोऽपि कामं मुदा
लोकैराकलि कल्पनापटुतरैः शोभाभराच्चिर्भरम् ॥ ४ ॥
तत्सूनुर्विलसत्प्रतापमहिमा श्रीमत्प्रतापाभिधो
भूयो भूपतिभूषणाखिलगुणग्रामाभिरामोत्सवः ।
वैरिव्रातविघातको बहुकलावैदग्ध्यविद्यानिधि-
र्भूविख्यातयशाः क्षितौ विजयते युद्धोद्भटो जिष्णुवत् ॥ ५ ॥
.....
.....
.....
..... ॥ ६ ॥
श्रीशाण्डिल्यमुनेः कुले किल महाशब्दोपनामाजनि
श्रौतस्मार्तसमस्तकर्मनिपुणः श्रीदेवभट्टो महान् ।
रामाङ्घ्रिप्रवणस्ततोऽजनि सुधीः सम्राट् स रत्नाकरः
काशीस्थो बहुविश्रुतो निजकुलालङ्कारचूडामणिः ॥ ७ ॥
कृत्वा येन सतां मतेन विधिवत्सद्वाजपेयं पुन-
श्चक्रे वैदिकसत्कृतेन कृतिना श्रीपुण्डरीकः क्रतुः ।
विप्रेभ्यो विधिवत्प्रदाप्य बहुशो ग्रामान्निकामार्थदान्
कीर्तिर्येन च संविधाय विमला ब्रह्मास्पदं प्रापिता ॥ ८ ॥
स्वस्ति श्रीजयसिंहनामनृपतेर्नामाङ्कितो भूतले
ग्रन्थः पण्डितसम्मतोऽतिललितः कल्पद्रुमाख्यः कृतः ।

विद्याविश्रुतसत्कुशाग्रमतिना तत्तद्गुणाम्भोधिना
श्रीरत्नाकरशर्मणा जयति स क्षोदक्षमो धीमताम् ॥ ९ ॥
तत्सूनुः सुकृती कृती समभवद् भूदेवदेवद्रुमो
गङ्गाराम इति प्रथामधिगतः श्रीमान्महायाजकः ।
येन क्षोणिपतिप्रपूजितपदाम्भोजेन काश्यां मुदा
दत्ता ब्रह्मपुरी विधाय विधिवद् भूमीसुरेभ्योऽचिरात् ॥ १० ॥
आसीत्तत्तनुजो निजान्वयगुणावासोऽतिशान्तो महीं-
भृद्भा भूसुरमण्डनं मुनिरिव ख्यातः स रामेश्वरः ।
येनालं परकामिनीपरधनाकाङ्क्षापि नाराधिता
स्वप्नेऽपि स्फुटकीर्तिना कलयता श्रीशम्भुना तुल्यताम् ॥
जातस्तत्तनयो द्विजातिविनयो विश्वेश्वरस्सन्मतिः
स्वस्ति श्रीसुमतिप्रतापधरणीपालाज्ञया धर्मधीः ।
आदाय प्रपितामहेन रचितात्कल्पद्रुमाद्विस्तृता-
त्सारं सन्तनुते बुधोपकृतये सोऽकं प्रतापादिकम्" ॥ १२ ॥

Prof. Kane thinks that this work was composed about 1750 A. D. Now, it is quite evident that this Viśveśvara and Viśveśvara the author of *Nirṇayakaustubha* are identical. We know that *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma* was composed by Ratnākarabhaṭṭa, son of Devabhaṭṭa. The work is in 19 chapters and it was composed under the patronage of Savāī Jayasiṁha of Amber, who performed *Jyotiṣṭoma*, *Vājapeya*, *Puṇḍarīka* and *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. The date of completing *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma* is—

"शाके विक्रमपार्थिवस्य शुभदे व्योमर्षिसप्तेन्दुयुग्-
वर्षे शोभनसंज्ञके शिवतिथौ मासे नभस्याख्यके ।
कूर्मश्रीजयसिंहदेवनगरे पुण्येम्बिकेशाश्रिते
ग्रन्थः कल्पतरुः समाप्तिमगमत् सज्ज्ञानवित्तप्रदः" ॥ ५ ॥

(Peterson's cat. of Ulwar manuscripts p. 118. Extract 305).

This date works out to be Saturday the 25th of July, 1713 A. D. In his note "Aśvamedha by a Mughal Satrap" (Indian Culture, January 1937, Pp. 547-48), Mr. Jogesh Chandra Ghosh says in foot-note 3. "This research apparently refers to Jayasimha's compilation on Smṛti entitled *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma*." Mr. Ghosh is wrong, for the author or compiler is Ratnākarabhaṭṭa who was a Guru of Jayasiṁha. In *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* (which has got only one manuscript and that is No. 273 of 1884-86 in the Government manuscripts library at the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona), the author Kavi Kṛṣṇa refers to Ratnākara and other scholars at the Court of Īśvarasiṁha, son of Jayasiṁha :

"तस्याखिले पण्डितराजचक्रे मान्यो गुरुर्भ्रातृसुतोऽतिविद्वान् ।
श्रीपौण्डरीकाध्वरयाजयो (को)ऽभूच्चित्यं समीपे व्रजनाथशर्मा ॥ ७ ॥
ऋग्वेदिविप्रप्रवरावतंसो रत्नाकरो नाम गुरुर्नृपस्य ।
प्रभाकरो नाम चभूव तस्य भ्राता सदा यो मथुरैकवासी ॥ ८ ॥
तदात्मजः श्रीव्रजनाथमा (ना) मा तथापरो गोकुलनाथ उक्तः ।
तौ भ्रातरौ संविहितौ नृपस्य निरन्तरं शास्त्रकथां दधाने (नौ)" ॥ ९ ॥
(Fol. 37 *a*)

The point raised by Mr. Dines Chandra Sircar, that Jayasiṁha most probably did not celebrate any Aśvamedha (Indian Culture, Vol. III, No. 2, Pp. 376-379), has been successfully controverted by Mr. P. K. Gode in his article "Some contemporary Evidence regarding Aśvamedha sacrifice performed by Sawai Jayasingh of Amber (1699-1744 A. D.)" (Journal of Indian History, December 1936 Pp. 364-7).

It is interesting to note that references to Jayasiṁha's performing *Aśvamedha* are found at several places in works of poets or scholars who were almost his contemporaries. For instance, Vrajanātha, son of Prabhākara who was a brother of Ratnākara, says in his *Padyataraṅgiṇī* (B. O. R. 1, Manuscripts Nos. 724 and 725 of 1886-92. Composed in 1752 A. D. in honour of Mādhavasiṁha, son of Jayasiṁha).

"केनाप्यकारि नहि तेषु तुरङ्गमेधः" । (3 *b*)
"पारीक्षितोऽपि विदधे हयमेधमुच्चैः" । (4 *a*)
"वेदोदितेन विधिना हयमेधमुच्चैः" । (5 *c*)
(concluding verses).

Then Sadāśiva Śarmā, son of Gadādhara, also at Mādhavasiṁha's Court,

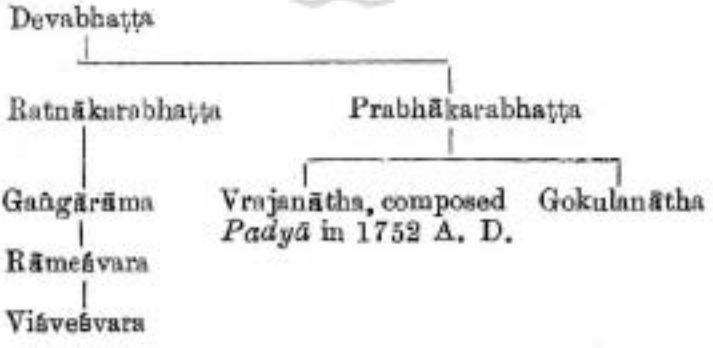
"जयति सदाशिवशर्मा मुनिजनधर्मा सुधर्माख्यः ।
माधवसिंहसुधर्मा सदसि सुधर्मः स्वधर्माख्यः" ॥ १३० ॥

(quoted from *Mādhava.*)

Siṁhāryāśataka, manuscripts No. 436 of 1887-91 by Mr. M. M. Patkar in his article "*Mādhavasiṁhāryāśataka*. A poem in praise of King Mādhavasiṁha of Jaipur by Śyāma Laṭṭu ; composed in 1755 A. D." (Poona Orientalist, Vol. I, No. 4, Pp. 34-37), composed a work on Dharmaśāstra, called *Ācārasmṛticandrikā* (Manuscript No. 236 of 1887-91 of B. O. R. I., wherein he refers to Jayasiṁha as follows :

"काशीजनपदनिलयास्तुरगमेधं सर्वमेधं च निर्माय ।
अङ्गदिनः कुण्डलिनः कङ्कणितो येन विरचिता बु(वि)बुधाः" ॥ ४॥

Now, we arrive at the following genealogy of our author Viśveśvara.



From *Mahārāstrīya Jñānakośa*, Vol. 13. P. 122, we learn that Pratāpasiṁha, died in 1803 after reigning for 15 years. So that, he reigned from 1788-1803 Therefore Viśveśvara must have composed his Pratāpārka *after 1788 A. D. Nirṇayakaustubha* also must be placed somewhere near about this date

HINDU PILGRIMAGES

Of the Fifteenth Century.

BHABATOSH BHATTACHARYA, M. A., B. L.
Kāvyatīrtha

Mm. Haraprasad Shastri in his Preface to the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts, Vol. III, Smṛti,[1] has devoted some pages to the *tīrthas* or places of pilgrimage. The above Catalogue describes MSS. of the Government of India collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Though a full MS. of Vācaspati Miśra's *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* and a partial one of the same dealing with *Gayāprakāśa* belong to this collection and have been described by the Shastri in the body of the Catalogue, and though the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* was edited[2] critically in 1912 by the late Mm. Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha in the *Bibliotheca Indica* of the Asiatic Society, the Shastri has not given even a passing notice to the MSS. or to the printed edition of the work in his elaborate preface to the Smṛti Catalogue. The *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* is an important work in Dharmaśāstra literature for three reasons, *viz.*, (1) it is one of the few works which deal exclusively with *tīrtha*, (2) it is from the pen of the 15th century[3] jurist Vācaspati Miśra of Mithilā whose other works on Dharmaśāstra are still of paramount authority in that place and (3) the great Bengal *nibandhakāra* Raghunandana of the 16th century, who was posterior to Vācaspati Miśra by a century, having quoted from the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* a number of times, it exercised a great influence over the Bengal School of Hindu Religious Law.

Though the rites and ceremonies in Prayāga, Puruṣottama, Gaṅgā, Gayā and Vārāṇasī are the main subject-matter of the work which is divided into five corresponding

1 Published by the A. S. B., Calcutta 1925.

2 On the basis of four manuscripts, one obtained from the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the other from the Calcutta Sanskrit College, the third from a private library of Bhatpara (Bengal), and the fourth from the Benares Sanskrit College.

3 P. V. Kāne's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I. (1930), p. 405.

prakāśas or sections, yet some twenty-five other places of pilgrimage have been touched upon and the rites peculiar to them have been described. The most important of these subsidiary places of pilgrimage are Kaṇakhala, Nīlaparvata, Saptagrāma, Vindusaras, Koṇārka and Rāmeśvara. But this Rāmeśvara does not seem to be the present Rāmeśvaram in the extreme south of India near the Cape Comorin, but was probably a holy place situated at the time of the author near Koṇārka, the present Koṇārak of Orissa. Saptagrāma on the Ganges was a flourishing city in the fifteenth century, being situated near modern Triveṇī in the Hooghly district of Bengal, and it has been called *Dakṣiṇaprayāga* by our author, inasmuch as like Prayāga (modern Allahabad) it was also the confluence of three rivers, Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī. The Vindusaras was a holy tank and a plunge into it has been recommended by our author in his description of the rites of the Kṛttivāsakṣetra. So it appears to be nothing but the holy tank of that name in modern Bhubaneśvara in Orissa as is evident from the first five lines[1] of the present work on p. 176. The purport of these lines is that the great god, who puts on tiger's skin, resides in the country of Utkala (modern Orissa) and his place of residence is highly unattainable and removes all kinds of sins; this place is filled with innumerable phallic emblems and is as holy as Vārāṇasī (modern Benares), is famous as *Ekāmraka* and consists of eight holy places, including the place of pilgrimage of Vindusaras. The Koṇārka of our author is nothing but the present Koṇārak in Orissa as appears from the descriptive verses[2] of that place of pilgrimage.

1. "तथा चैवोत्कले देशे कृत्तिवासा महेश्वरः ।
सर्वपापहरं तस्य क्षेत्रं परमदुर्लभम् ॥
लिङ्गकोटीघमावृक्षं वाराणस्याः समं शुभम् ।
एकाम्रकेति विख्यातं तीर्थाष्टकसमन्वितम् ॥
तीर्थं बिन्दुसरो नाम तस्मिन् क्षेत्रे द्विजोत्तमाः ।"
2. "एतन्मया मुनिश्रेष्ठाः क्षेत्रं प्रोक्तं सुदुर्लभम् ।
कोणार्कस्यौदधेस्तीरं भुक्तिमुक्तिफलप्रदम् ॥"

Before taking up the specific description of the sacred places of pilgrimage, our author devotes some 17 pages to the *sāmānyavidhi* or general remarks. These include the author's own viewpoints regarding pilgrimages in general, their proper time and preliminaries and contain topics of transport, religious fervour and culture as they existed in Eastern India in the 15th century at the close of the Pathan regime.

Vācaspati Miśra on the authority of the *Mahābhārata* says that pilgrimages are prescribed for the poorer sections of the community, as unlike sacrifices they can be easily performed by the poor, the helpless and the single persons. But the intending pilgrim should exercise control over his hands, feet and mind and should possess knowledge, austerity and fame. The control over hands is needed for abstaining oneself from stealing, that over feet for refraining oneself from visiting forbidden countries and knowledge is required to know the merits of the respective places of pilgrimage. Austerity consists in residence and fasting in places of pilgrimage, and fame is the public renown of the pilgrim as a good man. Because it is the good men who reap the fruits of knowledge and though positive good does not accrue to the bad persons, their sins also vanish by a visit to a place of pilgrimage. An intending pilgrim should not only control his senses but should also be physically fit to withstand the rigours of the journey and the climate. Three days before his departure he should take one meal in the whole day, shave his head and fast on the next day and worship the god *Gaṇeśa* and offer oblations of ghee to the gods and manes on the next following day. He should pass the night of this third day in the next village situated within a *Krośa* (two miles) and start on his contemplated journey the next morning.

The author then quotes three verses from the *Matsyapurāṇa* to the effect that journey to a holy place, if accomplished in a conveyance, specially one drawn by bullocks, is

rendered fruitless. But our author explains the verses away by saying that the above prohibition of conveyances holds good only in the case of a pilgrimage to Prayāga. The obvious reason is that the distances of Gayā (in South Bihar), Puruṣottama (or Puri in Orissa), Gaṅgā (or the river Ganges) which flows by the southern extremity of Mithilā and Vārāṇasī (or Benares in the United Provinces) from our author's place of residence in Mithilā (North Bihar) were too considerable to be reached by walking on foot, but the way between Varāṇasī and Prayāga (modern Allahabad) did not offer such an insurmountable difficulty to the pedestrian pilgrim, as both the places are situated in the modern United Provinces at a distance of one hundred miles only.

The author then says that walking barefooted conduces to four times the religious merit accruing from the visit to a place of pilgrimage. But putting on shoes is also not condemned, as the author says on the authority of the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* that a person who wishes to protect his own self should use the umbrella in the summer and rains, the staff at night and in forest, and should always go about by wrapping his feet with shoes. The author's next remark is to the effect that a person, going to a place of pilgrimage with the financial assistance of another man, gains one-sixteenth part of the religious merit and one, primarily bound for a separate place but incidentally reaching a holy place *en route*, gets half of the merit after the performance of bathing and other religious ceremonies.

The *Tīrthcintāmaṇi* has been quoted, as stated above, by Raghunandana, once in his *Śuddhitattva*,[1] once in his

1. "तीर्थचिन्तामणौ ब्रह्मपुराणम्—

अत्र दूरे समीपे वा सप्तर्षं योजनद्वयम् ।
गङ्गायां मरणेनेह नात्र कार्या विचारणा ॥"

(P. 192 of Candīcaraṇa's edition in Bengali characters)

Malamāsatattva,[1] and thrice in his *Prāyaścittatattva* (pp. 89, 90[2] and 92[3] of Caṇḍīcaraṇa's edition in Bengali characters). The quotation in p. 89 of the *Prāyaścittatattva* is the same as that in p. 192 of the *Śuddhitattva*, mentioned above. It is found in p. 263 of the printed *Tīrthacintāmaṇi*, with the simple change of the word ब्रह्माण्डपुराण for ब्रह्मपुराणम्. The quotation in p. 203 of the *Malamāsatattva* is found in pp. 285-86 of the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi*. But the word वायव्ये instead of वायुपुराणम् is prefixed to the quotation, the third line of which is also read a bit differently[4] in the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi*. The quotation in p. 90 of the *Prāyaścittatattva* is found in p. 223 of the same work. Raghunandana adds[5] in his *Prāyaścittatattva* after this quotation, or rather these two quotations, one from the Bhārata (*i. e.*, the Mahābhārata) and another from the Bhaviṣya (*i. e.* the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa), that two separate formulas, one with the simple Ganges-water and another with the sesamum-mixed Ganges—water, have been prescribed in the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* on the authority of the above two texts.

1. "तीर्थचिन्तामणौ गयायां प्रतिप्रसवमाह वायुपुराणम् —

गयायां सर्वकालेषु पिण्डं दद्याद्विचक्षणः ।
अधिमासे जन्मदिने अस्ते च गुरुशुक्रयोः ॥
न त्यक्त्वार्कं गयाश्राद्धं सिंहस्थे च बृहस्पतौ ।"

(P. 206 of Caṇḍīcaraṇa's edition in Bengali characters)

2. "भारते —

त्रिषु लोकेषु ये केचित् प्राणिनः सर्व एव ते ।
तर्प्यमाणाः परां तृप्तिं यान्ति गङ्गाजलैः शुभैः ॥"

"भविष्ये पतितादीननिधाय —

ये नरा दुःखिताः सम्यक् सर्वे ते सकुशैस्तिलैः ।
तर्पिता जाह्नवीतोयैर्वरेण विधिना सकृत् ॥
प्रयान्ति स्वर्गलोकन्तु नात्र कार्या विचारणा ।"

3. "एतदर्द्धं तीर्थचिन्तामणौ अन्यथा पठितम्—

तथथा—

स्नात्वा तथोचीर्य च भास्करथ
दत्त्वा प्रदद्यादथ दक्षिणान्तु । इति ॥"

4. "न त्यजेत गयाश्राद्धं सिंहस्थेऽपि बृहस्पतौ"

"5. आभ्यां वचनाभ्यां तीर्थचिन्तामणौ केवलगङ्गाजलेन संतिलगङ्गाजले च वाक्यभेदो दर्शितः ।"

(P. 90 of Caṇḍīcaraṇa's edition)

The two formulas[1], referred to by Raghunandana but not quoted by him, are found in p. 224 of the printed edition of the same.

The quotation in p. 92 of the *Prāyaścittatattva* is found in p. 266 of the printed edition. This quotation refers to the different reading of a line of the *Ādipurāṇa* in the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi*, the printed edition of which contains the very reading, referred to by Raghunandana, but the word ब्रह्मपुराणे instead of आदिपुराणे is prefixed to it. It will thus be seen that the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati Miśra has been quoted by Raghunandana in his three works, *viz*, *Śuddhitattva*, *Malamāsatattva* and *Prāyaścittatattva* and not simply in the *Śuddhitattva* as stated by Kane,[2] and that it is a reliable guide to the history of the Hindu pilgrimages of the 15th century so far as Eastern India is concerned.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above paper was submitted to the Oriental Conference two years ago, I have found out two other quotations from the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* in two other works of Raghunandana, *viz.*, the *Śrāddhatattva* (Jīvananda's edn. Vol. I p. 313) and the *Udvāhatattva* (Jīvananda's edition, Vol. II, p. 135). The two quotations are really one,[3] which is the mention of the quotation of two verses from the *Vāyupurāṇa* in the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* and which is found in p. 298 of the printed edition of the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi*[4] with the name of the *Vāyupurāṇa* prefixed to it.

1. "ॐ अद्यामुकपितृतृप्तिकामो गङ्गाजलेन पितृतर्पणमहं करिष्ये ।
* ॐ अद्य नरकस्थपितृस्वर्गप्राप्ति... कामः
सतिलगङ्गाजलेन पितृतर्पणमहं करिष्ये ।"

2. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I. p. 554.

3. "श्राद्धं सपिण्डकं कुर्यात् स्वसूत्रोक्तविधानतः ।
अन्वष्टकासु वृद्धौ च गयायाञ्च सदाहनि ॥
मातुः श्राद्धं पृथक् कुर्यादन्यत्र पतिना सह ।
वृद्धिश्राद्धे च मात्रादि गयायां पितृपूर्वकम् ॥
इति तीर्थचिन्तामणिधृत-वायुपुराणोक्तेन" in *Śrāddhatattva*,
"श्राद्धं धृत-वायुपुराणवचनात्" in *Udvāhatattva*.

4. The *Tirthacintāmaṇi* reads अष्टकासु च for अन्वष्टकासु in the second line of the above quotation.

THE APAVĀRITA SPEECH IN THE SANSKRIT DRAMA

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A student of the Sanskrit drama, particularly a teacher and an editor, often finds himself puzzled as to the exact meaning and scope of the stage-direction *apavārya*. So often does the *apavārita* speech seem to invade the province of the *svagata* on the one hand and of the *janāntika* on the other, or *vice versa*, that the theoretical line of demarcation looks almost arbitrary and technical, and leaves the reader in utter confusion. To illustrate, let us compare the *svagata* speech of the Queen in *Mālavikāgnimitra* I 16/17 with the *apavārya* of *Kāñcanamālā* in *Ratnāvalī* III 9/10:-

देवी — (आत्मगतम्) मुग्धे, किं मां जाग्रतीमपि सुप्तामिव करोषि ?

काञ्चनमाला — (अपवार्य, अङ्गुल्या विदूषकं तर्जयन्ती) हताश, स्मरिष्यसीदं वचनम् ।

Both are spontaneous outbursts of threat excited by the insinuating remarks of the Parivrājikā in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the vidūṣaka in the *Ratnāvalī* against the respective speakers. They are not addressed to any characters on the stage directly ; yet Kālidāsa regards such a speech as *svagata*, while Harṣa takes it to be an *apavārya*. The anomaly is not confined to different authors : it is to be found in the works of the same author, nay, even in the same play itself. Take, for instance, the following two cases from the *Śākuntala* :—

(1) VI. 7/8 :

विदूषकः — (अपवार्य) लक्षित एष शकुन्तलाव्याधिना ।

(2) VI. 12/13 :

विदूषकः — (आत्मगतम्) गृहीतोऽनेन पन्था उन्मत्तानाम् ।

Both the remarks are made by the same character, about the same person, regarding the same situation, having the same purport and about the same time. It is not possible to justify the distinction on the ground that in the *svagata* the Vidūṣaka is serious and self-contained, while in the *apavārita* he is in a critical mood because such defence is ruled out by his own *svagata* speech just a little below in VI, 17/18.[1] The following two cases are taken from the *Mālatīmādhava* :—

(1) II, 7/8 :

मालती — (स्वगतं) राजाराधनं खलु तातस्य गुरुकं न पुनर्मालती ।

(2) II, 12/13 :

मालती — (अपवार्य) कथमुपहारीकृतास्मि राज्ञस्तातेन । राजाराधनं खलु तातस्य गुरुकं न पुनर्मालती ।

Here the two speeches express the same sentiment, in the same words of the same character, in the same sense, and yet bear different technical designations.

Confusion between the *apavārita* and the *janāntika* is no less puzzling. The following comparisons will make this clear :—

(1) Compare मृच्छकटिक V, 36/37 :

वसन्तसेना — (जनान्तिकम्) अत्र प्रविश्य किं मया भणितव्यम् ?

चेटी — द्यूतकर, अपि सुखस्ते प्रदोष इति ।

वसन्तसेना — अपि पारयिष्यामि ।

चेटी — अवसर एव पारयिष्यति ।

with मृच्छकटिक V, 38/39 :

विदूषकः — (अपवारितकेन) भो वयस्य, पृच्छामि तावत्

1. विदूषकः — (आत्मगतम्) यथाहं पश्यामि पूरयितव्यमनेन लम्बकूर्चानां तापसानां कदम्बैः ! Also VI, 13/14; विदूषकः —(आत्मगतम्) कथं बुभुक्षया बाधितव्योऽस्मि !

तत्रभवतीं किमपि?

चारुदत्तः — एवं क्रियताम्।

Both talks take place in similar situations in the presence of others. Still one is *janāntika*, the other *apavārita*.[2] In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* II, 1/2, the King expresses his impatience to see Mālavikā in *janāntika*. The Vidūṣaka's reply to beware of the Queen is in *apavārita*, but at the approach of Mālavikā the same speech to the King becomes *janāntika*.

(3) Similarly, in *Mālatīmādhava* II, 8/9, Lavaṅgikā inquires of Mālatī in *janāntika* if she should ask about the family of Mādhava. In reply, Mālatī expresses her curiosity for the same in *apavārita*.

(4) Compare *Mālavikāgnimitra* III, 19/20 :

राजा — (अपवार्य) वयस्य, का प्रतिपत्तिरत्र?

विदूषकः — किमन्यत्। जङ्घाबलमेव।

with *Vikramorvaśīya* I, 20/21 :

राजा — (जनान्तिकम्) सखे, किमत्र प्रतिविधेयम्?

विदूषकः — लोत्रेण गृहीतस्य कुम्भीरकस्य अस्ति वा प्रतिवचनम्?

Here too, the situations are similar. The heroes ask for the advice of the Vidūṣaka at the approach of Irāvatī in the former and of Auśīnarī in the latter, and yet the technical distinction.

Comparison of the following three passages from three different plays, will be interesting and enlightening on the point :

(1) *Mālavikāgnimitra* I, 16/17 :

देवी — (आत्मगतम्) सुखे, किं मां जाग्रतीमपि सुप्तामिव करोषि?

2. Cp. also मृच्छ० I, 56/57. (अपवारित) with मृच्छ० V, 38/39 (जनान्तिक)

(2) *Veṇīsaṁhāra* I, 17/18:

द्रौपदी — (सहर्षं जनान्तिकम्) नाथ, न लज्जन्त एते।
त्वमपि तावन्मा विस्मार्षीः।

(3) *Ratnāvalī* III, 9/10:

काञ्चनमाला — (अपवार्य, अङ्गुल्या विदूषकं तर्जयन्ती)
हताश, स्मरिष्यसीदं वचनम्।

In all passages here persons addressed are present on the stage but they are not directly spoken to and the speeches themselves are in all cases but emotional comments on certain remarks of the persons addressed. Still, each dramatist has thought it proper to designate his passage in his own way.

Instances could be multiplied, but even the above are enough to indicate the anomalous use of the *nāṭya-dharmas* (dramatic rules) as they are called in the Sanskrit drama.

How are we to explain this? Absence of a reliable edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata makes the work of tracing the origin and early use and distinctions of these stage-directions rather difficult. The Nirṇayasāgara edition of the text refers to them in XXV, 86—96.[3] All we can

3. आकाशवचनानीह वक्ष्याम्यात्मगतं तथा ॥ ८६ ॥
अपवारितकं चैव जनान्तिकमथापि वा!
... ॥
नानाव्यञ्जनसंयुक्तै रसभावसमुत्थितैः।
अतिहर्षमदोन्मादरागद्वेषभयार्दितः ॥ ८९ ॥
विस्मयक्रोधदुःखार्तोदेशादेकोऽपि भाषत(?)।
हृदयस्थं स वै यत्तु तदात्मा(त्म)गतमिष्यते ॥ ९० ॥
निगूढभावसंयुक्तमपवारितकेन च।
... ॥ ९१ ॥
कार्यवशादश्रवणं पार्श्वस्थैर्जनान्तिकं च स्यात्।
... ॥
हस्तमन्तरतः कृत्वा त्रिपताकं प्रयोजयेत्।
जनान्तिकं प्रयोक्तव्यमपवारितकं तथा ॥ ९६ ॥

make out from it is that *svagata* is the expression of some inward emotion, *apavārita* expresses some secret thought (*bhāva*) and *janāntika* is not intended to be heard by other characters nearby. The passage refers to the sign *tripatākākara*, but it is so worded that the sign may be understood as necessary in, both *janāntika* and *apavārita*. These distinctions hardly clear the confusion pointed out in the passages cited above. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* is not clear about the number of characters in the *janāntika* and *apavārita* speeches; the emotions and feelings it enumerates for *svagata* may be at the basis of the other two also; the *nigūḍha-bhāva* in the *apavārita* and the *kāryavaśād aśravaṇa* in the *janāntika* are likely to overlap each other; and the distinction between the two is likely to be lost if the sign *tripatākākara* is necessary in both.

The earliest clear statement about the scope and significance of these *nāṭyadharmas* (dramatic rules) in the present state of our knowledge is to be found in the *Daśarūpaka* of *Dhanañjaya*. Those in the *Bhāvaprakāśa* of Śāradātanaya and the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha are almost verbally copied from the *Daśarūpaka*. It is not possible to say whether Dhanañjaya based his definitions of the *nāṭyadharmas* directly on those of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, or borrowed them from some other predecessors, or generalised them himself from the extant dramas and their representations in his own days. A number of writers on dramaturgy—Kohala, Mātṛgupta, Harṣa and Subandhu are found cited in later commentaries and they seem to occupy the period intervening between the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Daśarūpaka*.[4] It is probable that Dhanañjaya may have been indebted to one or more of these. Be it as it may, for our purpose it is enough to know that the known commentators and annotators of Sanskrit dramas almost always draw upon

4. *Bhāvaprakāśa*, Preface, p. 7. (G. O. S.)

either the *Daśarūpaka* or the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* for explanation of the *nāṭyadharmas*.

Dhanañjaya,[5] Śāradātanaya[6] and Viśvanātha,[7] divide the *nāṭyadharmas as* (1) to be heard by all, (2) not to be heard by all and (3) to be heard by a limited number. The first is "aloud," the second is "to self" (*svagata*), and the third is further sub-divided as *janāntikas* and *apavārya* These sub-divisions are defined by Dhanañjaya as :—

त्रिपताकाकरेणान्यानपवार्यान्तरा कथाम् ।
अन्योन्यामन्त्रणं यत्स्याज्जनान्ते तज्जनान्तिकम् ॥ १, ६५, ६६ .
रहस्यं कथ्यतेऽन्यस्य परावृत्त्यापवारितम् ॥ १, ६६ .

The important points in the definition of the *apavārita* are (1) that it is *niyatašrāvya*, (2) that it imparts a *rahasya*, (3) that this *rahasya* is imparted to another (*anyasya*) and (4) that it is to be delivered with *parāvṛtti* (turning aside). Now the first point, *niyatašrāvyatva*, is evidently meant to distinguish *apavārita* from *svagata* and *prakāśa*, for unlike them, it is meant for the ears of "some" only of the many. Now who are these "some?" Apparently, characters on the stage. But take the *apavārita* speech of the Vidūṣaka in *Mṛcchakaṭika* I,56/57 :

चारुदत्तः — मैत्रेय, गृह्यतामयमलङ्कारः ।
वसन्तसेना — अनुगृहीतास्मि । (इत्यलङ्कारमर्पयति)
मैत्रेयः — (गृहीत्वा) स्वस्ति भवत्यै ।
चारुदत्तः — धिङ् मूर्ख, न्यासः खल्वयम् ।
मैत्रेयः — (अपवार्य) यद्येवं तदा चौरैरपहृियताम् ।
चारुदत्तः — अचिरेणैव कालेन निर्यातयिष्ये ।

It is evidently not meant for the ears of the other two characters on the stage, Cārudatta and Vasantasenā. It is simply an outburst of the unsympathetic and responsibility

5. I, 64-65.
6. VI, 137 ff.
7. Pp. 219-220.

shirking Vidūṣaka, and as such as good as *aśrāvya svagata*. It also runs counter to the third condition of the *apavārita*, *viz.*, that it should be delivered to another (*anyasya*).[8] The remaining two conditions of *rahasya-kathana* and *parāvṛtti* hardly give more substantiality to the line of demarcation between *apavārita* and *svagata*, for the simple reason that in actual practice, the range of self expression is bound to overlap that of *rahasya-kathana* and some sort of *parāvṛtti*, though not stated in theory, is as much necessary in *svagata* as in *apavārita* just to distinguish it from the *prakāśa* speeches. The comparison of the *svagata* of the Devī in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the *apavārita* of Kāñcanamālā in the *Ratnāvalī*, cited above, makes this quite clear. The other alternative is to include the audience in interpreting the word *niyata* of the definition. This would justify the above outburst of the Vidūṣaka in the Mṛcchakaṭika as *apavārita*, because it would be meant for the ears of the audience, though not of Cārudatta and Vasantasenā. It thus fulfils the third condition also for the same reason. But even this explanation does not clearly mark off *apavārita* from *svagata*, for the latter has no meaning on the stage if it is not meant to express the speaker's mind to the audience. And if so, the explanation of *svagata* as *sarva-aśrāvya* becomes meaningless. Śāradātanaya seems to have realized this difficulty. He has tried to define the scopes of *sarva* and *niyata* in the definitions of the *nāṭya-dharmas*, referring the former to the audience and the latter to the actors (सर्वं सदस्या नियतो नट इत्यभिधीयते). Unfortunately, however, he has failed to realize that all *sarva-aśrāvya svagatas* justify themselves by being heard by the audience and some *niyata-śrāvya* speeches are not addressed to actors on the stage at all. His distinction between *sarva* and *niyata* is therefore purely arbitrary and unpractical. Both words should refer to one and the same class, actors or audience or both together. And on this point theory and

8. Also see *Vikramorvaśīya*, I, 9/10; II, 15/16.

practice are at variance; theory favours the restriction of these words to actors only. practice to both actors and audience, due allowance, of course, being made for *svagata*.

The two condtions of *rahasya-kathana* and *parāvṛtti* are again given to distinguish *apavārita* from *janāntika* and in this also the practice often belies the theory as is amply borne out by the comparisons of the two kinds of speeches given above. *Anyonyāmantraṇa* of *janāntika* must have some privacy about it, else it would not be kept apart from other characters on the stage. The difference between it and *rahasya-athana* is one of degree. The other distinction between *apavārita* and *janāntika*, *viz.*, that the latter is indicated by *tripatākākara* and the former by *parāvṛtti* is technical and conventional. *Parāvṛtti*, besides, is necessary to some extent in *janāntika* also. It is significant in this connection to note that Harṣa has totally banished *janāntika* from his three plays, though all abound in *apavārita* speeches.

Thus, the theory, though apparently plain, leaves loop-holes for the confusion of *apavārita* with *svagata* on the one hand, and with *janāntika* on the other.

We may now consider the use of *apavārita* in earlier Sānskrit dramas chronologically. The plays ascribed to Bhāsa have one case of *apavārita* and one of *janāntika* in *Cārudatta* III, 16/17. The Brāhmaṇī, wife of the hero, hands over her necklace to the Vidūṣaka, who is puzzled as to why it was being given to him and asks Radanikā, the maid, in *janāntika* as to what he should do in the matter. The maid has grasped the motive of her mistress and so answers the Vidūṣaka in *apavārita* that thereby the mistress wanted to relieve the anxiety of her husband regarding compensation to the courtesan. The two speeches here are *anyonyāmantraṇa* and *niyataśrāvya*, but the *apavārita* can be distinguished as having (1) *rahasya-kathana* and (2) *parāvṛtti*. The *apavārya* in the *Svapnavāsavadatta* IV 6/7 has the same characteristics.

The *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śudraka has two *apavāritas*. One, I,56/57, cited above, is a personal outburst hardly distinguishable from *svagata* and the other, V, 38/39, also cited above, is a mere consultation apart, not at all different from the immediately preceding *janāntika*. Of the nine *janāntikas* in the play, six fulfil the condition of *anyonyāmantraṇa* in the form of mutual understanding, talk or consolation ;[1] one, in addition to being an *anyonyāmantraṇa*, imparts a secret and could well have been given as *apavārita*[2] ; and the remaining two (V,38/39 & IX, 30/33) are but personal reflections, not addressed to any other character, and border on *svagata*.

It is in the dramas of Kālidāsa that we come across the different shades of the meanings of the *nāṭyadharmas*. In these, the *rahasya-kathana* of the *apavārita* appears in the form of jokular or witty comments[3] and rebuke,[4] addressed to another, and in the form of personal reflection, appreciation,[5] surprise at one's self,[6] sarcasm,[7] and dejection,[8] apparently not addressed to any one else, and hence not fulfilling the condition of *anyasya*, unless the

1. I, 34/35 ; V, 36/37 ; V. 39/40 ; VIII, 15/17 ; IX, 30/31.
2. I, 56/57 :

चेटी — (जनान्तिकम्) अरे तैलेन विना प्रदीपिकाः प्रज्वाल्यन्ते ।

विदूषकः — (जनान्तिकम्) आश्चर्यम् ! ताः खल्वस्माकं प्रदीपिका अप मानितनिर्धनकामुका इव निःस्नेहा इदानीं संवृत्ताः ।

3. मालविकाग्निमित्र, I, 21/22; II 1/2 ; III, 19/20; शाकुन्तल, II, 15/16; VI, 7/8.
4. विक्रमोर्वशीय—II, 20/21.
5. Ibid. I, 9/10 :

उर्वशी — (अपवार्य) अभिजातं खल्वस्य वचनम् । अथवा चन्द्राद-मृतमिति किमत्राश्चर्यम् ।

6. Ibid. II, 15/16 :

विदूषकः — (अपवार्य) कथं नैषा उर्वशी । तस्यास्तत्रभवत्या अभिमता सहचरी ।

7. Ibid. II, 20/21 :

विदूषकः — (अपवार्य) दुरागतामिदानीं संवृत्तम् ।

8. शाकुन्तल, V, 19/20,

शकुन्तला — (अपवार्य) आर्यस्य परिग्रह एव सन्देहः । कुत इदानीं मे दुरारोहिण्याशा । Also V, 20/21.

word be taken as referring to audience also. *Janāntika* in Kālidāsa is always an *anyonyāmantraṇa* and is found in the form of a hint, an expression of impatience, opinion, conjecture or fancy, plight, request and advice. [1]

In the *Kundamālā* of Diṅnāga, there are three cases of *apavārita* and one of *janāntika*. In one *apavārita*, VI, 14/15, Kuśa expresses his surprise at the discomposure of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa on hearing the account of the fate of the banished Sītā as sung by him. It is not addressed to any one else. In another, VI, 20/21, Sītā just asks Kuśa and Lava why they were looking so eagerly at Rāma. There is no secret as such, and may be compared with the only *janāntika*, V, 14/15, in the play in which Rāma expresses a desire to know the name of the mother of Kuśa and Lava and the Vidūṣaka volunteers to ask it. In the third *apavārita*, V, 8/9, the talk between Kuśa and Lava turns upon the secret (*rahasya*) imparted by Sītā to Lava as to how they were to behave in the presence of Rāma ; the condition of *rahasya-kathana* is literally fulfilled here.

Harṣa seems to have realized the overlapping nature of *apavārita* and *janāntika* speeches and so banished the latter altogether from his plays. Naturally, the *apavārita* in these plays often usurps the rightful place of the *janāntika*. Thus, the talks between the King and the Vidūṣaka in *Ratnāvalī* II, 10/12, II, 151/6 and III, 18/19 and between Vasubhūti and Bābhravya (IV, 13/14) in the same drama are pure mutual consultations. In other cases, the *apavārita* appears, as in Kālidāsa, in the form of bitter,

1. मालविकाग्निमित्र, I, 16/17; II, 1; II, 4/5, II. 10/12 ; III. 19/20; V, 17/18.

विक्रमोर्वशीय, I, 15/16; II, 20/21.

शाकुन्तल, I, 24/25; II, 4/5; III, 11/12; IV, 15/17; VI 31/32.

ironical comments, [18] revelation of thoughts and sentiments of others through joke, [19] realization of mistake and embarrassment and confession. [20] It also appears as self-expression of anger and vengeance [21] and appeal to inanimate objects like the moon. [22]

Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa has one *apavārita* and two *janāntikas* in his *Veṇīsaṁhāra*. The *apavārita*, II, 13/14, in which the friend of Bhānumatī expresses her dilemma regarding the query of the latter if her dream presaged any good or evil, can hardly be distinguished from *svagata* and the same may be said of the two *janāntikas*, I, 15/16 and I, 17/18 which express to herself Draupadī's appreciation of Bhīma's strictures on Yudhiṣṭhira's conciliatory attitude towards Kauravas.

The *Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta is conspicuous by the absence of both *apavārita* and *janāntika*. The only earlier dramatist, whose plays show a variety of *nāṭya-dharmas* like those of Kālidāsa, is Bhavabhūti. In his *Mālatīmādhava*, the *rahasya-kathana* of the *apavārita* to another takes the form of confidential talk (IV, 2/3) and of one not addressed to another character, that of personal sentiment of joy, satisfaction, dejection etc, (II. 12/13 ; IV, 2/4 ; VI. 7/8 ; VI, 12). In the *Uttararāmacarita*, there is but one *apavārita* (VI, 18/19) and it makes a direct and verbal mention of *rahasya*. [23] It has no *janāntika* against nine of the *Mālatīmādhava*.

The above review does not claim to be exhaustive or complete. It will yet be found sufficient to bring out the

18. रत्नावली, II, 18/19; III, 11/12.
19. नागानन्द, I, 15/16; I, 16/17; III. 5/6
20. रत्नावली; III, 13/14; IV, 18/19.
21. Ibid. III, 9/10.
22. Ibid. III, 9/10.
23. अरुन्धती — (अपवार्य सहर्षबाष्पम्) इद नाम तद्भागीरथीनिषेदितं रहस्यं कर्णामृतम् !

salient features of the *apavārita* speech in the plays of the earlier dramatists. From it, it becomes clear (1) that an *apavārita* need not always be addressed to some other character on the stage, and when so, it takes the form of an expression of personal feeling or comment ; (2) that the feelings which prompt such *apavārita* expressions are the same as given by the *Nāṭyāśāstra* [24] and found in the dramas to be at the basis of *svagata* and sometimes prompt the *janāntika* also ; (3) that the range of *rahasya-kathana* varies from the literal mention of *rahasya* to the simple expression of one's mind ; (4) that this *rahasya-kathana* sometimes invades the province of *anyonyāmanatraṇa* and *vice versa* ; and (5) that the use of the *nāṭyadharmas* by different dramatists, and by the same dramatist at different times, shows absence of unanimity.

Next we may consider the omissions of stage-directions and the variant readings for the *nāṭyadharma* in the MSS. and printed editions of Sanskrit dramas. The former [25] may be taken as slips of the authors or the copyists, but the same cannot be said of the latter. [26] They only tell the same tale of uncertainty, the copyists and the editors felt about the exact scope and meaning of the *nāṭyadharmas*.

In this state of the indefiniteness of theory and practice, what is the student to do ? For the lay reader, the distinctions of the theory are quite simple and plain ; the commentator and the editor think, even when not convinced, that their duty is over, when they cite the authority of Dhanañjaya or Viśvanātha ; and the teacher may satisfy himself, and often rightly, by ascribing the discrepancies to

24. See f. n. 3 above.

25. E. G. *Mṛcchakaṭika* V, 38/39 where the talk between the Ceṭī and Vasantasenā should have been given as *janāntika*.

26. See ऋ. व. I, 9/10, where Urvaśī's speech is given as *apavārita* by some and as *ātmagata* by other Mss., Paṇḍit accepts the former, Principal Karmarkar, the latter. The same is true of *Śak*, V, 20/21. Also see *Mālatīmādhava* II, 8/9 ; IV, 7/8 ; X, 23/24.

the dramatist's will (*vivakṣā*). But a critical student cannot rest content with that. He has first to think of the great dramatists like Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti who are most scrupulous and careful in interpreting life and experience and show instinctive perception of stage propriety. He has again to consider that the Sanskrit drama, like all other dramas, in so far as it reflected life, real or ideal, through dialogue, must naturally have based its *nāṭyadharmas* on direct observation and appropriateness of the physical and mental changes in the participants of ordinary talk. The *nāṭyadharmas*, Aloud, To self and Aside, are common to dramas in all languages. It is only in the Sanskrit drama, however, that the last one is further distinguished as *apavārita* and *janāntika*. Whatever its fate in the hands of lesser play-wrights, the distinction must have, in the hands of a genius, served as a useful factor of his art; else it would have been chucked off. Where then are we to find its justification?

The justification, it appears to me, is to be found in the difference the *nāṭyadharmas* will make in acting and stage-effect. We have, of course, to make allowance for personal factor here also, as in other artistic judgments, at least in case of great dramatists; that is, we have to accept their own judgment as to whether a particular speech will appeal more as *savagata*, or as *apavārya*, or as *janāntika*. But in a general way, the consideration of stage-effect gives us a fairly sound test to adjudge a speech when we are confronted with variant readings or a doubt. Let us attempt to distinguish *apavārita* from the other two speeches on this principle.

As already seen, the confusion between *apavārita* and *svagata* is due to the fact that the *rahasya-kathana* of the former is found in practice to be nothing but the expression of sentiments which inspire the latter. The theory's

distinctions of the *aśrāvyatva* of the one and *niyata-śrāvyatva* and *parāvṛttitva* of the other are of little or no avail in removing the confusion. But it can be avoided if we take the stage into consideration. In a *svagata* speech, the dramatic character has no intention of taking anyone else into confidence; in an *apavārita*, on the other hand, when it is not addressed to another, such an intention is invariably present. In a *svagata* the audience is interested because of their natural human sympathy with the sentiments of the speaker; in an *apavārita*, the speaker deliberately wants the audience to hear his comment, to get interested in it, to think and feel with him. While the speaker of a *svagata* therefore would avoid looking at the audience, that of an *apavārita* would come towards the audience and give out his mind with appropriate gestures and facial expression. The one thinks and feels by himself; the other thinks and feels, becomes critical and witty at the cost of others, and laughs, appreciates and grieves with the audience. It is thus in the performance, that the two speeches justify their distinctive designations.

Coming to *apavārita* and *janāntika*, we may accept the technical sign of *tripatākākara* of the theory as helpful in avoiding confusion between the two on the stage, but it cannot guide us in determining the essential difference between them. Two grounds of difference are supplied by the unanimous usage of the dramatists. One is to regard all *niyata-śrāvya* speeches which make a verbal reference to *rahasya* as *apavārita*. The other is that a *janāntika* speech is always addressed to some other character, though this other character may not say anything in reply as in many cases of the *Mālatīmādhava*, or may not be directly present as in some cases of the *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, or may be inanimate as in *Ratnāvalī*, III, 9/10. In an *apavārita*, on the other hand the other character is not indispensable. For the real distinction, however, we have to take into account the stage-appeal here also. In this connection, the passages in which

apavārita comes between two *janāntikas*, or immediately follows or precedes a *janāntika* and forms part of the same talk, may be found enlightening. Admitting with the dramatists the distinction between the two, the *apavārita* in these cases has to be distinguished in acting by the modulation of tone. The actor gets himself nearer to his stage-companion, lowers his tone, puts on significant expression and with a twinkle or dejection in his eyes as befits the occasion delivers his say in a loud whisper. In *janāntika* again there can be no intention of concealing the fact that two (or more) of the many characters on the stage are talking apart ; *in apavārita* care is invariably taken to see that they are not overheard. Here too, therefore, the test of a speech being a real *apavārita* in cases of doubt is whether in actual performance its appeal lies in deliberate modulation of tone and effort to concealment or not.

Interpreting the theory in this light, we may say that the *apavārita* speech differs from the *svagata*, because, unlike the latter, it makes a deliberate attempt to enlist the sympathy of the audience and becomes, to that extent, a telling (*kathana*) of the private opinion (*rahasya*) to another (*anyasya*) ; and that it differs from the *janāntika*, because, unlike *janāntika*, it makes a deliberate attempt to avoid over-hearing or conceal the talk from other characters on the stage and becomes in that sense a *rahasya-kathana*.

AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF THE MṚCCHAKAṬIKA.

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From the prologue to the Mṛcchakaṭika, we learn that the play is attributed to a regal author, a thing which is not of uncommon occurrence in Sanskrit literature. Cf. *Ratnāvali*, *Priyadarśikā* attributed to ŚrĪ Harṣa. The point whether Śūdraka the king was the patron or the poet, is immaterial to the chronology of the play. The prelude to the play refers to Śūdraka in terms of the remote past tense and describes him as well-versed in the Vedic lore, mathematics etc., art of taming elephants. His sight was restored through the favour of Śiva. He had performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice and finally consigned himself to fire.....

"द्विरदेन्द्रगतिर्बकोरनेत्रः परिपूर्णेन्दुमुखः सुविग्रहश्च ।
द्विजमुख्यतमः कविर्बभूव ग्रथितः शूद्रक इत्यगाधसत्त्वः॥
ऋग्वेदं सामवेदं गणितमथ कलां वैशिकीं हस्तिशिक्षां
शास्त्रा[ज्ञ]र्चैप्रसादाद्द्वयपगततिमिरे चक्षुषी चोपलभ्य ।
राजानं बधिर्य पुत्रं परमसमुदयेनाश्वमेधेन चेष्ट्वा
लब्ध्वा चायुः शताब्दं दशदिनसहितं शूद्रकोऽग्निं प्रविष्टः ॥
समरव्यसनी प्रमादशून्यः ककुदो वेदविदां तपोधनश्च ।
पदचारणबाहुयुद्धलुब्धः क्षितिपालः किल शूद्रको बभूव ॥"

No country or dynasty of the author is mentioned. The prologue, no doubt , is a later addition, but it cannot be dismissed as unreliable on that score alone, as the writer might have based his statements on certain traditions current at his time. Vāmana (8th Century) in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti* mentions Śūdraka and cites "यासां बलिः" etc., (1·9) and "धूर्तं हि नाम पुरुषस्य" etc., from the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. So the prologue may be trusted as to the authorship of the play. Further reason for associating Śūdraka with the *Mṛcch.*, is the consistency with which all Manuscripts unanimously

ascribe the work to Śūdraka. Traditions about the authorship of a work are generally reliable. Thus the testimony of the prologue may be taken without challenge with regard to two statements *Viz* : that Śūdraka or some one on his behalf was the author, thus the work was a product of Śūdraka's reign ; and that, Śūdraka was a king.

In order to ascertain the identity of Śūdraka we must look for all the available references to a king Śūdraka in old Sanskrit works. There are to be found about two dozen Śūdrakas in mythology, literature and history, and some oriental scholars identify Śūdraka with kings of different names. I have added some comments after referring to the original works.

Dr. Sylvain Lévi in his "Le Théatre Indien" refers to the following works mentioning King Śūdraka :

1. In the *Kādambarī* he is said to have ruled over Vidiśā ;

2. Over Śobhāvatī that is the Karṇaṭak or Kaliṅga in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. This mentions Dīnāra and hence this Śūdraka is later than the first or second Century A. D.

3. Over Vardhamāna in the fourth *Vetālakathā* as given in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*.

4. A legend which is found in several places (*Kathā SS*, 78, *Vetāla*, 4 and *Hitopadeśa*, 3) represents him as saved from an imminent death by a Brahmin who gave his own life in order to assure to the king a life of 100 years.

5. *Harṣacarita* briefly recalls the dexterous means which he made use of in order to make Candraketu, the prince of Cakora, his enemy, disappear.

6. *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (III. 343) of Kalhaṇa mentions him as a type of firmness and predecessor of Vikramāditya ; a figure to be set beside the latter. He is mentioned in connection with Pravarasena of Kashmere. Mr. Mehendale places this Śūdraka in about 500-600 A. D., and assigns the *Mṛcch.*, to him.

7. *Daśakumāracarita* alludes to the adventures of Śūdraka in successive existences.

8. The Purāṇas also know his name. A passage from the Kumārikākhaṇḍa of the *Skanda Purāṇa* makes him reign before Nandas in the year of Kali 3290 (189 A. D.) 710 years before Vikramāditya. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* gives the name of the first Āndhra king as Vṛṣala, Śūdra, and perhaps he was commonly known as Śūdraka. The name Śimuka is variously given as Sindhuka, Śiśuka or Śipraka. So perhaps the exact form of the name was not settled, and the name seems to take its origin from Śūdraka, the great Śūdra king. But the date of the *Skanda Purāṇa* (189 A. D.) does not agree with that assigned to the Āndhras by history, *viz* : 3rd Century B. C. The discrepancy can be explained on the ground that the compilers of the Purāṇas, who date from 4th century A. D., were giving only traditional dates and accounts from memory. Mr. C. V. Vaidya, however, on the same calculation gives the date as 396 B. C. This Śūdraka according to Mr. Vaidya, 'may still be the author of the *Mṛcch.*, which lays its plot at a time when Buddhist nuns were still unpopular, say about a 100 years after Buddha'. As nothing is known about this Śūdraka, we cannot say whether he may be the same as the founder of the Āndhras. It is not impossible, as the Āndhras are much earlier than they are commonly supposed to be.

9. A king Śūdraka is mentioned in Rājaśekhara's verse,

"हौ शूद्रककथाकारौ सम्यौ रामिलसौमिलौ ।
काव्यं यद्योर्ह्युरारावीद्धनारीनरोपमम् ॥"

from which it appears that Rāmila and Saumila were his contemporaries, and that they had jointly composed a legend of Śūdraka. Thus from this period, according to Dr. Lévi, the personage of Śūdraka had no reality and belonged entirely to the fable. It is possible that this Saumila is the Saumillaka mentioned by Kālidāsa.

Further references to Śūdraka as given by Mr. Mehendale in the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* are :

10 Kṣīrasvāmī in *Amarakośaṭīkā* (II. 2) while enumerating the sovereigns mentions Śūdraka along with Vikramāditya :

..... "विक्रमादित्यः साहसाङ्कः शकान्तकः ।
शूद्रकस्त्वग्निमित्रो वा हालः स्याच्छालिवाहनः ॥"

11. In a commentary on Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* occurs the following :—"श्लोकेऽपि राजपुरुष इत्युक्ते कस्य राज्ञः शूद्रकस्येति प्रश्नोत्तरयो राजपदार्थप्रविभागः" etc.

12. In a commentary on Daṇḍi's *Kāvyādarśa* named *Hṛdayaṅgamā* a Śūdraka is spoken of as "सदाश्रयम्—दर्पशूद्रको-दवनादिसत्पुरुषसमाश्रयम्".

13. Abdul Fazal in his Aine Akabari mentions a Bengali Khatri king name Śūdraka who reigned for 93 years. But this statement has been rejected by Mr. Mehendale as unhistorical.

14. Vāmana in his *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti* while dealing with Śleṣālaṅkāra says : "शूद्रकादिरचितेषु प्रबन्धेष्वस्यं भूयान् प्रपञ्चो दृश्यते". And Vāmana quotes two passages from the *Mṛcch*, one of which agrees more with the *Cārudatta*. No information is given about this Śūdraka.

15. Kulaśekhara in the prologue to his *Tāpatīsaṁvaraṇa* refers respectfully to Śūdraka as an ancient dramatist, 'शूद्रककालिदास प्रभृतीनाम्",—possibly hinting thereby that, Śūdraka was prior in date to Kālidāsa.

16. In the *Caturbhāṇī* published from Patna there appears a Bhāṇa by Śūdraka which is named *Padmaprābhṛtaka*. M. R. Kavi in his introduction to that book states the writer to be identical with the author of the *Mṛcch*. The editor further takes Śūdraka to be Vikramāditya, the originator of the Vikrama era.

17. In the *Avantisundarai Kathā* and the *Avantisundarikathāsāra* of Daṇḍin edited from Madras by the same scholar there occurs the name of Śūdraka in the introductory stanzas in glorification of poets. The mention of poets, according to the editor, appears to follow some strict chronological order. Subandhu comes first, next Guṇāḍhya and Mūladeva, and then Śūdraka. The editor takes Śūdraka to be the king of Ujjain and a great poet. *Avantisundarīkathāsāra* gives some information about him.

"शूद्र केनासकृज्जित्वा स्वच्छया खड्गधारया ।
जगद् भूयोऽभ्यवष्टभ्यं याचा स्वचरितार्थया ॥"

The *Mṛcch.* is taken to be an autobiographical work and a revised version of the *Cārudatta* by the same author. Thus it contains some incidents from the life of Śūdraka, Viz: Āryaka is the poet himself and Cārudatta refers to his friend Bandhudatta who helped him in his difficulties. Svāmī whom Śūdraka is said to have defeated, ruled about 56 B. C.

18. Dr. Keith mentions a very late tradition in the *Vīracarita* and the younger Rājaśekhara which brings Śūdraka into connection with Sātavāhana or Śālivāhana, whose minister he was and from whom he obtained half his kingdom including Pratiṣṭhāna.

19. Hiranand Sastri mentions a South Indian tradition taking Śūdraka to be a Raja Komaṭi; but it does not appear to him to be very trustworthy.

20. Mr. Sankara takes Śūdraka to be Bhāsa and ascribes to him the authorship of the *Svapnavāsavadatta, Pratijñā, Abhiṣeka, Pañcarātra, Dūtavākya, Bālacarita, Avimāraka, Padmaprābhṛtaka* and *Mṛcchakaṭika*. If Bhāsa be the author of all these works, it is not clear why only the *Mṛcch.* and *Padmaprābhṛtaka* should be assigned to Śūdraka, and the other works should remain anonymous.

21. Sten Konow and Ketkar identify Śūdraka with an Ābhīra king Śivadatta, but that does not appear to be sound. Dr. Konow's theory is based on the fact that Āryaka, the son of a herdsman (Gopāla) is described in the *Mṛcch.* to have deposed Pālaka and Ābhīra also means a herdsman.

22. Similarly some scholars identify the author with Rudradāman of Kṣatrapa dynasty (130 A. D.) on the strength of खत्रो राजा (Mṛcch. VIII. 34)

23. Pischel first ascribed the *Mṛcch.* to Daṇḍin (and then to Bhāsa). No one followed Pischel expect Macdonell, and Peterson has rightly criticised Pischel's views.

24. Dr. Keith rejects as 'far fetched' Lévi's suggestion that the real author passed off the work to Śūdraka to give it a look of antiquity. But his reasons for calling Śūdraka 'mythical' are not convincing. Some of the statements in the prologue to which the learned Doctor takes objection, are clearly exaggerations and interpolations. But all the same the authorship of Śūdraka stands established.

25. Mr. Soman in his learned introduction to the Marathi translation of Bhāsa's plays has taken great pains to show that Śūdraka, the author of the *Mṛcch.* was Kṣudraka, the son of Prasenajit of Kosala (5th Century B. C.); but such an antiquity for the play is highly improbable, as in that case, a very small margin remains between the *Cārudatta* and the *Mṛcch.*, and as we have elsewhere shown at some length, the essential differences in the two plays speak of a period of at least two centuries between them.

26. Dr. V. G. Paranjape after a detailed consideration of the available data, has come to the conclusion that Śimuka or Śūdraka, is the author of the *Mṛcch.*, who was the founder of the Andhrabhṛtya dynasty, placing him in 73 B. C. Following other scholars, we would like to place Śūdraka Andhrabhṛtya at least in 3rd century B. C. That he was a

Southerner entitles him more to be the author of a drama, which seems to have come from the South as the different Prākṛts and other references would show.

Turning to the description of the author in the prologue once more, we find that Śūdraka the author of the *Mṛcch.* was:

"द्विजमुख्यतमः best amongst the twice-born". The commentators take this to mean क्षत्रियोत्तमः. It may also mean a Brāhmaṇa, and Dr. Charpentier infers from this that he may have been a Peshava to some king.

He lived long—ten days over 100 years, and entered fire after this.

He enthroned his son before his death.

He had performed an Aśvamedha.

He was a great poet.

He recovered his eye-sight through the favour of Śiva, *i. e.*, he was a Śaivite.

He knew all the Vedas, Mathematics, Astrology, fine arts, etc.

He was rich in penances, well versed in warfare etc.

Now applying these tests to the 26 Śūdrakas enumerated above we find that about most of these persons we know practically nothing more than their names. Śūdraka Vikramāditya mentioned by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Kṣudraka mentioned by Soman, and Śimuka mentioned by Paranjape seem to be historical persons. As regards the first, in none of the legends of Vikramāditya is he credited with the authorship of the *Mṛcch.*; with regard to Kṣudraka we have already indicated that internal evidence is against so early a date for the *Mṛcch.* So there remains only one claimant for the authorship of the *Mṛcch.* and we shall see whether the description in the prologue applies to this king.

There is a difference of opinion as to the caste of the Andhras or Sātavāhanas, some scholars calling them Śūdras and others Brāhmaṇas. Epigraphic evidence seems to point to their being Brāhmaṇas and the expression "द्विजमुख्यतम :" in the prologue, I take to mean "Best among the Brāhmaṇas" The history of the Sātavāhanas (which is the family name known in the inscriptions), who are known by their tribal name Āndhras or Āndhrabhṛtyas in the Purāṇas, is shrouded in mystery and various conflicting opinions are current as to the dates and events of their period. I am inclined to look upon the Āndhras as being originally from Mahārāṣṭra, and the dynasty arose shortly after the Mauryas. The kings performed various sacrifices including the Aśvamedha, and were great patrons of learning. As to the successor of Āndhra Śūdraka, as also about his long life, losing and regaining eye-sight, etc., we do not definitely know anything. We may however state, that nothing can be shown about this Śudraka that goes against the particulars in the prologue. It may be contended that Śimuka could have got no time to compose dramas, as he was engaged in wars ; but most probably the *Mṛcch.* is the work of some Court-poet of Śūdraka, perhaps Rāmila or Saumila or both. As the times were not peaceful, the poets took a ready made drama to work upon. They found some political revolution, contemporary or earlier, and made additions to the original that would appeal to the gallery. This supposition, as indicated earlier, explains to some extent the Southern influence shown by the *Mṛcch.*, as also the silence of Kālidāsa about Śūdraka, though the latter preceded him; since the Āndhras were Southerners ; and Kālidāsa being proximate in time may be taken to have known, that the *Mṛcch.* was not an independent work, nor was it the composition of Śūdraka ; and hence he paid tribute to Saumila or Kaviputra Saumila while mentioning his forerunners in the field.

Thus Āndhra Śūdraka (3rd Century B. C.) seems to be the author of the *Mṛcch.*

As for the date of the *Mṛcch.*, Bhāsa's *Cārudatta* is the earlier limit. In spite of some dissenting voices, it seems now fairly established that the *Mṛcch.* is later than the *Cārudatta* and I have elsewhere dealt with the problem, where I have shown the authenticity and authorship of the thirteen Trivandrum plays, and placed Bhāsa in the Mauryan epoch. Coming to the later limits, Śūdraka is first referred to by Vāmana (8th Century). As regards the relation of the *Mṛcch.* to Kālidāsa, most European scholars admit the priority of the *Mṛcch.*, and we have indicated why Kālidāsa is silent as to Śūdraka. The Prākṛt as used in the *Mṛcch.* is, further, earlier than Kālidāsa though strictly speaking arguments based on Prākṛt are not conclusive. The evidence brought for dating the *Mṛcch.* in the post-Christian era is not of a conclusive character, nor are the arguments ex-silentia, which are explicable the other way.

Thus the *Mṛcch.* is the work of Śūdraka, belonging to the third Century B. C.

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PROBLEMS AND PASSAGES IN THE *CĀRUDATTA*.

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Of the Trivandrum Collection of plays edited by the late Mm. T. Ganapati Sastri and attributed to Bhāsa, two plays stand out as preeminently the best—the *Svapnavāsavadatta* and the *Cārudatta*. The fame of the *Sv.* is quite well known. *Rājaśekhara* proclaimed it as the best of Bhāsa's work and many other critics before and after him have quoted it with approval. But the fate of the *C.* has been quite different. Apart from a few possible references to it by the rhetoricians it is comparatively neglected. The reason is not far to seek. King Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika*, though undoubtedly based on our own play, effectively usurped its place — although such a fate was quite unmerited. But this play, the *C.* is of the utmost importance to us in fixing the date of the author of the Trivandrum plays. Naturally therefore with this end in view it has been studied by scholars like Belvalkar,[1] Sukthankar,[2] and Morgenstierne,[3] among others comparing with the *Mṛcch.* in its various aspects. From their researches it follow should that the *C.* is the original, or is at least derived from the original on which Śūdraka based his work—improving upon it by adding a few touches here and there, removing the inconsistencies and improbabilities, elaborating what was merely suggested and adding on his own account, and in the end producing a work which has more elegance and polish even if it has become too long and less dramatic. The style of the *C.* is simple throughout, even rugged in places, the poetic embellishments though quite original are few and far between; but the action itself is intensely dramatic. Whereas the style of the *Mṛcch.* is ornate and elaborate revelling in long descriptions, the action

1. IOC. Poona, Vol. II. pp 189 ff.
2. JAOS. 42. pp. 59 ff.
3. *Uberdas Verhaltnis Zwischen Carudatta and Mrcchakatika.*

quite often clogged by sententious epigram or meandering through slowly and in lyrical majesty as in the later plays. There can be little doubt that the *C.* is the prototype of the *Mṛcch.* For otherwise it is impossible to explain why any dramatist should have omitted or changed for the worse some of the most beautiful stanzas, consistently chosen the crude for the elegant, hunted out old Prākṛt forms and to crown it all introduced an astronomical impossibility ; and in spite of all this should have contrived to appear as the greater dramatist. On the other hand, what we do find is something quite different. For, almost everything in the *Mṛcch.* is already there in the germ in the *C.* Our author, whom we might conveniently call Bhāsa has merely thrown out suggestions which Śūdraka has elaborated. He is the real creator of all the characters. The soul of the *Mṛcch.* we already find in the *C.* Only Śūdraka has clothed it in a more charming and luxurious vesture. The melancholy Cārudatta, the passionate and generous-hearted courtesan, the faithful Maitreya, and the dare-devil Sajjalaka, the upstart villain Śakāra, ignorant and ill-bred, conceited and cowardly they are all there—the least of them drawn with sympathy and by a master's hand. Now what applies to the characters applies equally well to the plot. To say this is not to underestimate Śūdraka's genius, but only to render to Bhāsa what has long been his due. The play therefore claims now our best attention.

As a necessary preliminary to it, I propose to discuss below some of the difficult passages occurring in the text and the problems arising out of them. Some work has been done in this direction already by Ganapati Sastri himself in his commentary. Then there is the admirable translation of the play by Prof. Woolner and Sarup. Dr. E. H. Johnston in his "Random Notes" on their work (IA. 1933) has discussed a few 'cruces'. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja has tried to explain some words as of Malayāḷam origin and otherwise suspects Malayāḷam influence in the play (JOR. Madras, 1927). Nevertheless the text presents a number of difficulties

some of which in my opinion are either left unnoticed or are not satisfactorily explained by them. I have therefore selected some of the difficult passages—large and small, from whole stanzas to single words—and I propose to deal with them in the order in which they occur in the play.

In the explanation of certain passages I have now and then sought the help of the *Mṛcch.* by considering the way in which Śūdraka has utilised his material. This often gives us a clue. For, though we are not bound to swear by Śūdraka's interpretation, we cannot escape the fact that at least for Śūdraka, who was not much separated from Bhāsa in point of time, certain passages held a definite meaning. He had, we may expect, witnessed the play enacted, knew what the words were meant to convey, and by studying the effect on the audience emphasised in his own adaptation those aspects which appealed to them most, rather than others, along with those of course which caught his own imagination. He is thus like an ancient commentator for us on the *C.* It would be unwise to rule out altogether the views of such a poet and dramatist. When facts are not against him his view is as good as the view of any modern critic—probably better, I should think,—for the reasons mentioned above.

1. Page 2. * जह लोहीपरिवट्टणकाळसारा भूमी, णेवब्भामजसुगन्धो विअ गन्धो, सुणिमित्तं विअ परिब्भमन्तो वडिवस्सअजणो, किण्णु ॐ संविधा विहिदा।

This has been translated by WS. as follows: "The ground has been blackened by turning round iron pots. There is a scent like the savoury smell of grease, and as a good omen the attendants are running to and fro. Is there then a meal ready?".

In criticising the above (JOR. 1928, p. 212) Mr. G. Haribar Sastri, following GS., translates: "Since the ground

* All references are to the edition with the com. 1922.
WS. Woolner and Sarup. GS.: Ganapati Śāstri.

looks black, red and white on account of metal vessels placed around (for cooking), a smell like that of oily preparations (is felt) and priests are seen walking about as a good omen".

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja believes (ibid. 1927 p. 221) that *neuḅḅhāmaṇa* is the prākṛtisation of the Malayāḷam (?) word *neyyappamaṇa* and translates: "I sense a sweet smell like the smell of cake fried in ghee, and the smell augurs luck for me".

We may picture to ourselves the situation somewhat as follows: The Sūtradhāra has left his home early in the morning without any breakfast and is returning homeward when it is past mid-day, giddy with hunger, his eyes rolling, and wondering if he can have his breakfast at least now at dinner time. He enters his house. As soon as he steps in, he discovers to his amazement that elaborate preparations are being made for a feast, as it appears. It looks as if a number of metal pots and pans—pans in particular, iron pans to fry in—have been cleaned (lit. turned round and round) in the yard making the ground all streaked with black, appetising odours are issuing from inside as if things are being fried in oil and ghee, people are bustling about, but really there are no signs of a *ready* dinner. So he calls to his wife and learns from her that he can have his breakfast at supper time—provided he can bring a brāhman guest. Here the translation of *loḥī* etc. by Mr. Harihar Śāstri is not happy. We cannot expect the vessels still to be kept outside in the yard when preparations are actually going on and are probably nearing completion (for Naṭī says to her husband, *muhuttaam paḍivāḷedu ayyo*). Besides, 'placing round' as the meaning of *parivaṭṭaṇa* is somewhat strained. And *kāḷasārā* may be interpreted as 'streaked with black' rather than 'looks black, red and white'. *Neuḅḅhāmaṇa* as interpreted by Dr. Raja is somewhat fanciful. Even if we accept that the *C.* is the work of a late Malabar poet, as he contends, it is difficult to see what purpose could be served by introducing a few Malayāḷam words into a Sanskrit play. Even apart from this it is difficult to explain how *neyyappamaṇa*

could become *ṇeubbhāmaṇa*—how *appa* in the compound could be changed to *ubbhā*. On the other hand I would suggest that *ṇeubbhāmaṇa* is more naturally rendered as equivalent to *snehodbhrāmaṇa* rather than *snehodbhāvana* as it is done by GS. and accepted as such by the translators. *Udbhrāmaṇa* would then mean 'stirring', i. e., 'frying'. This is better than understanding by it स्नेहस्य घृतादेः उद्भावने संस्करणे अथवा नवनीतादुत्पादने, etc. which is somewhat strained.

It may be noticed that I have omitted to explain above सुणिमित्तं विअ परिब्भमन्तो वडिवस्सअजणो। Neither of the translations of *vaḍivassajaṇo* appears to me to be satisfactory. This word occurs again four pages later in the line इमिणा वडिवस्सएण चुण्णगोट्ठेण, which is Naṭī's answer to the question of the Sūtradhāra, "Whoever advised you about this fast ?" Here WS translate it by 'servant'. GS. has this comment on the word, व्रतानुष्ठापको धार्मिकजनः, by which he probably means as Harihar Śāstri has translated, 'priests'. Neither of these translations appears to me to be satisfactory. No doubt the words *sunimittaṁ via* 'like a good omen, go quite well with the appearance of priests indicating an auspicious occasion. But if priests were moving about in the house already, would Naṭī ask her husband to find out a brāhman guest? Again in the sentence quoted above, would she answer merely वडिवस्सएण चुण्णगोट्ठेण ? We might expect her to add a word like *ārya*, if he were the priest. Besides what a name for a priest—Cūrṇagoṣṭha-Powder—Pot ! or Pot of-Quicklime !—There is also another difficulty in its way. All the three things which the Sūtradhāra observes have reference to his doubt किण्णु खु संविधा विहिदा ? How can the presence of priests have reference to the dinner ? Probably not. The other translation of 'attendant' and 'servant' though apparently correct cannot be accepted for the following reasons. Was the Sūtradhāra so rich as to afford servants ? If he were rich, he would not say to the Vidūṣaka, "Do not reject my invitation thinking that I am poor. Nevertheless I am going to give you an excellent meal and even gold *māṣas*

as *dakṣiṇā*."* Besides when Naṭī says, "There is rice and curds, ghee and gur in the house ", he wonders if it is all true. Therefore we cannot expect him to have servants at home. Anyhow is it not unnatural for a servant to advise the mistress of the house about a fast ?—and such a fast at that, a fast to obtain a handsome husband ! The kośas explain the word *varivasyā* as *śuśrūṣā* 'service' or 'worship'. It need not always imply 'paid service'. Our word might therefore mean 'people who have come to help, render service', in other words 'friendly neighbours'. I would therefore translate it 'our good neighbour (s)'. Probably these included both men and women. For in the *Mṛcch.* we find in this place women helping the wife of the Sūtradhāra, by making garlands, preparing unguents and so on. This would also agree with *sumimittaṁ via*. It is natural to think of *sumaṅgalīs* as a good omen. Moreover it is less objectionable for a neighbour to give advice about such matters than for a servant, though the Sūtradhāra himself cries, "Bravo ! Cārṇagoṣṭha ! Bravo !" But all the same we cannot escape the fact that it is a *man* that is advising his neighbour's wife about the means of securing a 'handsome husband'—may be in the next birth. No doubt the relations between the sexes among the members of the actors' caste was freer than elsewhere. To avoid these difficulties Śūdraka has made Naṭī's adviser a friend of the Sūtradhāra'—not a neighbour as I have tried to explain—besides changing his name to Jārṇavṛddha, indicating perhaps thereby that he was an old man. And yet the Sūtradhāra is angry with him for taking such a liberty. Surely manners had changed by Śūdraka's time.

But I believe Bhāsa did all this on purpose for comic effect. The whole scene is designed that way. The stage-director's entry, his hunger, his smelling dinners, his wife's

* They may mean even gold coins This does not prove that he is rich. At a wedding, presents must be such as to indicate a certain amount of self-sacrifice on the part of the devotee. Besides *suvarṇadāna* is very often prescribed. Even today such presents are made in the form of what are called '*Lakṣmī* coins'—which contain a small percentage of gold in them to satisfy the demand of the *suvarṇadāna* and to justify the imprint of the goddess Lakṣmī on them !

jokes, his reactions to them in a speech which though quite short is full of bombast, his wife being advised by a neighbour, the neighbour's funny name and even the use of Prākṛt in preference to Sanskrit—all serve the same end.

2. Now it is this consideration that makes me wonder whether another word in the same Prologue may not suggest something as funny. I mean the word *pādarāśo*. The first time it is used it may mean nothing more than a 'breakfast'. Though the Sūtradhāra is coming at midday, he may very well describe the meal as 'breakfast' because he has eaten nothing since the morning. But the second time the word is used—*teṇa pādarāśo vi me bhavissadi*; the meaning is somewhat doubtful. "Thus, i. e., by inviting a brāhman, I shall *also* have *prātarāśaḥ*", he says. Would he not get it otherwise? Besides he has to wait for some time more for it and in addition he has to secure a brāhman guest. Evidently the dinner was towards evening and yet he says *pādarāśo vi me bhavissadi*. Anyway it is difficult to interpret the word *api*. Therefore I hazard an explanation. This however I am doing with a great deal of hesitation. Can it be possible that the word means 'cold food'—eaten in the morning ?* When he finds that the prospect of a dinner is far off he may very well ask his wife—"Is there anything left over from yesterday's food? I am so hungry." The wife who is in a rather jovial mood today answers 'yes' and goes on continuing the conversation in a tone of banter, till her husband is angry—and then she tells him conciliatingly that if only he would wait a little longer everything would be ready. The second time the word occurs the meaning would be somewhat as follows : "Thus, by inviting a guest, when of course there will be a heavy dinner with many courses, I shall have something to eat in the morning also. I need not go out to my work hungry even if I start early in the morning as I did today."

* Cf. Kannada *hoṭṭarśa* "an early morning meal", which is too often a cold meal.

I suggest this meaning finding support for it in the general comic trend of the scene and the difficulty of interpreting the word *api*.

3. Page 7. अरित्तओ दाव अहम् ।

"I am not free." WS.

This is what the Vidūṣaka says from behind the scenes‡ in answer to the Sūtradhāra's invitation. Probably the translators were led to render the word *arittao* as 'not free', for later on (p. 9) the Vidūṣaka says, *bhaṇāmi vāvudotti* 'I tell you I am engaged', though he has not really said so before, i. e., put forth such an excuse. They therefore equate *vāvudo* with what he has really said before—i. e, *arittao*. But the meaning of 'not free' for *ariktaka* is rather strained. Usually it means 'not empty', or 'not poor' as here. The Vidūṣaka has become poor now and naturally resents being treated as such. This kind offer of the Sūtradhāra he resists by answering, "I am not poor. Invite someone else." We may explain the discrepancy by saying that the Vidūṣaka is not really reiterating but is merely trying to put off his host by another excuse when he says *bhaṇāmi vāvudotti*. As G S. shrewdly remarks अरिक्तकत्वे अनङ्गीकारे पूर्वं हेतुरुक्तः, इदानीं व्याकुलत्वं हेतुरुच्यत इति अव्यवस्थानमिदं अङ्गीकारस्पृहां व्यनक्तीत्यवगन्तव्यम् ।

Here we may note in passing how the Prologue to this play is very ingeniously constructed—mixing up the Sūtradhāra of the pseudo-real actor-world with the Vidūṣaka of the dramatic world of imagination. And yet it all appears so very natural and real. Bhāsa has gone here a step farther—logically speaking; though not chronologically—than the usual method of merely indicating the action or introducing the next actor.

‡ I do not know what makes Prof. A. B. Keith think that the Sūtradhāra is playing the part of the Vidūṣaka, in face of this stage-direction *Sanskrit Drama* p. 131 : " ... he speaks Prākṛt only as fits the part of the Vidūṣaka which he is to play", thus offering a different explanation for the use of Prākṛt by the Sūtradhāra. Contra 1 above.

4. Page 9. अहं पुण जाणामि ! अहिअमहुरस्स अम्बस्स अट्ठीओ अट्ठिं ण भक्खीअदि त्ति ।

"But one does not eat the stone of the very sweetest mango, because it doesn't suit one." WS.

Probably the Vidūṣaka says to himself when he is tempted with the offer of a feast: "I have fallen upon such bad days that I thought, if I did not eat even the stone of the sweet mango, it was because I couldn't."

5. Page 11. अन्तळिक्खवासो । 'A garment of air'. WS.

There seems no reason to understand by this as GS. does *antarīyavāsaḥ*. *Antaḷikkha* is naturally *antarikṣa* and WS. are so far correct. But what do they mean by 'garment of air'? I do not know if they mean to suggest that Maitreya was not taking home any garment at all! GS. understands by it *paridhānavastram*. Now if there was any garment at all for whom was it meant to wear? It is not clear. If it were meant for Cārudatta probably we would have had a reference to it, as in the *Mṛcch*. If it were a *prāvāraka* he would have said so. Besides there is a reference to such a cloak later on when Cārudatta asks Vasantasenā to take it inside. Evidently he removes this cloak because he wants to feel the cool breeze. It is most unlikely that a *prāvāraka* would be described as *antaḷikkhavāso*. The *Mṛcch*. has at this place a cloak scented with *jātī* flowers and sent as a present to Cārudatta by his dear friend Jūrṇavṛddha.* But I suggest that this cloth—whatever it was—was not meant for Cārudatta to wear. It was probably meant to be given away as a present to some one at the *ṣaṣṭhīdevakārya*, even as it is done now at a particular *ṣaṣṭhī* ritual. This might have been some kind of cheap cloth very loose in texture—and hence called *antaḷikkhavāso* – not unlike what is too often

* Śūdraka has a dramatic motive in this. He connects it straight-way with the incident of the elephant's attack and Cārudatta's present of it to Karṇapūra, even as he connects Jūrṇavṛddha with both the Sūtradhāra and Cārudatta.

used even now for ceremonial purposes. It may also indicate Cārudatta's present poverty. The flowers mentioned along with the cloth could easily be taken as necessaries of worship. Cārudatta's wife, the Brāhmaṇī, wants to make a present, as she says, in connection with that day—though not of cloth (p. 84.)

6. Page 11. प्रविशति चाङ्गेरिकाहस्ता चेटी

"Enter...a maid-servant with wood-sorrel in her hands." WS. GS. has an interesting comment on this:— चाङ्गेरी चुक्रिकाख्या वातपित्तहरा रुच्या काचिदोषधिः। तां स्वास्थ्ययोगार्थमानीय हस्ते कुर्वंतीत्यर्थः। (See also *Avimāraka*, IV. beginning.)

I would like to explain this further and add a few more particulars. It is customary for people in Mysore who have fasted, when they break their fast, to include in their food greens like sesbania leaves (Kannada *agasē sōppu*) and the myrobalan fruit (*āmalaka*) pounded and made into cakes and dried (K. *nelli cōṭṭu*), in order to counteract the undesirable effects of *pitta* or the bilious humour as a consequence of fasting. I have verified the statement of GS. in regard to the qualities of this wood-sorrel (K. *pullaṁparaci*) also from an eminent Ayurvedic doctor. It is therefore most probable that the maid has collected this green vegetable for the use of her master, who is evidently observing a fast in connection with his *ṣaṣṭhī* vow. I do not suppose it is in any way connected with the ritual to follow (see next note). We do not know in what parts of India wood-sorrel is used when breaking a fast. A knowledge of this might give us some clue to the author's native province.

7. Page 16
Page 26

In trying to show that the *Mṛcch.* is "a marked improvement in the selection and arrangement of the incidents of the action", Dr. V. S. Sukthankar (JAOS 42. pp. 66 f.) instances three cases where the *Cārudatta* is defective. I shall have occasion to refer to all of them in their proper

places. Now here is the first case. He remarks: "The action of the *C.* begins with a soliloquy of the Vidūṣaka followed by a lengthy dialogue [not more lengthy than it is in the *Mṛcch.*, I should think] between the nāyaka and the Vidūṣaka. The hero is conversing with his friend, deploring his poverty. This dialogue is brought to an abrupt end by the scene introducing Vasantasenā.... In the *Mṛcch.* (p. 25) the abruptness of the change of scene is skilfully avoided by the addition of the following words placed in the mouth of Cārudatta:

"bhavatu. tiṣṭha tāvat ahaṁ samādhiṁ nirvartayāmi, Very well. Wait awhile and I will finish my meditation." These words of Cārudatta serve admirably to adjust the time relation of the different events. The play wright here unmistakably indicates that the succeeding scene, which introduces the offers of love by Śakāra, their indignant rejection by Vasantasenā, and her subsequent escape, develops during Cārudatta's *samādhi*. Furthermore, as indicated by the subsequent words of Cārudatta (*Mṛcch.* 43): '*vayasya samāptajaposmi*,' Friend, my meditation is over,' Vasantasenā's reaching the door of Cārudatta's house coincides exactly in point of time with the emergence of Cārudatta from his *samādhi*."

As far as I can see, the abruptness referred to by Dr. Sukthankar is more apparent than real. Cārudatta enters the stage making offerings to the household deities. But he stops in the middle of his devotions and begins to wonder at the extraordinary reversal of his fortunes. While he is thus musing on his poverty, his friend Maitreya begs him not to give way to grief. In answer to this Cārudatta says: "वयस्य! किमर्थं सन्तापं करिष्ये। किञ्चाहं दरिद्रः, यस्य मम,

विभवानुवशा भार्या समदुःखसुखो भवान्।
सत्त्वं च न परिभ्रंशि यद् दरिद्रेषु दुर्लभम्॥"

"Why should I grieve, my comrade? Am I poor, whose wife will follow my fortunes, whose joys and sorrows

you will share, and especially when my spirit is not crushed, which is a rare thing with the poor ?"

Thus he takes consolation, and we may suppose he continues his interrupted devotions as before. At this stage Vasantasenā, Śakāra and the Viṭa appear outside in the street and the scene described above takes place. In the meanwhile Cārudatta is performing his *ṣaṣṭhī pūjā*, we may suppose, (whatever this might have been), and at the end of it which coincides with Vasantasenā reaching the door, he asks the Vidūṣaka to go to the square and make offerings to the Mātṛs. This reference to the Mātṛs who are connected with Skanda suggests that the ṣaṣṭhī was something like what we have today. Besides this worship of the Mātṛs was evidently part of that ritual. There is nothing more natural for Bhāsa than to introduce the street scene while the ritual is going on. There is another gap later on when the nāyaka is left alone while Śakāra and the Viṭa meet the Vidūṣaka and Radanikā outside. There is no lamp inside now [1] and Cārudatta and Vasantasenā are left alone. During this interval probably Cārudatta was performing his *japa*, which might have given the clue to Śūdraka. The absence of a stage-direction to this effect is no objection at all. Such things are quite common with Bhāsa who usually leaves the details to the directors and actors. [2] This gap which occurs also in the *Mṛcch.* has been left unnoticed by Dr. Sukthankar. I do not know how he would explain it there. If such a gap is inartistic in one place, I suppose it is equally inartistic in another. [3]

1. But not throughout the chase scene as Dr. Belvalkar thinks.

2. E. g., the stage-direction—*samudrāñjanādīni kṛtvā*, in *Pratimā* Act III. refers to a number of the duties of the care-taker of the statue gallery, to be gathered from the context. Again we cannot expect Radanikā and the Vidūṣaka to be holding the wood-sorrel, flowers and cloth for ever.

3. How were such parallel scenes—one inside the house and another outside in the street—managed by the actors ? A transverse curtain would resolve this difficulty, as well as a similar one in the *Sv.* Act VI.

8. Page 19. "किं वासुदेवे शवपट्टणेशे" etc.

WS. translate *śavapaṭṭaṇeśa* as 'lord of the corpse bazaar.' But to whom does the epithet apply? Harihar Śāstri, with GS., thinks that it refers to Yama, the lord of *pretapurī* or *naraka*. This explanation is quite unsatisfactory. The mistakes of Śakāra, at least in Bhāsa, are not as absurd or silly as Śūdraka has made them ought to be. Even as there is a rational or rather associational basis for Mrs. Malaprop's confusions in Sheridan's *Rivals*, we have in Śakāra a confusion of names of mythological characters. He mistakes, as in this stanza, one molestor of woman, Duśśāsana for another, Rāvaṇa; a descendant of Kuntī, Janamejaya for one of her sons. We therefore expect some such natural explanation for *śavapaṭṭaṇeśa* also, for contradiction is the very essence of this kind of humour. Therefore Dr. Raja is right when he says that it must refer to Śiva. Śakāra mistakes Vāsudeva (or Viṣṇu) for Śiva. But we do not find the same contradiction between Vāsudeva and Yama. To understand 'Śiva' by the word *śavapaṭṭaṇeśa*, on the other hand, it is not necessary to emend the text to *Śivapaṭṭaṇeśa*, as Dr. Raja does. He goes further and sees in it a reference to Trichur, also known as Śivapurī. From Ujjayinī to Trichur is a far cry! Even as his own brother-in-law the King was lord of Ujjayinī-paṭṭaṇa, Śakāra might be saying in his characteristically quaint way, Śiva whom he mistakes for Vāsudeva is lord of the city of corpses —mark the word 'corpses', not *pretas* or spirits—i. e., *śmaśāna*, the burning and burial ground.

9. Page 25. "गणिका मालामपनीय भूषणानि चोत्सारयति।"

The courtezan removes her garland and throws of her ornaments." WS.

It would be more correct to say "throws off her garland and removes her ornaments." If Vasantasenā threw away the ornaments for fear they should jingle, apart from the fact that she would be considered rash and foolish, there would be nothing to deposit with Cārudatta. Therefore we

have to understand that she throws away the garland whose fragrance would betray her presence and removes from her body whatever would tinkle or gingle—say, her anklets and girdle, her bangles and bracelets—and keeps them by. When she begs Cārudatta to keep them for her, she removes—the stage-direction says *vimucya alaṅkāraṁ*—whatever is still on her body, and hands them over to Maitreya—unless of course she has again put them on in the meanwhile.

10. Page 27. "मम बुद्धी आदर्शसमण्डलसंस्था विअ छाआ वामेसु दक्खिणा दक्खिणेसु वामा होइ।"

"My intellect is like the reflection in a mirror, right for left and left for right." WS.

There is here a pun on the words *vāma* and *dakkhiṇa* unnoticed by the translators, especially as he says *vāmesu* and *dakkhiṇesu*, masculine and plural.

11. Page 34. "गणिकादारिआ सुवण्णवण्णा।"

"Daughter of a courtezan of the gold caste." WS.

I wish to add in corroboration of this translation that in Mysore a similar term in Kannaḍa *baṅgāradavaḷu*, a woman of the golden (caste), is applied with particular reference to royal mistresses and their descendants are thence forwards called 'golden.' The term, I learn, derives from the golden ornament, *baṅdi*, placed round the woman's neck as a recognition of acceptance. It may be that Vasantasenā belonged to such a class of highly aristocratic courtezans and Śakāra as the King's brother-in-law would naturally feel slighted by her rejection.

12. Page 41. "उदयति हि शशाङ्कः" etc. I. 29.

Bhāsa describes here the moon as rising. We have to suppose that on *kṛṣṇa ṣaṣṭhī*, referred to above, say at about 9 o'clock in the night Śakāra pursued Vasantasenā into the lane beside Cārudatta's mansion. The darkness was so dense that it seemed to smear one's body or was like collyrium itself

raining from the sky. After Vasantasenā was rescued, Cārudatta asks Maitreya to accompany the lady to her house with a lamp. But the appearance of the moon just at that moment renders any other light superfluous. The stanza quoted above describes the rise of the moon. Now two days later on the night of the eighth of the same fortnight the moon is described as *setting*. How is it possible for the moon to *rise* on *ṣaṣṭhī* at night and two nights later on *aṣṭamī* also to *set* about two hours later? Evidently there is something wrong in this unless we assume an interval of a fortnight and two days more between. The passages dealing with the moon-rise (I. 29) and the moon-set (III. 3) are no doubt genuine. For they form integral parts of the plot. When Śakāra pursues Vasantasenā the street is pitch dark so that Vasantasenā can easily escape. And here Bhāsa gives us some of the finest descriptions of darkness. When Śakāra and Viṭa disappear at sight of the Vidūṣaka, the moon rises. In the III Act Cārudatta is returning from a concert and just when he reaches home, the moon sets, thus assisting Sajjalaka to break open into Cārudatta's house and steal the casket of jewels. The moon-set is also therefore absolutely essential to the story. But can we assume an interval of seventeen days? There are difficulties in the way. When Cārudatta asks Maitreya to take charge of Vasantasenā's jewels, Maitreya does so unwillingly and immediately hands them over to Radanikā telling her, "You take these golden ornaments, Radanikā. Keep them on the sixth and the seventh, I shall take charge of them on the eighth when I shall have a holiday." Radanikā makes fun of him remarking that on that day probably he will have leisure from his vedic studies. This is all very well so far as it goes. It might be that Maitreya is merely saying that he is not prepared to take charge of the jewels *immediately*. Maybe he will do so on the eighth. It is just a pretext of his to put off the responsibility: he will guard it on *anadhyayana* days only! Now it may be argued that this is no indication of the period. But then on the night of the theft Radanikā

comes up to Maitreya, rouses him and says : "I have guarded the casket on the sixth and the seventh. Today is the eighth, now take this !" This passage definitely makes the period only three days. Is this passage therefore spurious—a thoughtless joke suggested by the first passage ? Or shall we say that both of them are spurious ? I do not think this is likely, and for two reasons. Later on in the same act (p. 84) the Brāhmaṇī, Cārudatta's wife, refers to her fast on the sixth and begs of Maitreya to accept a present, apologising to him for giving it two days late. We may not say this is also an interpolation. The second reason is this: This is the stanza that describes the moon setting (III. 8) :

"असौ हि दत्वा तिमिराय काशमरं गतोऽष्टमपक्षचन्द्रः ।
तोयावगाढस्य वनद्विपस्य विषाणकोटीव निमज्जमाना ॥"

"That eight-day moon gives place to darkness and sets, as when a wood-land elephant plunges into water, the curved end of his tusk is gradually submerged." WS. Now why does Bhāsa think of *aṣṭamī* in particular with reference to the moon ? This passage in itself makes the incongruity intrinsic to Bhāsa's play. We have to admit that Bhāsa is here nodding. Such instances are not uncommon among great artists. R. L. Stevenson records such lapses in Scott[1] And in one of Rembrandt's pictures the trees cast their shadows in front when they ought to cast them behind. We have to explain that Bhāsa's anxiety to render the action intensely dramatic got the better of his realism and it never occurred to him at the moment that within three days the moon could not both rise and set at night. We have to offer the same explanation for

1. "...how troublesome the moon is ! I have come to grief over the moon in *Prince Otto*; and, so soon as that was pointed out to me, adopted a precaution which I recommend to other men—I never write now without an almanac. With an almanac, and the map of the country and the plan of every house, either actually plotted on paper or clearly and immediately apprehended in the mind, a man may hope to avoid some of the grossest possible blunders. With the map before him, he will scarce allow the sun to set in the east, as it does in *The Antiquary*....." *Treasure Island*, My first book (Introduction).

his description of the moon on the eighth, which is more like half a pancake than the pointed tusk of an elephant. Probably he was thinking of the horned moon on the eighth! That was quite like him! For if the moon has to set at about midnight how could he help describing the moon of the eighth? In the *Mṛcch.* the word *aṣṭami* is no doubt removed—but how can the moon look like 'an elephant's tusk sharply pointed', *tīkṣṇaṁ viṣāṇāgraṁ* (III. 6 d), if it is to set after midnight? This play has further removed almost all the references to *ṣaṣṭhī* and *aṣṭamī*, though Dr.Sukthankar denies that it contained any references at all. That it was not altogether free from this discrepancy at least at one time of its history is clear from a reading noted by the commentator, Pṛthvīdhara, when he says:

"सिद्धीकिद्देवकज्जस्स अनिष्पादितदेवकार्यस्य । पाठान्तरे तु — षष्ठीदिनकृत-देवकार्यस्येत्यर्थः" (p. 10; see also p. 33).

13. Page 50. "उपविसदु अय्यो । पूजाविसेसेण जाणामि कय्यं ति ।"

"Sit down, Sir." "She is so polite about it, I suppose I must." WS.

This does not seem quite correct. The courtezan offers the shampooer a seat, as soon as she hears he is in danger from a rich man—which kind act quite naturally makes him hope that she may go a step farther and help him out of his difficulty. It is better therefore to take *kayyaṁ* as equivalent to *prayojanaṁ* and translate, "Her special kindness makes me think it is worth-while."

14. Page 59. "चेटः—हं, विप्पलद्धोसि, वादाअणिक्कामिदपुव्वका-आए ओणमिअपओहराए कण्णउरस्स परिप्पन्दो अज्जुआए जेण ण दिट्ठो ।

गणिका — ळहुजणस्स सुळहो विम्हओ । किं दे उस्सेअस्स कारणम् ।"

" *Page.* 'Oh! I am disappointed that my mistress did not see Karṇapūra's valiant deed. If only you had seen leaning forward from the casement with bosom bowed...'

" *Courtezan.* 'Feather-headed people are easily amazed. What is the cause of your excitement?" WS.

Dr. E. H. Johnston (IA. June 1933, pp. 114 to 115) does not approve of this translation which makes Karṇapūra a proper name and understands *parispanda* in the sense of 'a valiant deed.' He would render it thus: "Oh I am disappointed that I did not see (lit. by whom was not seen) the shaking of my mistress's ear-ornament, as she leant, etc." and "Feather-headed people soon get bumptious. What's the reason for your highfaluting(or bombast)?". *Parispanda* ordinarily means 'change of place' or 'movement' as opposed to *pariṇāma* which means 'charge of form.' He says: Possibly in Śūdraka's text of the *DC. kaṇṇāūraassa*, had been corrupted into *kaṇṇāūraassa*, which might be understood as equivalent to *kaṇṇāiirāceḍa* ('harem servant'), and he may have objected to giving a courtezan's servant such a title and therefore turned it into a fanciful proper name."

But now this word Karṇapūra for a proper name is not after all more 'fanciful' than Cūrṇagoṣṭha. Besides it is actually found used as a proper name; e g., it is the "name of the father of Kavicandra and author of the Alaṁkāra-kaustubha" (Monier-Williams's Dic.). Moreover the whole criticism rests on the exact significance of the word *parispanda* which may after all mean in the free idiom of a poet like Bhāsa, 'a valiant deed.' And examples are not wanting in him of such free use of words. The simplest solution therefore seems to be to accept Śūdraka's interpretation of the word Karṇapūra, for as Dr. Johnston himself admits, "the *Mṛcch.* does not always darken counsel... ...but is sometimes able to suggest a correction of the *DC's* text.' Further the *vismaya* and *utseka* of the Page, both of which seem to mean almost the same thing, 'pride'—have reference to his exploit rather than to the supposed bombast of his speech. WS. are also wrong, it seems to me, in their interpretation of these two words.[1]

15. Page 62. "जइ एवं, इह तुए (कोत्ति ? किं ति) मन्तिदम्।"

"Well then, what did you say to him?" WS.

1. Cf. Śv. I. 3, where the words *viśikha* and *śiṅgita* are both used.

The courtezan asks of the Page if he knew the name of the gentleman who presented him with his mantle. The Page answers : "Really I do not know." The courtezan gently reproves him by saying : "You were very thoughtless." Now it is Ceṭī's turn. She turns round upon him and says : "In that case why did you come here to speak before us ? You could have kept your adventure to yourself." This seems to be the trend of her speech. Vasantasenā gives expression to her disappointment in a dignified way, but the maid attacks the Page severely for his stupidity in not learning who his benefactor and patron was but talking a great deal about himself. His reaction to this attack is also interesting, for he says : "But this much I know—the gentleman is not at all proud."

16. Page 65. "भावार्पितं च न च साभिनयप्रयोगम् ।" III. 26.

'...full of feeling but free from flourishes." WS.

This seems to mean according to GS. that the music in question was "expressive of feeling even without the employment of gestures." Generally *abhinaya* along with singing would be necessary for the full expression of emotions. But even without its aid the musician was able to express himself fully. 'Free from flourishes' seems rather out of place here, for Cārudatta does not seem to be in a mood to refer to comical things.' He does not even take notice of Maitreya's jokes but goes on expaciating on Bhāvaśabala's extraordinary powers. The interpretation of GS. seems therefore right.

17. Page 68. "ण केवलं दासीए पुत्तेण पादा धोदा, मुहं वि धोदे ।'

"The scoundrel has not only washed my feet, but my face too." WS.

Before this are these two speeches :

Jester.—Vardhamānaṇavaka, wash my feet too.

Servant.—When your feet are well washed you'll go rolling on the ground. Pour away the water. Nay bring them here, I'll wash 'em. WS.

Muhaṁ vi dhode has a parallel in Kannada idiom which means 'put to shame'. It is not unlikely that this is the meaning here, for while washing his feet the servant reproached him in the presence of Cārudatta for his carelessness and dirty habits thus put him to shame.

18. Pages 71—2. III. 6.

"कामं नीचमिदं वदन्तु विदुषाः सुप्तेषु यद्वर्तते
विश्रब्धेषु हि वञ्चनापरिभवः शौर्यं न कार्कश्यता ।
स्वाधीना वचनीयतापि तु वरं वद्धो न सेवाञ्जलिः
मार्गोऽयं नरेन्द्रसौप्तिकवधे पूर्वं हृतो द्रौणिना ॥"

Sajjalaka.—"Let the wiseacres call it low, this business when folks are asleep, for the shame of cheating those that are trusttul comes from daring, not from cruelty. Independence though of ill report is better far than the folded hands of servility. This was the road that was taken of old by Drona's son when he slew the sleeping kings." WS.

Dr. Johnston writes on this (ibid. pp. 115-7): "I agree with the translators in rejecting Ganapati Sastri and Morgenstierne's solution of construing *śauryaṁ na bhavati, kārkaśyatā bhavati.*" He proceeds to cite different instances where *kāmaṁ* is used by the author with or without a correlative like *hi* or *tu* and says : "This would do here, 'although the wiseacres call it..., I say it is heroism, not violence.'

"But I regard this method of interpreting the verse as doubtful and it has the disadvantage of not explaining *tu*, in the third *pāda*, while the fourth *pāda* follows clumsily on the third, being rather an illustration of the proposition contained in the second. Accordingly I would suggest that the second and third *pādas* have been transposed. This must have happened at a very early date; for, Śūdraka whose alteration of the verse shows that he felt the same difficulties in it that we do, has the same order as the text of the *DC*. With this slight change the whole verse falls into order and is entirely free from objection. The translation

would run, 'Let the wiseacres, if they like tell us this sort of behaviour to folks asleep is a low affair, yet independence though of ill report is far better than the folded hands of servility. For getting the better of the trustful by deceitful means is heroism, not unjustifiable violence, and this was the road the son of Drona took when he slew the sleeping kings."

The rejection of GS.'s interpretation by the translators and Dr. Johnston is most unfortunate. Their view is based upon a complete misunderstanding of the character of Sajjalaka and an utter disregard of the context. Their translation would make us think that Sajjalaka was defying the wise and justifying his robbery by calling it daring and heroism, whereas he is dejected—mark the stage-direction *sanirvedaṁ vicintya*—and is repenting of the act before he has committed it. He is not going to kill any one—do *sāhasa* (p. 94). Rather than call the wise, wiseacres, he is inclined to agree with their view, for he is only a robber by compulsion and not by choice, and a *brāhmaṇa* too 'born in a happy and contended family' (IV 4b) and speaks Sanskrit. He is trying to ease his conscience by arguing with himself that even in famy is preferable to servility and that Aśvatthāman did such a thing of old. We have to remember in this context that he is trying to ransom his sweet-heart, who is a slave. This is the only reason for this dare-devil act and so he tells lainly to his sweet-heart — "त्वत्स्नेहात्साहसं कृतम् । एतावत् किं न पर्याप्तम्, द्वितीयमपि अकार्यं करिष्यामि !" pp. 93 and 94. (See also IV. 4, and p. 90). Therefore it is a fundamental mistake the translators have committed in taking "न शौर्यं, कार्कश्यता" as "शौर्यं, कार्कश्यता न."

Now the difficulty of interpreting *kāmaṁ*, and *tu* in the third line is quite imaginary. There is no need to transpose the second and third *pādas*. The first two lines together form a clause, the third line is the main sentence and the fourth another sentence. Dr. Johnston himself suggests such a construction, but thinks it necessary to emend the

text to *viśvaste hi na*, with two negatives, and even then rejects it as an 'inferior' alternative. But all this confusion arises as I have pointed out above by a misunderstanding of the context. Following GS.'s commentary—which scholars too often have neglected—we get at the true meaning of the stanza. It might be rendered thus: "The wise may call it low, this business when folks are asleep, on the score that getting the better of the trustful by deceitful means is never heroism, but violence. Nevertheless ...".

19. Page 74. "कत्तव्वकरथीकिदसङ्केदो विअ सक्किअसमणओ णिद्दं ण लभामि !"

"I cannot sleep any more than a Buddhist monk that's made an assignation with a servant-girl". WS.

Dr. Johnston thinks (ibid. p. 117) that this has reference to "the practice of *jāgarikā* ... keeping awake at night to induce mystic meditation," that *kattabbaka* is equivalent to "*karaṇīya*" in the formula of Arhatship", that *saṅketa* is a synonym for *saṁvṛti* 'truth as seen by ordinary men,' "worldly usage', and that the root *ric* here means 'to purify.' He would therefore translate, "like a Buddhist monk who has been emancipated from worldly knowledge by following the path to Arhatship."

Prof. M. Hiriyanna writes in the course of a communication about Dr. Johnston's interpretation: "It is far-fetched, especially as it involves taking *saṅketa* as equivalent to *saṁvṛti*. I prefer the explanation of Gaṇapati Śāstri; but it is not at all necessary to amend the text as he has done. The same meaning can be got from the reading given at the foot of page 56 in the first edition—'कत्तव्वकरीकिदसङ्केदो'. I have consulted a MS. of the play found in the Madras Oriental Library and it contains this reading and not the other. The form कर्तव्यकरी for a 'maid-servant' is no doubt somewhat out of the way; but it is quite correct (see Pāṇini, III. ii. 20)." According to this *sūtra* we can have forms like *praiṣakara* 'one who promptly does what he is directed

to do' *vacanakara* 'one who regularly.....', to do' and *vacanakara* 'one who regularly does what he is told.' In the same way we can have forms like *kartavyakara* and *-kari*.

There are also other reasons why Dr. Johnston's explanation seems far-fetched. *Na labhāmi* is more correctly translated as 'I don't get sleep' or 'I cannot sleep.' The Vidūṣaka says he cannot get sleep and not that he 'will not sleep' or that he 'is not sleeping,' which is what we would expect if the reference was to a monk keeping his vow. Unless we find a phrase like this used elsewhere in Buddhistic writings, it is rather difficult to accept this interpretation of Dr. Johnston as a whole. Even if we accept the reading "कत्तव्वकरिसीकिद.." and explain the troublesome word *kattavvaka* in the Buddhistic sense, we may still translate, "like a Buddhist monk whose assignation had been upset by his religious duties." The translation of WS. is perhaps more in keeping with the context where the Vidūṣaka finds the charge of the casket from which he cannot escape too burdensome and is unable to get even a wink of sleep. In other words he is trying to sleep whereas the Buddhist monk would be trying to keep awake. And after all, this gibe against Buddhist monks, even if deserved, is not so much to vilify them as to raise a laugh.

20. Page 75. III. 10 cd.

"कल्यं विषादविमुखाः प्रतिवेशवर्गो
दोषांश्च मे वदतु कर्मसु कौशलं च ॥"

"Tomorrow the neighbours will foregather with long and gloomy faces to discuss my errors and the skill of my work." WS.

This interpretation is the same as that of GS., but it is perhaps wrong. Sajjalaka is describing his skill in breaking open walls. The sense seems to be this: The neighbours that flock to this place tomorrow to show sympathy, will forget their *viṣāda* and begin to discuss the merits or otherwise of my work. This is the most natural thing for neighbours whose sympathies are not quite unmixed with other

feelings. GS.'s interpretation of विमुख as विवर्णवदन seems a bit strained. The ordinary meaning of *vimukha* itself will do in this case.

21. Page 91.

After committing the theft Sajjalaka comes out to Vasantasenā's house. Entering and not finding Madanikā he shrewdly conjectures that she must be with her mistress inside. Then he calls out to her. Dr. Sukthankar who thinks that here is another defect in construction remarks as follows (ibid. p. 67): "Under these circumstances it is the height of indiscretion to stand outside the house of the heroine and shout for his mistress at the top of his voice." I do not know what makes Dr. Sukthankar say this in face of the following line—

"इदं वसन्तसेनाया गृहम्। यावत् प्रविशामि। (प्रविश्य)"

Besides *śabdāpayāmi* need not mean 'shouting at the top of one's voice.'

22. Page 102.

"गणिका— (स्वैराभरणैर्मदनिकामलंकृत्य) आरुहदु भट्टिणी अय्याए सह पवहणं।"

Are these the same ornaments as those that Sajjalaka has brought, or are they different ones? She might be wearing different ones today for he has not yet handed them over to her. But he does not seem to do it at all! Therefore we have to assume that she took her jewels from him and instead of wearing them herself straight way decorated Madanikā with them. Her generosity does not at all surprise us for we have already witnessed another such instance. She feels so happy now in the expectation of the fulfilment of her love that she freely shares that happiness with the young lovers. Now in the *Mṛcch.* these are the very ornaments that Cārudatta is accused of stealing. Therefore we cannot be sure how Bhāsa developed his own plot although Śūdraka is not likely to have made many changes in his

original, seeing how closely he has followed it so far (see later, note 24 and 25, and mark the veiled threat of Śakāra, p. 34).

23. Page 102. IV. 7.

"नरः प्रत्युपकारार्थी विपत्तौ लभते फलम् ।
द्विषतामेव कालोऽस्तु योऽस्या भवतु तस्य वा ॥ "

"The man who looks for recompense does but gain calamity. May destruction fall on those that hate them, either him or the lady." WS.

The translation here is entirely wrong. We are not concerned now with the benefactor but with the one who has been benefitted—in other words, not with the *upakartā* but with the *upakṛta*. प्रत्युपकारार्थी means therefore one who seeks to make return for a favour or to show gratitude. Such a one finds his reward only in calamities *to his benefactor*. Far from wishing it, Sajjalaka says, शान्तं शान्तं पापम् and wishes it द्विषतामेव — mark *eva*. Besides it would be ungenerous on his part to assume that his benefactor looks for recompense. We must observe that he says शान्तं पापं even before he gives expression to the above sentiment. In this connection we may refer to a stanza quoted by Appayya Dīkṣita in his *Kuvalayānanda* under *anujñālaṁkāra* : a quotation of unknown origin, supposed to be addressed by Rāma to Hanumān—

"मय्येव जीर्णतां यातु यत्त्वयोपकृतं हरे ।
नरः प्रत्युपकारार्थी विपत्तिमभिकाङ्क्षति ॥ "

The meaning of this stanza at any rate, which is evidently based upon that of Bhāsa, is clear. A benefactor may expect *pratyupakāra*, but surely he does not desire (*kāṅkṣ*) *vipatti*. So if any one should desire it, it must be the *upakṛta*, for then he can find an opportunity to help his saviour. Rāma would much rather forget Hanumān's service than wish for an opportunity to make recompense.

24 Page 103. "पिअं मे, अमुदंकणाअअं संवुत्तं ।"

This is probably some idiom which is not so alive now as it was in Bhāsa's time. This may even have been a name of this fragment of the *C.*, even as we have a fragment of the *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* known as the मन्त्राङ्क. If

it had occurred at the end—and Bhāsa could have easily put it there—it might have served as a kind of *maṅgala* to the play. But the play as we have it is undoubtedly a fragment (cf. V. S. Sukthankar, QJMS, IX. 1918, pp. 181 ff.). The love-story of Cārudatta and Vasantasenā has just begun and it seems incredible that the play could end here. This no doubt represents a definite stage in the action of the drama and hence the existence of a fragment like this.

25. Now can we say that the politif motif was absent in the *Cārudatta* and that it is purely the work of Śūdraka (Keith, *Skt. Drama*, p. 133)? No doubt Āryaka's name has not occurred so far. But Bhāsa might have introduced it later. He must have had had some such thing in view, for how can the King's brother-in-law be punished except by the over-throw of the King? It is possible that the *Cārudatta* was cut into two plays by the actors and in the first part of the play which is preserved to us, the reference to the political motif was removed. This seems probable, seeing the way single acts of Sanskrit plays have been preserved in Malabar. Or this motif could easily have been introduced by Bhāsa later on. Śūdraka might have introduced it in the fourth act itself for the sake of greater effect and closer unity. It might be thought that the words of Sajjalaka suggest that he might come to the rescue of Cārudatta when he is in trouble. Neither Sajjalaka nor anyone else helping Cārudatta I think could be effectual, for Śakāra is not merely wicked but also powerful and the King is not evidently willing to chastise him. Even if the crime were discovered to have been committed by Śakāra himself, by Vasantasenā herself making her appearance and accusing him - he is not likely to be punished so long as the present King continues to rule. On the other hand, Vasantasenā herself might be punished for bringing a false accusation against the King's brother-in-law. It seems to me essential that Śakāra should be made powerless and this can be achieved only by a revolution. Therefore it is more than probable that the political motif formed part of the original *Cārudatta*.

1. cf. Belvalkar, ibid.

SAINT VILVAMAṄGALA.

RAO SAHIB, MAHAKAVI, ULLUR S. PARAMESVARA AIYAR, M. A., B. L.

The name of Vilvamaṅgala, *alias* Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka, is intimately known and profoundly revered throughout India, as a distinguished Vaiṣṇava saint and poet. Mr. O. C. Gangoly, in his paper published in the Malaviya Commemoration Volume, deservedly calls him the Jayadeva of the south and says that "he belongs to the whole of India." [1] I propose, in the present paper, to discuss the problems relating to his date, birth-place and literary career.

Some scholars consider that there were three Vaiṣṇavite devotees under the common name of Vilvamaṅgala. According to them, the first of them, who wrote *Śrīkṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*, lived in the 9th century, the second, who wrote the *Prākṛta-kāvya*, *Śrīcihnam*, and other works, in the 13th century, and the third, who was a contemporary of Mānaveda, the Zamorin of Calicut who wrote Kṛiṣṇāṣṭaka, in the 17th century A. C. Similarly, there are scholars who would variously make Vilvamaṅgala a native of Bengal, of Āndhradeśa, of Gujerat and of Kerala. My own view is that there was only one Vilvamaṅgala, that he lived from *Cir.* C. 1220 to 1300 A. C., and that he was born at Puttañcira in the taluk of Parur in North Travancore.

It has been the fashion among writers in Kerala to ascribe even works written in the 19th century to Vilvamaṅgala. For instance, in a Sanskrit work named *Keralācāradīpikā* narrating the legends which have gathered round certain temples of Kerala, the name of Rani Gauri Lakshmī Bāyi, who ruled over Travancore from 1810 to 1815 A. C., is found mentioned; and yet it is stated that that work was composed by Vilvamaṅgala for the benefit of

1. Pandit Malaviya Commemoration Volume, p. 285-6.

Vīra Kerala Varma, a Raja of Kolattunād in North Malabar.[2] I need hardly say that the anonymous author of this work introduced the name of Vilvamaṅgala to invest it with a certain amount of hoariness and consequential holiness.

From a verse in Śrīkṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta, we learn that the name of the mother and the father of Līlāśuka, the author of that poem, were Nīlī and Dāmodara, respectively, and that his preceptor was Īśānadeva.[3] In a minor work of Līlāśuka, *viz.*, Bālakṛṣṇastotra, the name of Īśanadeva is repeated; that of another Guru by name Ādityaprajña is added; Nīlī and Dāmodara are again mentioned as the author's parents; and Rāghaveśāna is said to have been a friend of the author. It is further stated that Līlāśuka was a worshipper of Śiva at Trichur in the Cochin State.[4] There is thus clear evidence to prove that one and the same poet was the author of Śrīkṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta and Bālakṛṣṇastotra.

2 "गौरीलक्ष्मीमहाराजस्त्वसा तस्य महीक्षितः ।
पालयामास वसुधां धर्मज्ञा धर्मवर्त्मनी ॥"

The Rānis of Travancore are addressed in popular parlance as Maharajas and hence the use of the word 'महाराजः' in the above verse.

3. "ईशानदेवचरणाभरणेन नीली-
दामोदरस्थिरयशःस्तवकोद्गमेन ।
लीलाशुकेन रचितं तव देव कृष्ण-
कर्णामृतं वहतु कल्पशतान्तरेऽपि ॥"

This is the Kerala version of the verse. The Andhra version, published at Śrīraṅgam with the commentary of Pāpāyallaya Sūri, is incorrect and necessarily provokes the commentator to resort to untenable explanations.

4. "तिलकं कुलपालीनां नीलाते निलयं श्रियाम् ।
यमलं जनयाञ्चक्रे यञ्च कीर्तिञ्च शाश्वतीम् ॥
यस्य दामोदरो नाम पिता सवितृसन्निभः ।
... ॥
यस्य दक्षिणकैलासलीलापरिणतं महः ।
यच्चाँचन्दनवन्धेन सुगन्धयति मानसम् ॥"

Dakṣiṇa Kailāsa (Mal. Tenkaila) is a well-known synonym of Trichur. Nīlī is a well-known name among Nambūtiri women.

I shall first refute the arguments advanced in favour of the view that the author of Śrīkṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta lived in the 9th century A. C. It is, in the first place, alleged that Vilvamaṅgala consecrated the temple of Śrīpadmanābha in Trivandrum. This is clearly wrong, since the temple existed even earlier than the 9th century, and the saint who is said to have installed the image of Śrīpadmanābha therein is Divākara, a Brahman of (Tuludeśa) South Canara.[5] The second argument is that the Prākṛta poem, *Śrīcihnam*, also known as Govindābhiṣeka, contains a verse from which it may be inferred that Līlāśuka was a disciple of Padmapāda, the disciple of Śaṅkarācārya. That verse is quoted below :

"श्रीपद्मपादमुनिवर्यविनेयवर्गं-
श्रीभूषणं मुनिरसौ कविसार्वभौमः ।
श्रीकृष्णरूपपरमामृतपानशील-
श्चक्रे तदीयचरितं बहुधा हिताय ॥"

The poem is completed in 12 cantos, of which the first 8 were composed by Vilvamaṅgala, and the remaining 4 by his disciple Durgāprasādayati, who was obviously a native of Muktisthala, which is the Sanskritised equivalent of Mūkkola in Cochin about 10 miles to the south of Trpprangode.[6] Durgāprasādayati has stated that he completed the poem after the death of Vilvamaṅgala. To revert now to the verse excerpted, I concede that the second line of it lends itself to the interpretation that Līlāśuka was a disciple of Padmapāda. But according to Kerala tradition, Padmapāda founded the Āśrama known as Tekkemaṭham in

5. "तेषां मध्ये महातेजा दिवाकरसमप्रभः ।
यतिर्दिवाकरस्वोऽभूत्सर्वकामेषु निःस्पृहः ॥
विरक्तस्तीलवो योगी हरिं क्षीराब्धिशायिनम् ।
ब्रह्मभव्यर्चयद्विष्णुं मुक्तिकामो जितेन्द्रियः ॥"
(*Anantaśayanaśikṣāratnāvalimālā*).

6. "Muktisthala has no thing to do with Puri. *Vide* Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi's paper in the journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. II, page 68. It is an oft-recurring name in the Sanskrit works of Kerala, and means Mūkkola (മൂക്കോല). The great poet and grammarian, Melpattūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri, died there.

Trichur, and hence all those who were ordained as the Sanyāsins of that Maṭh could, in a remote and indirect manner, lay claim to his discipleship. Vilvamaṅgala is known to have been a Sanyāsin of Tekkemaṭham.[7] According to the interpretation challenged by me, Vilvamaṅgala should have been the author of both Karṇāmṛta and Śrīcinham, but that is not the position of the scholars referred to by me. There may, however, be others who are likely to be inclined to put Śrīcinham also as the work of the Līlāśuka of the 9th century, although by doing so they will have to admit that the saint was a grammarian also, since Sricinham has been composed to illustrate the rules of Vararuci's Prākṛtaprakāśa. It is with a view to meeting the arguments of those persons, if any, that I have ventured to give the above explanation.

I may here point out that one verse which is now included in Karṇāmṛta is quoted by Kṣemendra in his Aucityavicāracarcā, as an illustration of Adbhutarasa. That verse is the following :—

"कृष्णेनाम्ब गतेन रन्तुमधुना मृद् भक्षिता स्वेच्छया,
सत्यं कृष्ण? क एवमाह? मुसकी कृष्णाम्ब पश्याननम् ।
व्यादेहीति विकासितेऽथ वदने माता समस्तं जगद्
दृष्ट्वा यस्य जगाम विस्मयवशा पायात्स वः केशवः ॥"

Kṣemendra, however, not only does not say that it is the work of Līlāśuka, but on the other hand points out that it was written by Chandaka, who, like himself, is a poet of Kashmere. The same verse is found anonymously quoted by Śārangadhara in his Paddhati and by Vallabhadeva in his Subhāśitāvalī. Śārangadhara quotes four verses from Vilvamaṅgala's works and specifically states that the author of those verses is Śrīvilvamaṅgalacaraṇa. His Paddhati was composed in 1363 A. C. and if he had known that the verse 'कृष्णेनाम्ब' was the saint's he would not have ascribed it to

7. Kunjikkuttan Tampuran's 'Kuralam', p. 163 *Vide* also his paper on Padmapādāchārya in Mangalodayam (1085 M. E.) p. 342. *et. seq.*

an anonymous source. Again, Śrīdharadāsa, who was a poet of the court of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal and who compiled his Saduktikarṇāmṛta in 1205 A. C., quotes five verses from the Mukundamālā of the Keralīya poet Kulaśekhara Āḻvār, mentions that three of them were actually written by 'Śrīkulaśekhara' and treats the remaining two as anonymous. It is passing strange that, in a poetic anthology of Bengal, which quotes several verses of Jayadeva and which accords preferential treatment to Kulaśekhara Āḻvār, no mention should be made of Vilvamaṅgala or Śrīkṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta. Moreover, it seems doubtful whether the Rādhākṛṣṇa cult, which was to attain unique prominence in Bengal from the 16th century onwards, and which is picturesquely held up for worship in Śrīkṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta, had any position worth mentioning and whether *Brahmavaivarta*, the latest of the Purāṇas, in which it is advocated for the first time, had become popular in Kerala, in the 9th century A. C.

I shall now explain how the above verse of Chandaka got mixed up with those actually composed by Līlāśuka in Śrīkṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta. The tradition in Kerala is that this Karṇāmṛta comprises only 303 verses, as will be apparent from the following verse found in old manuscripts:

"कर्णामृतं भगवतश्चरितं रसज्ञः
श्लोकत्रयाधिकशतत्रयमादरेण।
शृण्वन् पठन्ननुदिनं समुपैति सिद्धिं
सिद्धो यथा सकललोकविहाररूपाम्॥"

Nevertheless, the Keralapāṭha itself consists of 336 verses. The Āndhra version is different from the Keralīya and is made up of 329 verses. The Vāṇī Vilās Edition and the Cochin Devaji Bhimaji Edition (the earliest Kerala edition) differ very widely. Apparently a number of stray verses in praise of Kṛṣṇa composed not only by Līlāśuka, but also by other authors like Chaṇḍaka, surreptitiously got into the text of Karṇāmṛta in later times

Who was Īśānadeva, the Guru of Vilvamaṅgala? Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasada Sastri refers to an Īśānaśiva of the Mattamayūra Maṭh, who lived in Dhar in North India, and that one of his disciples, Vairocana, compiled a work by name Pratiṣṭhādarpaṇam in 882 M. E. I do not think that this is the Īśānadeva referred to by Līlāśuka. There was another Īsānaśiva who wrote *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, published under the authority of the Travancore Government, and another work by name *Siddhāntasāra*, and who was for some time at Chidambaram in the reign of Kulottuṅga Chola III (1178-1218).[8] Possibly this Īśānaśiva was a Keralīya who in his old age taught Vilvamaṅgala. There were also others known ask Īśāanadevas and the identification is difficult.

I shall next refer to the other works of Vilvamaṅgala. I have already stated that Śrīcinham is a poem written with the express object of illustrating the rules enunciated in Vararucī's *Prākṛtaprākāśa*. Another grammatical work of Vilvamaṅgala is *Puruṣakāra*, a commentary on Daiva, with which the Trivandrum Sanskrit series was commenced. *Puruṣakāra* refers to Bopadeva by name, and Bopadeva lived in the latter half of the 13th century. Sāyaṇa, who lived in the 14th century, refers in his turn to *Puruṣakāra*. From all this it may be inferred that Vilvamaṅgala lived in the 13th century. His date may be approximately fixed as 1220 to 1300 A. C. My friend, Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, whose patient research and persevering elucidation of the contents of several unpublished Sanskrit Manuscripts deserve the warm-hearted appreciation of all orientalists, states that Vilvamaṅgala, who quotes from Bhoja's Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa in Puruṣakāra, has written an elaborate commentary on it by name *Kṛṣṇalīlāvinoda*, besides two

8. Mysore Gazette, Vol. II.

One Īśānasena is also mentioned by Dr. Hultzch and another by Vallabhadeva in *Subhāṣitāvalī*.

other original works, viz., *Subantasādhrājya* and *Tiṅantasāmrājya*.[9] I have not seen these. There is no doubt that he was a distinguished grammarian. I think that I have adduced enough reasons to show that it is needless to presume the existence of two Vilvāmaṅgalas, also known as Kṛṣṇalīlāśukas, both of whom were devotees of Kṛṣṇa as also great poets and Vāiyakaraṇas, one of whom lived in the 9th and the other in the 13th century.

Vilvamaṅgala was also known as Koḍaṇḍamaṅgala. 'Villu' is the Tamil-Malayālam equivalent of Koḍaṇḍa (a bow) and the house of the poet was not only called Vilvamaṅgala, but also Villumaṅgala. Both the names are referred to in Śrīcinham by Durgāprasāda.[10] Vilvamaṅgala composed several stotras, mostly in praise of Śrīkṛṣṇa, but a few also in praise of other Hindu Deities. His *Abhinavakaustubhamālā* and *Dakṣiṇāmūrtistava* have been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series; *Dakṣiṇāmūrtistava* is a Sivastotra. I have been recently able to unearth another stotra of his in praise of Durgā, who is the presiding Deity of Ariyannūrkāvu in Cochin State. That stotra is published as annexure I to this paper. Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi states that stotras have been composed by the saint in praise of Gaṇapati, Rāmacandra, etc., and of religious places like Vṛndāvana. Aufrecht, in his Catalogus Catalagorum, mentions some other stotras also as having been composed by him, *Viz.*, (1) *Kṛṣṇabālacarita*, (2) *Kṛṣṇāhnika Kaumudī*, (3) *Govindastotra*, (4) *Bālakṛṣṇakrīḍākāvya*, (5) *Vilvamaṅgalastotra* and (6) *Govindaikaviṁśatikā*. It is only after a perusal of all these works that one can say whether there is any duplication in the enumeration of his works in this paper. His *Bālagopālastuti*, still unpublished,

9. Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. III, p. 67.

10. "चापमङ्गलगृहो यतीश्वरः
विल्वमङ्गलगृहो वा भवति यः ।
मम एव परिचारकारणाद्
भद्रतामुपगतः प्रसीदतु ॥" (आर्या

has been mentioned by Mr. O. C. Gangoly, as already stated. With reference to the pictorial manuscript of this work discovered by him, he states : "Anyhow the manuscript offers significant evidence of a happy link between the literary and the graphic arts at a period of Indian culture where the artist and the literary man met on a common platform in a harmonious unity—the two forms of culture living and growing under the inspiration of a religious fervour." Another *Bālakṛṣṇastotra* of his, which has been discovered by the Curator for the Publication of Oriental Manuscripts in Travancore, has been scrutinised by me, and some verses from that poem are published as Annexure II to this paper. *Bhāvanāmukura* is a further work discovered by our Curator, and some verses from that poem, also in praise of Śrīkṛṣṇa, are published as Annexure III. *Kālavadha* is a kāvya in three cantos describing the legend of the death of Yama at the hands of Śiva, as also the residence of Śiva at Tripprañgode in South Malabar at the special request of Mārkaṇḍeya.[11] Tripprañgode is near Tirunāvāi, the well-known Vaiṣṇava shrine in South Malabar. He himself has stated in Karṇāmṛta that he was originally a Śaiva, but became a devotee of Kṛṣṇa later.

Vilvamaṅgala was also a Vedāntist. He wrote a commentary on Saṅkara's Bhāṣya on the *Kenopaniṣat* by name *Śaṅkarahṛdayaṅgama*. He composed a work known as *Kramadīpikā*, inculcating the secrets of the worship of Śrīkṛṣṇa. Vāsudeva, the author of the Tāntrika work *Rahasyagopāla-tantra- cintāmaṇi*, refers to him as a Saṁpradāyapravartaka.[12] He also mentions Bhavatrāta, Rāghavānanda.

11. "अथ प्रयातेष्वखिलेषु नाकिषु
द्वितीयवेधे जलधिं प्रतीयुषः ।
तस्मिन् पुनः श्वेतवने शिवः स्वयं
लिङ्गात्मना सन्निदधे मुनीच्छया ॥"

12. "कृष्णलीलाशुकश्रीमच्चरणाम्भोजनिःसृताम् ।
यतीन्द्रमधुपव्रातवेष्टितां धूलिमाश्रये ॥"

Mādhava, etc., as his successors in that saṁpradāya. Bhavatrāta is a name common only among the Nampūtiri Brāhmans of Kerala. Rāghavānanda is the well-known author of *Kṛṣṇapadī*, a commentary on *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, and some minor commentaries such as those on *Laghustuti*, *Mukundamālā* and *Paramārthasāra*.

From all these references it will be clear that Vilvamaṅgala alias Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka, was a native of Kerala. He was also the disciple of two other persons in addition to Īśānadeva and Ādityaprajña, Viz., Cintāmaṇi and Somagiri.[13] Commentators like Rāmacandra Budhendra give currency to the story that Cintāmaṇi was the mistress of Līlāśuka in his youthful days and that it was from her that he received his first lessons on devotion to Kṛṣṇa. This story is picturesquely developed in *Bhaktamālā*, the author of which locates both Cintāmaṇi and Somagiri in the Krishna District. The inference that the saint might have been an Āndhra has arisen out of these references; but in face of the incontrovertible facts that Vilvamaṅgala was a sanyāsin of Tekkemaṭham in Trichur, that he wrote *Kālavadha* to perpetuate the glory of Śiva of Tṛppraṅgode, and that he also composed a stotra in praise of Durgā, the presiding deity of Ariannūrkāvu, this version cannot be believed. Although there is a tradition in Kerala fixing the site of the house of Cintāmaṇi at Kakkatturutti near Cranganore, I do not quite see why the *Bhaktamālā* version should be wholly brushed aside. Possibly our saint was a wanderer from his early days and visited different spots in India. In later life his *Gaṇapatistotra* is said to have been written at Dorasamudra and his *Śaṅkarahṛdayaṅgama* at Benares. His connection with Cintāmaṇi in Āndhradeśa might, therefore, have been a fact. Somagiri was possibly an Āndhra saint who initiated him in

13. "चिन्तामणिर्नाम पूर्वं स्वैरेवोपभुक्ता काचिद्वाराङ्गना"

Pāpāyallaya supports it, but does not omit to say that Cintāmaṇi may also be taken as a word qualifying Somagiri.

vedantic philosophy. Vilvamaṅgala is connected with Gujerat merely because the germs of Vallabhācāya's puṣṭimārga form of vaiṣṇavite worship are found in his devotional hymns; and it is alleged that he was a native of Bengal for the mere reason that those hymns gave an impetus to the spread of the Caitanya cult in that province. It has, however, to be remembered that before the days of Caitanya in the 16th century, the works of Vilvamaṅgala were not popular in Bengal.

The fact that Vilvamangala was a native of Kerala raises her stature by several inches, and that is the justification I plead for reading a paper on him and his works before the present session of the Oriental Conference which holds its sittings for the first time in this part of the country, at Trivandrum. It is a matter of pride to the people of Travancore that Caitanya-candra worshipped in the temples of Tiruvaṭṭār, Trivandrum and Varkalai, and that it was from the first of these places that he secured a copy of *Brahmasaṁhitā* on which his cult was mainly based. *Brahmasaṁhitā* was annotated by Rūpagosvāmi, the well-known holymate of Bengal, who was a disciple of Caitanya.

ANNEXURE I.

दुर्गास्तुतिः ।

मणिकनकविभूषामिश्रितैरुत्पलौघै-
रुपचितपरभागामुज्ज्वलां मूर्तिलक्ष्मीम् ।
वहसि जलधरश्रीसोदरे ! देवि ! दुर्गे !
जय जय हरिकन्याग्रामचूडाग्रभूमे ! ॥ १ ॥

अरुणचरणपद्मे ! हारिदीव्यद्वुदुकूले !
स्तनकलशविनम्रे ! धन्यनानायुधाढ्ये ! ।
विकसितमुखचन्द्रे ! वीरलीलारसज्ञे !
जय जय जय दुर्गे ! जैत्रचित्रापदाने ! ॥ २ ॥

अतुलतुमुलकेली..... ...द्विजृम्भा-
विभवरसिकभावाबद्धधम्मिल्लभारे !
मृगपतिमधिरूढे ! विष्फुरत्सिंहनादे !
विहितमहिषदेह प्रसीद ॥ ३ ॥

स्खणस्खणदितिवज्रत्खड्गकोलाहलश्री-
धुतधुतविबुधारिव्रातरक्तावसिक्ते ! ।
विविधविबुधसेनासूनवृष्टिप्रहृष्टे !
जय जय जय दुर्गे ! देवि देवि ! प्रसीद ॥ ४ ॥

त्वमसि सदसि सद्भिः स्वर्गिणां कीर्त्यमाना
त्वमसि तपसि सिद्धैः सिद्धवर्गैर्विमृग्या ।
त्वमसि तमसि हस्तालम्बनं माहशानां
त्वमसि तदसि तत्त्वं: तत्त्वमेवाम्ब ! वेत्थ ॥ ५ ॥

त्वमसि कमलयोनेराननाम्भोरुहश्री-
स्त्वमसि दनुजशत्रोस्तुङ्गवक्षःस्थलश्रीः ।
त्वमसि मदनशत्रोः श्यामवामार्धलक्ष्मी-
स्त्वमसि निगमचूर्तैर्मण्डलाभोगलक्ष्मीः ॥ ६ ॥

त्वमसि जगति मातर्जन्मिनां जन्मसिद्धि-
स्त्वमसि मदनमातर्योगिनां योगसिद्धिः ।
त्वमसि वचसि मातर्वाग्मिनां वाक्प्रवृत्ति-
स्त्वमसि वपुषि मातः प्राणिनां प्राणशक्तिः ॥ ७ ॥

त्वमसि किमपि मातर्मङ्गलं मङ्गलानां
त्वमसि किमपि मातर्वैभवं वैभवानाम् ।
त्वमसि किमपि मातर्दैवतं दैवतानां
त्वमसि किमपि मातर्जीवितं जीवितानाम् ॥ ८ ॥

अयमयमवचैरञ्जलीनां सहस्रै-
रिदमिदमिह याचे नम्रया देवि! वाचा ।
भजदभिमतदानव्यग्रपादारविन्दे!
भगवति! मयि दुर्गे! देहि कारुण्यदृष्टिम् ॥ ९ ॥

महति महसि मग्ने! भग्नचन्द्रार्कदर्पे!
मधुरिमरसधारावर्षिकेलीकटाक्षे ।
परिणतकरुणार्द्रैर्भावनीये! मुनीन्द्रै-
र्भगवति! मम दुर्गे! दुर्गतिं दूरयेथाः ॥ १० ॥

महिषशिरसि पादं मानसे वा मदीये
निदधत निरवद्यज्ञानविज्ञानवेद्ये! ।
हर हर! हरिकन्याग्रामसत्याधिवासे!
भगवति! भवतापात् पाहि मां पाहि मातः ॥ ११ ॥

भुवनसुभगवेषे! भूषणश्रेणिचित्रे!
विपुलकमलनेत्रे! विश्रुते! विक्रमेषु ।
अभिनवघन.... मादिबाले!
भगवति! मम भक्तिर्भुक्तये मुक्तये च ॥ १२ ॥

तव महिमनि मङ्क्तुं के वयं केवलं त्व-
च्चरणकमलसेवाभक्तिभारावनम्राः ।
तदपि गुणगणैस्तैर्गुम्फितं स्तोत्रमेतत्
सकृदपि भुवनानां मातरुच्चंसयेथाः ॥ १३ ॥

कविमधुकरसार्थैर्गाढनिर्लीढमूर्त्या
प्रतिमुहुरनया वाङ्मालया मालिनी माम्।
बहलबहलहर्षोत्कर्षफुल्लत्कटाक्षा
भव भव भवसिन्धोर्मातरुद्धूत्य धन्या ॥ १४ ॥

इति भगवति कृष्णे भक्तिसाम्राज्यभाजा
त्वयि च भुवनमातुर्भूर्भवस्स्वस्त्रयीशे ।
किमपि रचितमेतत् कृष्णलीलाशुकेन
श्रवणनवविनोदं नन्दकन्ये! नयेत ॥ १५ ॥

जय जय हरिकन्यानाममञ्जुलमाले!
जय जय हरिकन्यानाममाणिक्यमाले! ।
जय जय हरिकन्यानामसम्पत्समृद्धे!
जय जय हरिकन्यानामसर्वेष्टसिद्धे! ॥ १६ ॥

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ANNEXURE II.

बालकृष्णस्तुतिः ।

अव्यान्मीलत्कलायद्युतिरहिरिपुपिञ्छोल्लसत्केशजालो
गोपीनेत्रोत्पलाराधितललितवपुर्गोपगोवृन्दवीतः ।
श्रीमद्वक्त्रारविन्दप्रतिहसितशशाङ्काकृतिः पीतवासा-
देवोऽसौ वेणुवाद्यक्षपितजनधृतिर्देवकीनन्दनो वः ॥ १ ॥

मौलौ केकिशिखण्डिनीमधुरिमाधारेधरे वंशिनी
पीना हृदि लसत्कारुण्यकल्लोलिनी ।
श्रोण्यां पीतदुकूलिनी चरणयोर्व्यत्यस्तविन्यासिनी
माया कापि विलासिनी विजयते वृन्दावनावासिनी ॥ २ ॥

अत्यन्तबालं व्रजसुन्दरीणां नृत्यन्तमग्रे नवनीतहेतोः ।
श्रुत्यन्तगम्यं प्रतिषिद्धभाजां प्रत्यन्तभूमिं प्रभुमाश्रयेथाः ॥ ३ ॥

सप्तस्वरोद्भासितसप्तरन्ध्रं विन्यस्य वेणुं वदनारविन्दे ।
व्यापारयत्यङ्गुलिपल्लवानि रन्ध्रेषु रन्ध्रेषु मनोहराणि ॥ ४ ॥

अञ्चतु चञ्चलमोजः किञ्चन मे मनसि पञ्चतासमये ।
अङ्गणरिङ्खणविरणत्कङ्कणमञ्जीरकिङ्किणीवलयम् ॥ ५ ॥

तापिञ्छगुच्छरुचि तामरसायताक्षं
तारुण्यनिर्भरतरङ्गितचारुलीलम् ।
तापत्रयप्रथमभेषजमङ्गभाजां
तादृङ् महः स्फुरतु चेतसि तावकीनम् ॥ ६ ॥

करेण मृदुनाचलं कमपि बिभ्रदभ्रङ्कषं
कदाचन पुलोमजाकमितृगर्वसर्वङ्कषम् ।
यशश्शशिगभस्तिभिर्गगनसिन्धुकूलङ्कषं
महः परमुपास्महे व्रजमहीकरीषङ्कषम् ॥ ७ ॥

मुरारिनाम्नः कलभस्य नूनमालानमासीत्त्रयमेव भूमौ ।
उल्लासलं वा यमिनां मनो वा गोपाङ्गनानां कुचकुड्मलं वा ॥ ८ ॥

कृष्णार्कतेजसोत्फुल्लरुक्मिणीवदनाम्बुजम् ।
आचुम्ब्याचुम्ब्य गायन्तं वन्दे गोविन्दषट्पदम् ॥ ९ ॥

अधरितहरिनीलरुचिर्विधुरितशकटीविधूततरुयुगली ।
कुकुरकुलजीविका ते वितरतु विजयं महीयसी माया ॥ १० ॥

बालमबालं कृष्णं किङ्किणिमालाभिरामजघनभरम् ।
तरुनखभूषितकण्ठं करधृतनवनीतपायसं वन्दे ॥ ११ ॥

श्रीकृष्णायाश्रितानर्थसार्थसंहृतिहेतवे ।
श्रीदामादिवयस्याय प्रशस्याय नमो नमः ॥ १२ ॥

कोमलाधरबिम्बचुम्बितवेणुनालमनोहर-
क्वाणमोदितगोपिकाजनगीयमाननिजोदयम् ।
मन्दहासमरीचिमण्डलरञ्यमानदिगन्तरं
नन्दगोपतनूभवं मुनिवृन्दवन्द्यमुपास्महे ॥ १३ ॥

कलायकुसुमोपमं कलितचन्द्रकापीडकं
करोच्चलितकिङ्किणीकलनिनादलोलं महः ।
चिरं शरणमस्तु वः शिवदमाचितं वेणुना
विराजितजगत्त्रयं विविधवद्धलीलास्पदम् ॥ १४ ॥

व्यत्यस्तचरणकमलं वेणुलताविवरमुखरिताम्नायम् ।
पायादपायरहितं मायागोपालविग्रहं तेजः ॥ १५ ॥

वेगोत्पाटनधूतभूतलमुरुत्रासोच्चलत्पन्नगं
भ्राम्यत्कुञ्जरयूथमुत्पथसरित्कल्लोलकोलाहलम् ।
नेत्रैराकुलतारकैरवनिभृत्पक्षच्छिदा प्रेक्षितं
बालः शैलमुदञ्चयन् प्रदिशतु श्रेयांसि भूयांसि वः ॥ १६ ॥

कालिमतुलितकलायं कालिन्दीपुण्यपुलिनकलहंसम् ।
कालियफणरङ्गनटं केलीपशुपालमाश्रये बालम् ॥ १७ ॥

वेणुस्वनप्रणयि वेदगिरां रहस्यं
केलीगृहीततनु केकिशिखण्डचूडम् ।
तापिञ्छगुच्छरुचि तामरसायताक्षं
जीयान्महः किमपि जीवितमिन्दिरायाः ॥ १८ ॥

मन्दस्मितस्नपितमुग्धमुखारविन्दे
मन्दानिलाकुलितकोमलकाकपक्षे ।
गोगोपगोपवनिताजनपुण्यपूरे
गोपालबालतिलके रमतां मनो मे ॥ १९ ॥

मदालसविलोचनैर्व्रजवधूजनैस्सादरं
मुहुर्मुहुरुदीक्षितं मुनिमनोभिरामेडितम् ।
पुरन्दरपुरोगमैर्विबुधसङ्घतैस्संस्तुतं
वनावनिचरं चिरं श्रयत गोपवेषं महः ॥ २० ॥

चिन्महोदधिकल्लोलं तन्महो वितनोतु वः ।
स्तनन्धयं यशोदाया धनञ्जयधनं जयम् ॥ २१ ॥

मुरासुरनिषूदनं मुषितकालमेघप्रभं
मनोज्ञमुखपङ्कजं मधुरकम्रबिम्बाधरम् ।
स्वभावमधुरस्मितं सरसवेणुनादामृतं
सरोरुहविलोचनं सततमस्तु वः स्वस्तिदम् ॥ २२ ॥

इन्द्रनीलदरसुन्दरावयवनन्दितासितघनद्युतिं
चन्द्रकान्तिभरचोरणाचतुरवक्त्रतर्जितसरोरुहम् ।
चन्द्रवेणुनिनदामृतैकरसधेनुवृन्दसमुपासितं
चन्द्रकाङ्कितशिरोरुहं नमत नन्दगोपतनयं सदा ॥ २३ ॥

अगणितमहिमाशरणाश्शतमखशर्वानलोल्लसच्चरणाः ।
व्रजकुलबालारमणाश्चेतसि मे भान्तु चिन्मणेः किरणाः ॥ २४ ॥

अङ्कुरितं यदुवंशे पल्लवितं वल्लवीकलालापे ।
कोरकितं श्रुतिशिखरे फलितं भक्तेषु पादपं वन्दे ॥ २५ ॥

कृष्णः करोतु कल्याणं कंसकुञ्जरकेसरी ।
कालिन्दीलोलकल्लोलकोलाहलकुतूहली ॥ २६ ॥

अगोपयोषिन्नयनाञ्चलाञ्चिता-
मकंसहन्त्रीमपयोपयोगिनीम् ।
अकन्यकाच्छादनहारिणीं वयं
न देवतां चेतसि चिन्तयामहे ॥ २७ ॥

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ANNEXURE III.

भावनामुकुरम् ।

तेनैकतामथ विभाव्य मनो नियम्य
सत्सम्प्रदायपदवीकुशलाः क्रमेण ।
अङ्गानि तस्य चिरमित्थममुष्य पत्युः
प्रत्येकमेव हृदि धारणया स्मरन्ति ॥ १ ॥

अम्भोजमत्स्यकुलिशाङ्कुशकूर्मशङ्ख-
चक्रध्वजामलगदाभिरलङ्कृतौ तौ ।
क्रीडां सदा कलयतं कुहनाकिशोर-
भावस्य कैटभरिपोश्चरणौ ममान्तः ॥ २ ॥

नाथस्य नाटकशिशोः परितः स्फुरन्ती
पादारविन्दनखचन्द्रमरीचिमाला ।
आभाति लोकभरणा करुणारसश्री-
रम्या हि बहुनुतनयेव विनिस्सरन्ती ॥ ३ ॥

सर्वस्वमादिमगिरामणिमादिसिद्धि-
जीवातुमादिसदनं मनसां मुनीनाम् ।
भाग्योदयं किमपि गोपविलासिनीना-
मीक्षामहे मुररिपोश्चरणारविन्दम् ॥ ४ ॥

विद्याविदग्धतरुणीनवकेलिदोला-
माणिक्यपीठमनिशोद्गततरश्मिजालम् ।
क्रीडाशिशोरमलमौलिमणिप्रभामि-
र्नीराजितं पदयुगं हृदि भावयामि ॥ ५ ॥

देवस्य जानुयुगचङ्क्रमणेषु पृथ्वी-
कान्ताङ्गसङ्गजनुषा पुलकेन अद्य ।
आधत्तमाहतुरनुक्रमकान्तिकान्ते
पद्मैः करीषमिलितैरपि लक्ष्यमाणौ ॥ ६ ॥

ऊरू हरेर्भुवनमन्दिरपद्मराग-
स्तम्भोपमावरुणकान्तिमयौ विभातः ।
अद्यापि तैर्नखरदारितदानवेन्द्र-
दुर्दैहगर्भगलितै रुधिरैरिवाब्धौ ॥ ७ ॥

सूत्रं सुवर्णमयमन्तरबद्धरत्न-
मध्ये विलम्बिमुकुरावृतगोपनीयम् ।
आविर्भवत्किणिकिणिक्वणकिङ्किणीक-
मस्मद्विभोरधिकटि प्रकटं चकास्ति ॥ ८ ॥

आरोहसीम्नि कलिता कुरुविन्दधाम्नि
देवस्य काञ्चनमयी परमस्य काञ्ची ।
सन्ध्याघनावलिरिवाम्बरबिम्बचुम्बि-
सौदामनीसहचरी हरते मनांसि ॥ ९ ॥

आनन्दमाकलयते धृतमन्दराद्रेः
काञ्चीगुणग्रथितरत्नमरीचिवीची ।
सन्ध्यातिलङ्घिभरिचुम्बितजम्भवैरि -
कोदण्डडम्बरविडम्बनपण्डिता नः ॥ १० ॥

हारस्य कान्तिलहरी हरिनाभिरन्ध्रं
व्याप्य प्रभोस्तत इतः परिनिस्सरन्ती ।
निर्गत्वरीव बहिरुत्कटतामुपेत्य
स्फारा विभाति करुणामृतसारधारा ॥ ११ ॥

ब्रह्माण्डगर्भमुदरं बलिबन्धिनोऽस्य
दामोदरस्य जननीकृतदामबद्धम् ।
विद्यैकवेद्यमहनीयपदाम्बुजस्य
व्याख्यात्युदग्रकरुणाभरपारतन्त्र्यम् ॥ १२ ॥

तिस्रो जयन्ति वलयस्त्रिदशैकबन्धो-
र्लावण्यपुण्यतटिनीलहरीविलासाः ।
अन्तःस्थितिं गतवतां जगतां त्रयाणा-
मन्योन्यसीम्नि रचिता इव रत्नरेखाः ॥ १३ ॥

श्रीभूविनोदनदुरोदरकेलिपीठी
संवित्कलासदनरत्नविलासभङ्गी ।
वक्षस्तटी व्रजवधूनयनान्तकेलि-
चित्रक्रियाफलकतां भजते विभोर्नः ॥ १४ ॥

पाटीरसारघनसारकुरङ्गनाभि-
काश्मीरकर्दमसुगन्धकृताधिवासे ।
ग्रैवेयभूषणविजृम्भितनूत्नरत्न-
प्रोद्यत्प्रभाभरविचित्रवितानरम्ये ॥ १५ ॥

व्यालम्बिमौक्तिकलताविहिताभ्यशोभे
लक्ष्मीविहारमणिमण्डपतां प्रपन्ने ।
वक्षःस्थले सुललिते वसुदेवसूनो-
र्दीपायते विततमध्यमणिर्महौजाः ॥ १६ ॥ (युग्मकम्)

पर्यन्तदेशपरिकीलितरत्नवज्र-
माणिक्यनायकमनोरममध्यभागा ।
कण्ठस्य मूलकलिता करुणाम्बुराशेः
स्थाली चकास्ति कमलामणिदर्पणश्रीः ॥ १७ ॥

कम्राङ्गुलीयकटकाञ्चितदिव्यदीव्य-
न्माणिक्यकान्तिकबरौ परमस्य बाहू ।
रत्नांशुरञ्जितपयोधिपयोन्तराल-
प्रालम्बप्रवाललतिकाश्रियमाश्रयेते ॥ १८ ॥

कल्लोलितां किरणमण्डलघातुरागैः
श्रीवल्लभस्य जितपल्लवसौकुमार्याः ।
केषां न तोषविधयेऽङ्गुल्यो भवेयुं-
स्त्रैलोक्यचित्ररचनामणितूलिभूताः ॥ १९ ॥

अन्तःस्फुरन्निजसुखाधिवरङ्गसङ्ग-
शीता बहिः परिमिलन्नवनीतगन्धाः ।
शिक्षिरयन्ति शिशोः शरण्या
।नःश्वासमन्दमरुतो निगमस्वभावाः ॥ २० ॥

पर्यन्तयोरहह ! कर्णयुगञ्च मन्ये
नासाप्यहो यदि मुहुर्न निवारयेताम् ।
अन्योन्यसीमपरिलङ्घनजाङ्घिकत्वं
को वारयेन्नयनयोः कमलेक्षणस्य (?) ॥ २१ ॥

कृष्णस्य सान्द्रकरुणामृतदिव्यवृष्टि-
धारालभावमधुरा मयि दृष्टिरस्तु ।
गोपालबालमहिलाप्रथमानमान-
ग्रन्थिग्रहद्रढिमपाटनकेलिलोला ॥ २२ ॥

सञ्चारिणीमिव मणिप्रतिमामुदारां
सम्प्राप्तमार्दवगुणां समुपात्तबाल्याम् ।
निर्वर्णयामि निखिलावयवानवद्या
नन्दस्य पुण्यविकृतिं नवकान्तिरेखाम् ॥ २३ ॥

लावण्यभस्य विकृतं ननु गोपिकाभि-
स्सौन्दर्यभस्य मदनस्य गुरोर्न वर्ण्यम् ।
चातुर्यभस्य चतुराननजन्मभूमे-
र्वाचा पुनर्जगति नैव विवेचनीयम् ॥ २४ ॥

गोपालबालनिकरैर्गतकेलिचिन्तै-
र्गोपीजनैरपि च विस्मृतबाह्यकृत्यैः ।
गोभिश्च चित्रकलिताभिरिवाचलाभि-
रास्वाद्यते मधुरिमा परितो मुरारेः ॥ २५ ॥

इत्थं क्रमेण कुशला गुरुसम्प्रदाय-
घण्टापथानवयवान् (सुचिरं) विचिन्त्य ।
कृष्णं कृतार्थमतयो हृदि भावयेयु-
रानन्दरूपमिममात्मतमाद्वितीयम् ॥ २६ ॥

शुद्धं विधाय सुधिया स्तवमत्युदार-
मन्वर्थं सुवृत्तभावम् ।
ये भावनामुकुरसंज्ञितमाद्रियन्ते
पश्यन्ति ते सकलमङ्गलमात्मरूपम् ॥ २७ ॥

A FORGOTTEN COMMENTARY ON THE KĀVYAPRAKĀŚA.

PROF. S. BHATTACHARYA, M. A.

Śrīdhara, better known and referred to as the *Sāndhivigrahika* by his illustrious successors such as Caṇḍīdāsa and Śrīvidyācakravartin, the works of which latter have now seen the light,[1] has referred in his masterly and elaborate commentary[2] on the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, called the *Kāvyaprakāśaviveka* to an older commentator Vācaspati Miśra, whom he quotes in two passages of his own work. The first reference[3] is in connection with the interpretation of the verse निःशेषच्युतचन्दनं ... and the second[4] in connection with the well known verse of the *Meghadūta* स्वामालिङ्य प्रणयकुपितां Later commentators have referred to Vācaspati Miśra, in connection with a minor point in his explanation of a third very well known verse (of the *Vikramorvaśīya*) अस्याः सर्गविधौ[5] ...Vācaspati Miśra is a name to conjure with (*sarvatantrasvatantra*) and with a blatant self complacence that

1. Caṇḍīdāsas' *Kāvyaprakāśadīpikā* edited by the writer of this paper in the Princess of Wales Sarasvatī Bhavana Series Vol. I (No. 46) and the other edited by late M. M. T. Gaṇapati Śāstri and K. S. Śāstri from (Trivandrum, 1921).

2. A complete transcript copy of this work is with the writer of this paper and he hopes to publish it soon.

3. अत्र वापीं स्नातुं गताऽसीति वाक्यार्थभावनादशायामेव नायकस्वरूपानुसन्धानसंस्कृतस्य बोद्धुरनुपपत्तितो लक्षणया विपरीतोऽर्थः प्रतीतिपथमवतरतीति तदन्तिकमेव गताऽसीति लक्ष्यत इति वाचस्पतिमिश्राः ।

4. लिखतोऽपि ममाक्षूणि निर्गतान्येव, तानि तु दृष्टिपिधानमिव कृतवन्ति, किन्तु मुहुर्मुहुरुच्छ्वासेनापास्य ऊर्ध्वं कथमपि लिखननिर्वाहः । इदानीन्तु प्रणामकालोचितमात्रे स्मृतचिन्ताविह्वलान्तःकरणस्य मम वारं वारं प्रवाहरूपतामापन्नैरश्रुभिः समन्ताद् दृष्टिर्लुप्यत इति वाचस्पतिमिश्राः ।

5. यद्यपि निर्णयासन्नो वितर्को वितर्कासन्नः संशय इति संशयवितर्कयोर्भेदान्निर्णयान्तरालवर्त्तिज्ञानं वितर्क इति वितर्कालङ्कारस्य कथंचिल्लक्षणं कृतं, वितर्कहेतुसंशयस्य

hardly brooks any contradiction, though it betrays a tangible lack of historic sense, has indulged on the ascription of views to the celebrated master-mind of the 9th century which he could hardly have subscribed to.

The next pre-eminent commentator Caṇḍīdāsa refers in these two very places to the views of Vācaspati, whom he quotes in his own manner with an imparted halo round his name calling him *prāchīna* in one case (6) and *Sarvatantravid* in another[7] and drawing a distinction between the views of the old and the new interpreters in both. These references bear repetition, as they profess to quote from Vācaspati's work, which Śrīdhara had done in a rather different language. This difference need not cause any dispute, for as we know, it was almost a fashion to quote works from memory or from second-hand references. The fail (2..... प्रभृतीनां) in the first reference dismisses all controversy about authentic or authoritative reference. Viśvanātha in his *Kāvyaprakāśadarpaṇa* presumably in these

प्रथममेवाभ्युद्रीचमानत्वात् (?) तावतैव वैचित्र्यातिशयात् किं-नु-प्रभृतीनां च शब्दानां संशयवितर्कयोस्तुल्यरूपत्वात् संशयेन वितर्को गर्भीकृत इति तस्यात्रैवान्तर्भाव इति अन्यकर्तुरभिप्रायः। It has got to be emphasised that Śrīdhara is a well informed Mīmāṁsaka of no mean order. The reference by कैश्चित्, is to Bhoja, the author of the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* (*Vide* Kāvyamālā Edn. P. 314).

6. एतेषां पदार्थानामनुसन्धानानन्तरं चार्थस्याभातमात्रस्य प्ररोहभावेन तद्वन्तिकं न गताऽसीत्यनेन वैपरीत्याद् गताऽसीति लक्ष्यत इति शेष इति प्राचीनानां श्रीमद्वाचस्पतिमिश्रप्रभृतीनां व्याख्यातॄणां मतम्। (P. 17)

7. अत्राकृतिलिखनात्कथञ्चिन्निर्वाक्षपादपतनारम्भेऽप्यत्रैवावसरसमये त्वदीयविलासविशेषसमुद्दीपितशोकावेशनिभृतस्य मम बाष्पैर्दर्शनपिधानद्वारा विघ्नः क्रियत इति सर्वतन्त्रविदो वाचस्पतिमिश्राः। Caṇḍīdāsa with his predilection for philosophical writers as is evident from his occasional citations from the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* of Śrīharṣa (whose incisive style and manner he has copied to a degree of nicety) might have been confusing this Vācaspati with the celebrated philosopher – a confusion which is however unwarranted by the manner of references in Śrīdhara's work.

very places, following his illustrious relation (Caṇḍīdāsa), whom he has laid under contribution in no mean measure in his commentary as well as his original well-known work, the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*[8] has cited the views of this authority. Amongst later and quite modern commentators Bhīmasena Dīkṣita in his *Sudhāsāgara*[9] has referred to him.

A very late writer, who quotes from the commentaries on the *K. P.* by Śrīvatsalāñchana Bhaṭṭācārya, Paramānanda Cakravartin, Jayarāma Nyāyapañcānana (which works are now all available in manuscripts) in his work, the *Ekaṣaṣṭyalaṅkāraprakāśā*[10], has a distinct reference to this Vācaspatimiśra as a commentator in the matter of deciding the interpretation of the term "पुराणो मुनिः", in the verse अस्या: सर्गविधौ a text in which other commentators have not referred to him.

(8) अपि च परशब्दः परत्र लक्ष्यमाणगुणयोगेन वर्तमान इति ... prefaced by the statement यदाहुः शारीरकमीमांसाभाष्यव्याख्याने श्रीमद्वाचस्पतिमिश्राः, (1) (P. 523 4th Edn. Jīvānanda). In such citations there can be no hint even of things bearing on Alaṅkāra literature directly.

9. 147. अत्र विघ्नः क्रियत इति सर्वतन्त्रविदा वाचस्पतिमिश्राः ।
(Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series.)

10. यत्तु पुराणो मुनिरिति नारायण इत्यर्थस्तन्मूलोदाहरणापर्यालोचननिबन्धनं चक्रवर्त्ति-भट्टाचार्य-वाचस्पतिमिश्राद्यनेकव्याख्यानविरुद्धं चेत्यनादेयम् । Folia (7 a in manuscript No. 555 Asiatic Society of Bengal—Government collection.) This work which is in the form of a commentary on the 10th *ullāsa* of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* is meant to justify Mammaṭa's enumeration of the *arthālaṅkāras* in the face of the growing tendency in later writers to multiply them ever and anon (e. g. in the popular work *Kuvalayānanda*). In folia 1 a we read :—

"प्रायः कुवलयानन्दभट्टाद्याश्चञ्चडीकृताः ।
प्रकाशे विद्यमानेऽपि न पश्यन्ति विपश्चितः ॥
अतः कुवलयानन्दे न्यूनाधिक्यं प्रपश्यता ।
ऐकमत्यैरलङ्काराः स्थाप्यन्ते क्षम्यतां बुधैः ॥"

All these would go to establish the existence of a commentator who was looked upon as an authority and the loss of whose work might well be regarded as something to be deplored. There is one point to be noted to which these references draw our pointed attention which is countenanced by the text of Śrīdhara's commentary and which indicates something like a cleavage between the views of the Kashmirian school and these of their more or less affiliated authors; and this which, as is quite likely, was well pronounced amongst the less aesthetic and more sturdy dialecticians that sprang up in and around Mithila in the wake of the revival of Nyāya studies. We have in the works of Bhoja, Hemacandra and his Jaina confreres (and earlier still in the commentary of Namisādhu on the *Kāvyālaṅkāra* of Rudraṭa) as well as in the manner of treatment in Jayadeva's *Candrāloka*, a point of approach which is distinct from, sometimes diametically opposed to, that of the Kashmirian tradition espoused by Abhinavagupta, Mammaṭa and their followers. All the three passages noted above occur as illustrated in the works of Bhoja and his remarks thereon [11] may be compared and studied as sidelights[12] to the view points adumbrated in the citations from this Vācaspati Miśra.

11. The difference relating to the third passage is more or less of a technical nature and has been noted already. The verse "स्वामाश्लिष्य" ... is used as an illustration in the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (XXIV. 26) of *vipralambha* and is mean to illustrate the shades of difference of meaning of *sphuranta*. In the comment on the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* emphasis is laid on the maturity of affection (अनुरागस्य प्रौढिः). (*Vide* P. 539 Kāvyamālā Edn.) In the *K. P.* text emphasis is laid on the *śapathetukatā* (शपथेतुकता) however.

12. The comments in the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* (Kāvyamālā Edn. pp. 468 and 470):— "मते चास्माकमुद्देशो भिद्यते नैव भाषिकात्।" (विद्यते in the printed text is a misprint)

"व्यक्ताव्यक्तोभयाख्यात्रैविध्यः सोऽपि कथ्यते।"

*** **** *** ***

अव्यक्तो यथा "निःशेषच्युतचन्दनं"...

prove that Bhoja and his followers would regard the verse as a case of *udbheda* (non-concealment) foreign to the nature of *vyañjanā* emphasised by the *Dhvani*—school writers.

The three prominent Vācaspati Miśras, whom we know from catalogue entries and published works are the master philosopher (*sarvatantrasvatantra*) Vācaspati, who lived *circa* 850 A.C. and the two Smṛti-nibandha writers of that name, both of whom are later than the works in which these references are found. (Śrīdhara, the author of the *K. P. Viveka*, falls between 1150 and 1280 ; the Smṛtikār as being so late as the 15th and 16th centuries A. C.) The first is barred out from all considerations. While the *K. P.* is a work of the 11th century (1050 or thereabouts), the works on which it was based and from which it drew illustrations, particularly the *Kāvya*-kautuaka of Bhaṭṭatota, the *Sahṛdayadarpaṇa* of Bhaṭṭanāyaka and the *Dhvanyālokalocana* of Abhinavagupta cannot by any strech of imagination be taken to so early a date[13] and this, by the way, would rest on the gratuitous assumption that this Vācaspati Miśra wrote commentaries or glosses on such works, which assumption tradition is not likely to support. From the manner of reference to his views in the commentary of Śrīdhara, where he is mentioned simply as Vācaspatimiśra and not even with an honorific epithet it would appear that he was a senior not much distant in time and there is just the likelihood that he belonged to his part of the Indian continent which was not improbably Mithilā. It is noteworthy that the late writers, who introduce him, know him almost always from second-hand quotations and that no Kasmirian writer or for the matter of that no South Indian authority utilises his views. His remarks are not found discussed when important issues and general questions of principle which figure so prominently in this *nibandha* work (*K. P.*) are involved. In any case we can readily assert that whatever was acceptable in his comments was utilised by his successors near about. That his name did not linger long amongst scholars and commentators is quite evident and this in itself is sufficient to

13. Moreover there is an insurmountable difficulty and that is in connection with the verse "निःश्वेयचद्भुतचन्दनम्" ... (which this Vācaspati miśra comments on), which does not occur in the early Dhvani works, including the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana.

prove that he did not enjoy that recognition which fell to the lot of later commentators like Śrīdhara, Caṇḍīdāsa Viśvanātha or Govinda Ṭhakura.

The commentators on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* that are known on unimpeachable evidence to have preceded Śrīdhara, who was very likely the first to introduce references to this authority, are not many. They include Rucaka[14] the well known author of the *Alaṁkāra-sarvasva*, the *Vyakti-vivekaviveca*na and the *Sahityamīmāṁsā*, known by reference as works by him (circa 1100 A. C.) and the Jaina compiler Māṇikyacandra, the author of the now popularly known gloss *Saṁketa*,[15] a title more fittingly applied to that of his predecessor Rucaka. The available commentaries (including those known in manuscripts) of a date earlier than and very near to that of Śrīdhara are those of Sarasvatītīrtha, Jayantabhaṭṭa, Someśvara and Śrīvidyā-cakravartin and those of Bhāskara and Subuddhi Miśra. The three latter are barred by time considerations. Subuddhimiśra who might have been hit out as one, later metamorphosed into Vācaspati Miśra, is out of the question. His *Tattvaparīkṣā*, a fragmentary manuscript of which is preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal collection,[16]

14. Rucaka's *K. P. Saṁketa* has been published with notes in English by the present writer in the Calcutta Oriental Journal Vol. II. 1935 (pp. 78). It would appear likely that Rucaka had before him comments of earlier scholars or atleast floating materials, on which he based his remarks and views (*Vide* pp. 5, 13, 25 Cal. Or. Journal).

15. Published in the Ānandāśrama Series, Poona and also by Dr. Shamasastrin of Mysore.

16. Manuscript No. 3515 (Folia 69) goes up to the fifth Ullāsa. He quotes from the *nāmas* (folia 37) the *Dhvanikṛt*, Mahimabhaṭṭa, Abhinavagupta, Dhanika, Bhattatota etc. ; which goes to show that he has endeavoured to keep to the undefiled traditional sources. It quotes from the late work the *Saṅgītaratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva as well as from Viśvanātha. We read in his introduction :—(Folia 56).

"प्रकाशविषये ह्यर्थे विफला दीपिकादयः ।"

(Ref. to the commentary of Caṇḍīdāsa)

"एवमालोक्यमाने तु व्याश्रियन्ते न दर्पणाः ॥"

(Ref. to the works of Viśvanātha)

"अतः सुबुद्धिमिश्रेण दोषारोपनिवृत्तये ।
तुलामारोप्य शब्दार्थौ तयोस्तत्त्वं परीक्ष्यते ॥"

He also quotes from Bhaṭṭa (Kumārila), Pārthasārathi Miśra etc.

proves this conclusively. SarasvatĪtĪrtha, whose native country was the Āndhradeśa (verse 5 of his introductory verses) and who lived in Benares as a *sannyāsin* of a high order,[17] comes very near to the time of ŚrĪdhara being born in 1242 A. C. and if the ascription to this Vācaspati Miśra of all round scholarship has had any foundation in fact and was not the result of mere confusion of names, would very well satisfy the pre-requisites[18] esp. as he quotes in his commentary on the 8th *ullāsa*, the views of King Bhoja with apparent approbation. A close scrutiny of his work can only set at rest this conjecture bordering on the range of idle speculations which are prompted not merely by his unequalled proficiency in different subjects but by his being the author of treatises on various sections thereof[19]. His date, which is rather too late for his being quoted by ŚrĪdhara unless they were both contemporaries, separated by a decade or so, is, however, a serious block in the way of this ascription even if the other requisites are satisfied. Jayantabhaṭṭa is for that very consideration barred out. Moreover, ŚrĪdhara's references would lead us to suppose that this writer lived somewhere near Mithilā, where Jayantabhaṭṭa was a native of Guzrat. Someśvara the author of the *Kāvyaprakāśādarśa*

17. One of the introductory verses is—

"काश्यां सरस्वतीतीर्थयतिना तेन रच्यते ।
टीका काव्यप्रकाशस्य बालचित्ता तु रञ्जनी ॥"

18. In his account of himself we read :—

"तर्के कर्कशकेलिना बलवता वेदान्तविद्वारसे
मीमांसागुणमांसलेन कृतिना साङ्ख्येऽप्यसङ्कथोचिना ।
साहित्यामृतसागरेण फणिनो व्याख्यास्वभिख्यावता
काश्यां तेन महाशयेन किमपि ब्रह्मामृतं पीयते ॥"

This would go to justify his being designated as *sarvatantrasvatantra*. But the lower limiting date of Śrīdhara, which may have to be pushed up to 1250 A. C. if not earlier, militates against this hazardous assumption, as also his surname miśra, a designation which is hardly met with in the names of South Indian writers.

19. He is known to have composed several works like the *Smṛtiratna*, and the *Tarkaratna*.

is believed by some[20] to be a native of Kānyakubja and is held by others to be the same as the father of Śāradātanaya, the author of the *Bhāvaprakāśana*[21] living in the early half of the 13th century A. C. It would thus appear likely that while in the course of the two centuries or so that elapsed between the composition of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* this work had been commented on in South India, Benares, Kānyakubja, not to say of the several commentators[22] in the land of its birth there was some noteworthy commentator[23] in Mithilā or near by who applied himself to this task. It is a pity, however, that if Govinda Ṭhakkura, the author of the *K. Pradīpa* who belongs to Mithilā, does not give us any clue to trace any earlier commentator of that country.

In concluding we would like to emphasize the outstanding advantages of a study of the *K. P.* with the help of earlier commentaries thereon. These know the tradition,[24] give valuable references, hint at the treatises that went to the making up of this epoch-making *nibandha* work of Mammaṭa[25] and are frank and courageous[26] in their criticisms of his view points.

20. Vide Introduction to Bhaṭṭa Vāmanāchārya's edition of the *K. P.* (p. 25) (4th impression, 1921).

21. *Vide* Introduction (G. O. S. edn.)

22. Besides Ruyaka (circa 1100 A. C.), who has already been mentioned and the predecessors in his line in his own country there were other Kashmirian commentators who are referred to as the Kaśmīrakas by Śrīdhara. (Vide the notes of the editor in the edition of the *K. P. Dīpikā* of Caṇḍīdāsa p. 131).

23. Pakṣadhara Miśra—Jayadeva Piyuṣavarṣa, who is remembered as one of the commentators on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* and is cited by some of the later commentators (e. g. in the *Sudhāsāgara* p. 438) lived some time after 1250 A. C. and it is therefore unlikely that he could have been quoted by Śrīdhara.

24. The difficulty with later writers like Govinda has been that they have often missed the tradition and amuse themselves no less than their readers by their clever and intricate ways of expression and subtle argumentation. It has long been the fashion to inaugurate the study of the *K. P.* with such commentaries. We should now cry halt to this state of things and think that we should end therewhence we so long started.

25. Ruyaka's excellent, though brief, gloss (the *Saṅketa*) and Śrīdharas comments (particularly in *sūtras* III & X) are best evidences.

26. *Vide* Ruyaka's and Śrīdhara's comments (noted in the *K. P. Dīpikā* edition pp. 28 and 87) and *K. P. Saṅketa* (pp. 8, 13).

ŚRĪRAṄGAM UTTAMANAṂBI TIRUMALAINĀTHA

An unknown Sanskrit Poet of the 15th Century.

VIDVATTAMA, A. M. SATAKOPARAMANUJACHARYA, M. O. L.

Of the few South Indian Vaiṣṇavite Sanskrit Poets of renown, the earliest known is Vedānta Deśika who was followed sometimes later by Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita—Śrīnivāsācārya, the author of "Divya-*sūri-carita*", a Kāvya on the lines of "*Raghuvaṁśa*" and dealing elaborately with the Svayaṁvara of Śrī Āṇḍāl.

But in the same Kāśyapa Gotra as Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita, Uttamanaṁbi Tirumalainātha of Śrīraṅgam was a forelocked "Coliya" Śrīvaiṣṇava, who is known to have composed the following three Sanskrit Poems (unprinted). (1) Ananda Laharī (2) Sawbhāgya Laharī—both in praise of Śrīraṅganāyaki and (3) Lakṣmī Kāvya, which were recently discovered by me.

Lakṣmīkāvya is an epic in 18 cantos dealing with the Svayaṁvara of the Uraiyūr Nācciyār, the Chola princess, Lakṣmī, who wedded the LORD Śrī Raṅganātha whose festivals are also elaborately described herein. One peculiarity of this work is that that it begins, as does the Kumārasaṁbhava, with the word "*Asti*".

The Laharis above-mentioned, contain 100 ślokas each. They are commented on by Prativādibhayaṅkara -Śrī Aṇṇā, who was commanded to do so by Śrī Maṇavāḷa Māmunigal. The Commentary makes mention of 2 other works by the same author named *Lāvaṇya Laharī and Mādhurya Laharī*. They have not been discovered till now.

The details that are known about the author's life are these :—Śrī Raṅganātha is his family diety. His father's name is Cakrarāya. Mother's name is Lakṣmī Ammangār. His alias is Uttamarāya (Colophon of the Kāvya)

His ancestors as well as his descendants have been hereditary trustees of Śrī Raṅgam temple. Like his father's elder brother Uttamarāya, he also received from the (Elephant hunting king) Gajaveṭṭai Devarāya of Vijayangar, a golden stūpi to be mounted on his house-top, an umbrella of pearls, trumpets, double Pandams and other royal paraphernalia. He is known to be a great donor.

From the KOIL-OLUGU, the temple chronicles of Śrīraṅgam, it is learnt that he (1) added 22 villages to the temple (2) constructed and donated an Ivory Vehicle for the LORD (3) performed the Sahasra-kalaśa-abiṣekam (4) built a 100 pillar Maṇḍapam, east of the Periya Tirumaṇḍapam, (5) repaired Koṭṭāram, ELLAI Maṇḍapam and Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa temple at Punnāga Tīrtham.

The Age of Thirumalainātha: He is known to have received presents from the Elephant Hunting Devarāya. He speaks of Maṇavāḷa Māmuni, as having only recently passed away, (2) he mentions Veṅkaṭeśa, son of Varada, the first Aṇṇan, in his Kāvya. The KOIL-OLUGU says that he was performing services referred to above from S. S. 1366 (1444 A. D.)

From the three sanskrit works mentioned above, the following informations are available regarding the author's father and his brother. The author's father is Chakrarāya whose elder brother is Uttamarāya and younger brother is Thimmanarāya. Uttamarāya is also known as Mārga Dāsya Pati, in memory of his having settled the boundary dispute between Śrīraṅgam and Tiruvāṇaikāval and fixed the route of the Procession of Śrī Raṅganātha. This Uttamarāya is known to have been the trustee of Śrī Raṅgam temple and added to it villages, jewels, vāhanams, maṇḍapams, prākārams, udyānams, festivals, and broad streets. He is known to have patronised Vidvāns. It is said that he had been presented with royal presents by the Gajavēṭṭai Devarāya.

Chakrarāya, the father of the poet is known to have built some small shrines within the temple. He is kown to have fed a large number of Brahmins often and endowed Agrahārams.

Thimmanarāya, younger brother of the poet's father, is described as having cast off his fabulous wealth, as a serpent would its slough, and became a Sanyāsin leaving behind him three sons: Uttamarāya, Chakrarāya and Kṛṣṇarāya. This Timmanarāya is also known to have been proficient in arts and music

Kṛṣṇarāya, the grand-father of the poet is known to have rendered valuable services in the temple of Śrī Raṅganātha to which he has added some villages.

N. B.—A second copy of the Laharis mentioned above is not yet available. The Kāvya is being printed (with the help of another copy from Oriental MSS. Library in Madras.) By Colonel: Sir T. Desikāchārya of Trichy.

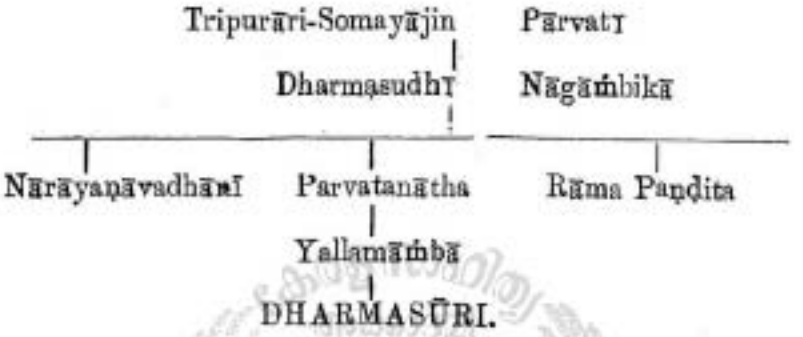
DHARMA-SURI—His Date & Works,

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I. *The Poet's ancestry and personal details* :—Dharmasūri was a Brāhmaṇa of the 'Hārīta-gotra,' and believed to have lived at Kaṭhevara near Tenāli (Guṇṭūr Dt., Madras Presidency.) His grand-father, Dharma-sudhī propitiated Īśvara ;by means of his severe 'tapas' and obtained as a result, a boon that his family should be an uninterrupted line of savants' well-versed in the whole of the 'Śāstraic, lore till the seventh generation (S. R. I. 18 śl.) Our poet's ancestors were reputed for their deep erudition. They were living at Benares and consequently their family was being called 'Vārāṇasī' family. His father's elder brother Nārāyaṇāvadhānī was a literary prodigy and had the title 'Avadhāna-parikramaṇa-cakravartin'. Defeating a great 'savant' Rāmāvadhānī by name, in 'Vedic Avadhāna', Nārāyaṇa was greatly honoured at the court of Dharmabhūpa who respectfully offered to him a planquin, an umbrella and a 'cāmara' and bestowed on him the title of 'अवधानीश्वरशरभबडागण्डभेरुण्ड'. We cannot at present identify this king (*S. R.* I. 21 śl.) Nārāyaṇa's younger brother was Parvata-nātha-sūri, our poet's father. It is said (*S. R.* I. 22, 23 śl.) that Parvatanātha was a great 'savant' in all the 'Śāstras' and that before an assembly of scholars he had defeated in literary contest one, Janārdanācārya and taken from the vanquished scholar his proud title 'Vādi-kesarī', at the same time making him renounce his title 'Māyāvādi-bhayaṅkara'. We are not able to identify this Janārdana either. Parvatanātha's younger brother Rāma Paṇḍita was a great elocutionist and a sound scholar

in all the six systems of Indian philosophy. The poet says about himself that he was a master in all the fourteen 'Vidyās' [1] but he was particularly proficient in the 'Nyāya-śāstra' and he did not allow his special attraction towards Nyāya' to deflect his deep love for poetry and poetics. Thus he says in his—*Narakāsura-vijaya*; (16 śl.) 'तर्के कर्कशतां गतापि नितरां' etc.

THE POET'S GENEALOGY.



II. Date—*Internal evidence* :—Dharmasūri in his *S. R.* (pp. 119; 185 *Bomra. ed.*) mentions Vidyānātha by name and criticises him. The date of Vidyānātha is according to—Pro. P. V. Kāṇe 1300-1325 A. D., Dr. S. K. De 1290-1310, Prof. Trivedi and Prof. Eggeling 1298-1317. Sewell—1295-1323 and according to Prof. Śeṣagiri Śāstrin 1268-1319. Taking the latest among these dates, we may assign our poet to a period later than 1328 A. D.

Our poet mentions the author of the Sañjīvinī, a commentary on the *Alaṁkāra-sarvasva* of Ruyyaka (*S. R.* VI p. 115-*Tel. ed.*, p. 105 *Bomra ed.*). *Sañjīvinī* was the work of Vidyācakravartin who was a protégé of king Vīra Ballāla III (1291-1342) of the Hoysala dynasty [2]. From this we can safely assert that our author was later than 1342 A. D.

1. Vide. Appendix.

2. Vide. Dr. M Krishnamacharya :—*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 856-858 (1937).

The latest among writers quoted by our author is Bhūpāla who is identical with Siṅgabhūpāla, the royal author of the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (T. S. Series). Dividing the 'Śṛṅgāra-rasa' into 'Saṁkṣipta' and 'Vistṛta', Dharmasūri says :

तत्राद्यो भूपालेनोक्तः—

"युवानौ यत्र संक्षिप्तौ साध्वसव्रीडितादिभिः।
उपचाराक्षिपेयेते स संक्षिप्त इतीरितः॥ इति।".

S. R. X. p. 341 (*Tel. ed*)., p. 346 (*Bomra ed.*).

The above verse is found in the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* II, p. 135 (Venkaṭagiri ed. in Telugu characters, 1895).

Now the dates assigned to Siṅgabhūpāla by several Sanskritists are as follows :—

Prof. Śeṣagiri Śāstrin and Dr. S. K. De (About 1330 A. D.,) Mr. A. N. Krishṇa Aiyaṅgar [3] (1360-1400 A. D.) Dr. M. Krishṇamācāriar [4] (About 1400 A. D.)

Taking the earliest date assigned to Siṅga-bhūpāla, (i. e. 1330 A. D.) we might say that Dharmasūri was later than 1330 A. D.

External and Indirect evidence :—Mallināṭha, the famous Sanskritist of 'Āndhra-deśa' and the voluminous commentator on Sanskrit classics does not even once refer to Dharmasūri or his *S. R.* though both of them belonged to the same province. If Dharma lived before Malli, this famous scholiast could not have ignored such a brilliant author as Dharma who hails from his own province. The dates assigned to Malli. by several scholars are 1390-1400 (Dr. R. G. Bhaṇḍārkar). 1400-1414 A. D. (Prof. Trivedī and Dr. De.), 1419-46 (Dr. M. Krishṇamāchāriar). Dharma might be later than or a younger co-eval of Malli. If they

3. *Summaries of Papers* (Pp 28-29.) Mysore Oriental Conference.
4. *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*—p. 770.

were contemporaries, it might be that Dharma, being too near in time, might not have been taken as an authority by Mallināṭha.

Jagannāṭha Paṇḍitarāja, the renowned Sanskrit poet of Āndhradeśa, was not mentioned even once in the S. R. Jagannāṭha was like a huge light-house in the field of Sanskrit Poetics and no later writer on Poetics, to whatever province he might belong, could afford to ignore Jagannāṭha or his work, *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*, much less Dharma who belonged to the same province. Dharma's silence regarding Jagannāṭha might be taken to mean that the former was earlier than Jagannāṭha or earlier than 1625 from which date Jagannāṭha's literary activity is believed to have begun.

Appakavi, the famous Āndhra grammarian, mentions the *S. R.* by name in the *Appa-kavīya* while enumerating works on (Sanskrit) grammar and Alaṅkāra. (p. 12. Śrī Rājarājeśvarī-Niketanam Press ed. 1910). *Appakavīya* contains (I. 33) the date of its composition which corresponds to 1656 A. D. From this we can conclude that Dharma was earlier than 1656 A. D., and in all probability earlier than 1625 (Jagannāṭha's date). We might assign 1414 (Mallināṭha's earlier limit) and 1625 A. D., as the two limits within which our author must have flourished.

We can yet narrow down these limits. Gaurana, the well-known Telugu poet, author of *Hariścandra-caritra* in 'Dvipada' metre, had also written in Saṁskṛt a work on Poetics, *Lakṣaṇa dīpikā* [5] by name, in which the *S. R.* was referred to. If this is the same work as our author's, which I think highly probable, Dharma might be said to have been a contemporary of or a little earlier than Gaurana. The date of Gaurana is 1440-1450 A. D. [6] Hence we can safely

5 *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*—Vol. XXII (Govt. O. MSS. Library, Madras.) pp. 8692-96.

6. *Lives of Telugu Poets*—Part I. p. 525 (Revised ed. 1917)—by Śrī. K. Viresalingam Pantulu.

conclude that Dharma-sūri must have lived between 1414-1430 or roughly the first quarter of the 15th century.

A. *Stotras.*

1. *Kṛṣṇā-stuti* 2. *Sūrya-śataka*

These two *stotras* are no longer extant but are known only through fragments cited in the *Sāhityaratnākara.*

1. *Kṛṣṇā-stuti*: This is a 'stotra' in praise of the river Kṛṣṇā. In the *Sāhitya-ratnākara* [Taraṅga VI-dealing with Śabdālaṁkāra page 125 (*Bomra ed.*), p. 143 (*Tel. ed.*)] the following verse is given in illustration of 'Vṛttyanuprāsa',

यथा ममैव कृष्णानदीस्तुतौ —

"कृष्णा मुष्णातु खिष्णास्वभिजनवृजिनान्याशुदुर्वारवारा
वाराशेरादिदारा हरिरखिरहरीभेन भेनाच्छफेना ।
शुभ्राशुभ्राभ्यदूर्मिभ्रमकरमकरग्रामणीग्रामनीडा
गाधागाधाररोधोविवरभुविवलद्वीचिरौधा वरौधा ॥".

2. *Sūrya-śataka*: This too is known only through a couple of quotations. It is otherwise known as *Ravi-śataka.* It is in praise of the god Sūrya, after the famous *Sūrya-śataka* of Mayūra. Like Mayura's poem the *Ravi-śataka* of our poet also is in *Sragdharā* metre.

8. नागबन्धस्त्वस्माभिः सूर्यशतके बिम्बवर्णनप्रस्तावे कथितः । यथा—

"बिम्बं ध्वान्तव्यधाऽदं कनकधरशिरश्चारि शोणद्युदाहं
पद्माभिप्रेमसोमक्षतवसुरसुदः कर्तृकन्यूहहारि ।
शेमुष्यादातृदैत्याधिपतुदतुलकर्मा मयाधानकल्पां
कस्वेह क्षीनतामुक्षिपतु पटु परं दैवमार्चिः कदम्बम् ॥."

अष्टदलपद्मबन्धस्तु अस्माभिः सूर्यशतकेऽष्टवर्णने कथितः । यथा—

"या दासत्राणरक्ता ततिरिनहरिता शाभिनव्यास्तमाया
या मास्तब्यानभिज्ञानवतु मरकतग्रामसश्रीरजेया ।
याऽऽजैरश्रीसमा या वदरितरितसत्तासरत्ताजराया
या राजद्वारसक्ता निशमियमचमुक्ता रणत्राणदाया ॥"

VI. p. 131-2 (*Bomra ed.*) 148-9 p. (*Tel. ed.*)

B. *Kāvyas*:

3. *Balabhāgavata* 4. *Haṁsasandeśa* (Prākṛt).

3. *Bāla-bhāgavata*: This poem also is no longer extant. It is thus mentioned in our poet's minor drama *Narakāsura-vijaya* in the course of the conversation between the 'Naṭī' and the 'Sūtradhāra'.

अस्ति खल्वत्राप्यमृतरसनिष्यन्दी सकलतमःस्तोमपरिपन्थी नरहरेर्नरकासुर-निबर्हणोदाहरणरूपो गुणशिरोमणिः इत्थमेवैतत्कविना स्वकाव्ये बालभागवतेऽप्युदीरितम् —

"विनिन्दिताः के न च पङ्कजन्मना
जडेन दोषोपहता अपि स्वतः।
समोक्षयो विष्णुपदस्पृशो बुधैः
कला इव प्राक्षतमाः कलानिधेः॥"

A verse from this work is cited in the *Sāhitya-ratnākara* and the theme of the poem is the story of Śrī-kṛṣṇa.

क्रियाफलोत्प्रेक्षा यथा मत्कृते बालभागवते महाकाव्ये —

"निविश्य नीरन्ध्रनिकुञ्जमध्यमा-
नमी समीराः सहसा ससम्भ्रमाः।
न शक्नुवन्तीह पुनर्विनिर्गमे
लताङ्गनाश्लिष्टनलालसा ध्रुवम्॥"

VII. p. 157 (*Bomra ed.*) p. 176 (*Tel. ed.*)

4. *Haṁsa-sandeśa*[7]: This is a poem in Prākṛt and is now lost to us. The theme of this poem seems to be similar to that of the *Haṁsa-sandeśa* of Śrī Vedānta-deśika i. e. the sending of a message by Rāma to his beloved Sītā who was in Laṅkā, by means of a swan.

7. For an account of Samskrt poems with the title *Hansa-sandesa*, the curious student is referred to our work (in Telugu).—*The History of the Sanskrt Duta-Kāvya* (1937)—or Prof. Chintaharana Chakravarti's paper on this subject in the *I. H. Q.* Vol. III No. 2 (June 1927), and Dr. M. Krishnamachariar's *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*—II Revised and enlarged ed. (1937).

A verse from this now lost 'Kāvya' is cited in the *Sāhitya-ratnākara* in illustration of 'Jāgara', one of the ten stages of the love of the hero.

यथावा — मत्रैव प्राकृतभाषाविरचिते हंससन्देशे —

"आतं सीतानयनयुगलं लोहितं जागराद्वा
किं वा तात्रं मदनदहनज्वालजालभितापात् ।
चित्तारम्भे सुरतविगमे चुम्बनानां प्रभेदे
किं वा रक्तं रघुपतिमुखे वीटिकारागयोगात् ॥"

X. p. 353 (*Bombay ed.*) p. 346 (*Tel. ed.*)

C. *Nāṭakas or Plays:*

5. *Kaṁsa-vadha.* 6. *Narakāsura-vijaya*

5. *Kaṁsa-vadha*: This play too is not now extant. Three stanzas from it are quoted in the *Sāhitya-ratnākara*. As the author calls it a 'nāṭaka', it must be a play from five to ten acts. It is different from the *Kaṁsa-vadha* of Śeṣa-kṛṣṇa (Kāvyamālā, No.). A *Kaṁsa-vadha* is ascribed to Pāṇini in Patañjali's *Mahā-bhāṣya*. The theme is the slaying of Kaṁsa by Kṛṣṇa.

(*a*) An illustration of 'Svabhāvokti',

यथा मदीये कंसवधनाटके —

"वक्षोजाङ्कणचुम्बितुम्बिरुचिरामाबिभ्रती वल्लकी-
मीषद्दर्शितबाहुमूलसुषमा तन्त्रीं स्पृशन्ती नखैः ।
मन्दस्पन्दितकुण्डलालकभरा माधुर्यधुर्यस्वरा
किञ्चित्कुड्मलितेक्षणा स्मितमुखी केयं शनैर्गायति ॥"

VII. p. 232 (*Bombay ed.*) p. 233 (*Telugu ed.*)

(*b*) An illustration of 'Adbhuta-rasa',

यथा वा मत्रैव नाटके कंसवधे —

"आरूढः कुरथं रजोन्धितदृशा सूतेन सञ्चोदितै-
रश्वैराशु विनिश्चरैरयुगपत्प्रक्रान्तचक्रं द्रुतम् ।
चापे हीनगुणे विपन्नविशिखं सन्धाय निर्ग्येद्भुतं
शुक्लोत्कम्पिकरो रथी विषमदृक् तिक्तः पुरः पञ्चताम् ॥"

X. p. 366 (*Bombay ed.*) p. 355 (*Tel. ed.*)

(c) An example of 'Bhāvasandhi'—

यथा वा ममैव नाटके कंसवधे —

"रोषाद् दक्षिणमीक्षणं विपुलयन् वामं भयान्मीलयन्
वक्त्रार्धे क्वचिदरियन् कटुगिरं चाटूक्तिमप्यन्वतः।
एकेनाङ्घ्रि पदा पुरः परिसरन्नग्येन पश्चाद् व्रजन्
कांचिज्जातु रणोन्मुखे मयि दधां लेभेऽधनारीश्वरः॥"

X. p. 387 (*Bomra ed.*) p. 374 (*Tel. ed.*)

6. *Narakāsura-vijaya-vyāyoga* :— This is an "upa-rupaka" or minor drama called 'Vyāyoga'. It was printed twice in Telugu characters and we propose to issue a Nāgarī edition of the same. It was translated into Telugu long ago by the late M M. Kokkonda Venkaṭaratnam Pantulu of the Madras Presidency college.

The play depicts the heroic story of the killing of Narakāsura. It was written at Purī (Jagannātham) as noted in the 'Prastāvanā'. It is also known as *Narakāsura vadha* and *Narakadhvaṁsanam*. Many verses from this work are quoted in the *Sāhitya-ratnākara* some with the name of the work and some anonymously. Here are some of these verses :

a. An example for 'Khaṇḍita-nāyaka' :

Narakāsura-vijaya, 5 *Śl*

यथा ममैव व्यायोगे —

"शीतक्षपः क्वचिद्धःकृतजीवनाया
रागान्वितस्तुहिनवाष्पमुचो नलिन्याः।
क्षान्तश्रियो विगलितालिगिरो विवस्वान्
पुष्णाति पादपतनेन पुनः प्रहर्षम्॥"

II. p.47 (*Bomra ed*); p. 51 (*Tel. ed.*)

b. In illustration of the figure 'Paryāya' :

मद्व्यायोगे वरुणभङ्गनिरूपकं पद्यम् —

"तच्चाटीतीव्रवोटीसुरपुटपटलीपाटितक्ष्मातलोद्यद्-
धूलीपालीभिरन्धौ सपदि चुलुकिते तप्ततापानलेन।
सैन्याम्भोधौ च दग्धे क्षयमयति भयाद्याभिमानाम्बुराशौ
प्राविक्षत्तद्दर्पार्द्धि सुतनु विगलितोपद्रवं स प्रचेताः॥"

VII, p. 194 (*Bomra ed.*) p. 205 (*Tel. ed.*)

Narakāsura-vijaya, 28 *Sl*.

The above verse is again cited in. IX Taraṅga, p. 284 (*Bamra ed.*) p. 275 (*Tel. ed.*) as an example of 'Atyanta-tiraskṛtavācya' relating to a word.

(c) "कुप्यत्कल्पान्तकालोपलिनिटिलतटप्रस्फुटद्बभ्रुरन्त-
निर्यन्नीरन्ध्रघोरज्वलनकणगणाटोपकीलाकुलानि (कलापः) ।
कंसध्वंसिप्रचण्डप्रतिभयपटुतरस्पर्शनप्रेर्यमाणो
वह्निः सौदर्शनोऽयं तृणमिव दहति क्षोणिपुत्रं प्रमत्तम् ॥"

This stanza which is from the *Vyāyoga* (83 Śl) is quoted in the *S. R.* with a change in the last two lines thus: (As an example of 'Arthāntara-saṁkramita-vācya-dhvani' relating to a sentence.)

"अस्तान्यस्त्राणि शस्त्राण्यपि तव बहुशः सन्तु किन्तु ब्रुवेऽहं
राजन् सङ्ग्रामभीमे दशमुख न पुरा वर्धसे स्पर्धसे चेत् ।"

IX. p. 283. (*Bomra ed.* p. 274 (*Tel. ed.*)

D Sāhitya.

7. *Sāhitya-ratnākara.* This is by far the most important and famous of the author's works. In 10 'Taraṅgas' traverses almost the whole field of Saṁskṛt poetics except Dramaturgy. He denounces authors like Vidyānātha who for mercenary motives extolled in their works kings who are but mortals, himself dedicating his work to God Śrī Rāmachandra. Almost every stanza given as illustration in his work relates to some incident in the life of Śrī Rāma. The titles of the ten 'Taraṅgas' are as follows:

I. *Granthārambha-samarthana.*
II. *Abhidhā.*
III. *Lakṣaṇā.*
IV. *Vyañjanā.*
V. *Guṇa.*
VI. *Śabdālaṁkāra.*
VII. *Arthālaṁkāra.*

VIII. *Doṣa*.
IX. *Dhvani*.
X. *Rasa*.

Postponing to a future occasion a critical study of the work and its place in the history of Saṁskṛt Sāhitya literature, we give here for the information of scholars a list of the important writers and works mentioned in the *S. R.*

Important writers and works cited in the

Sāhitya-ratnākara (Tel. ed.).

1. अभिनवगुप्त. VII. p. 177. X. 327.
2. अलङ्कारसर्वस्वसञ्जीविनीकार. IV. p. 115.
3. कंसवध. (*By the poet himself*) VII. p. 283; X. p. 355. and 374.
4. कविकल्पद्रुमकार. VI. p. 155.
5. कामशास्त्र. X. p. 349.
6. काव्यप्रकाश. IX. p. 293, and 378.
7. काव्यप्रकाशकार. I. 21; III. 87 and 88; IV. 117 and 123; V. 135-36; X. 319 and 338, 339.
8. कृष्णास्तुति. III. 110; V. 141; VI. 143, 156.
9. कोहळ. X. 338.
10. गण-सूत्र. X. 356.
11. दशरूपक. X. 318, 319.
12. ध्वनिकार. X. 340.
13. नाटकसञ्जीवन. X. 348.
14. नारदीय-पुराण. I. 22.
15. बाल-भागवत. (The poet's own) VII. 176.
16. भट्टनायक. X. 326.
17. भरत. II. 83; X. 319, 353.
18. भर्तृहरि, IV. 117.

19. भारतीय. X. 350, 372.
20. भूपाल. (शिवभूपाल) X. 341.
21. भोजराज. V. 129; 136; X. 335, 336.
22. मुद्राराक्षस. I. 32.
23. मुनि. (=भरतमुनि) X. 337-8.
24. मेघसन्देश. X. 349.
25. रीति-रहस्य. X. 321, 340, 349.
26. (*a*) रविशतक (सूर्यशतक By the poet himself) III. 110; V. 141; VI. 156.

(*b*) रसाकर. X. 341.

27. रामायण. I. 22, 23.
28. लोचनकार. X. 340.
29. लोल्लट. (=भट्टलोल्लट) X. 308, 324 and 331.
30. वाक्यपदीय. II, 64.
31. वात्स्यायनीय. X. 341.
32. विद्यानाथ. V. 136; VII. 197.
33. व्यायोग. (भरकालुरविजय), By the poet himself II. 51; VII. 205; 227; IX. 275.
34. शाङ्क. V. 310.
35. शृङ्गार-तिलक. IX. 277, 340, 349, 350 and 372.
36. शृङ्गारप्रकाश By Bhoja X. 335.
37. सूत्रकार. (=भरत) X. 338.
38. सूर्यशतक. (Same as the रविशतक)
39. हंससन्देश. (A poem in Prākṛt by the poet himself) X. 346.
40. हरिवंश I. 23.

E. Commentaries.

8. *Bhāṣya-ratna-prabhā*. (Nirnaya-sāgar edition.)

Dharmasūri was a great devotee of Śrī Rāma and was of opinion that Rāma was the Supreme Being. It is said that in his later days he became a 'Sannyāsin' and assumed

the name of Rāmānanda of Govindānanda and composed a commentary on Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-sūtras*. But whether the author of *Ratna-prabhā* is identical with the author of the *Sāhitya-ratnākara* has yet to be investigated.

9. *Brahmāmṛta-varṣiṇī*. (Printed in Telugu characters. Sarasvatī-Nilaya Press, Nellore, 1900).

This work otherwise known as *Brahma-sūtra-guru-vṛtti* was written by one 'Dharma-bhaṭṭa', the disciple of an ascetic, Śrī Mukundāśrama-śrīcaraṇa by name, and Mahopādhyāya Śrī-Rāmacandrārya and son of Tirumalācārya. The identity of Dharma-bhaṭṭa with our Dharmasūri has also to be investigated. In *S. R.* our poet gives his father's name as *Parvateśa*. If this term is a Sanskritised form of '*Tirumala*', then we are somewhat in a position to equate the two authors. Like the author of the *S. R.* this author also dedicates his work to Śrī Rāma and this point is in favour of the identity.

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1. *Narakāsura-vijaya*. Printed 1885 (InTelugu characters.)Madras.
2. *Sāhitya-ratnākara*. With the commentary *Mandara* by Mallādi Lakṣmaṇa-sūri, Madras, 18 1 (In Telugu characters).
3. *Sāhitya-ratnākara*. With the commentary *Naukā* by Madhusūdana Miśra, Bomra, 1901. (In Nāgarī characters).
4. 'The *Naukā* and the *Mandara* Commentaries on the *Sāhityaratnākara*'. A paper in Telugu by the present writer. (*Journal of the Telugu Academy*. Vol: XVII-No 6. 1929).

APPENDIX.

I. *Sāhitya-ratnākara*— Colophon to I Taraṅga, p. 33. (*Tel. ed.*)

"इति श्रीमत्त्रिभुवनपवित्र-हरितगोत्रावतंस-वाराणसीवंशपद्माकरप्रभात-
भानुना, पदवाक्यप्रमाणपारावारपारीण-श्रीमद्दोपाध्याय-पर्वतनाथसूरि-
रपण्डितमण्डलेश्वरसूनुना, श्रीयज्ञमाम्बागर्भरत्नाकरपारिजातेन,
निर्मलाचारपूतेन, चतुर्दशविद्याविभूषणवता श्रीधर्मसङ्ग्या-
वता विरचिते श्रीमद्दहुकुलतिलकवंशोद्भवसारसुर-
भिते साहित्यरत्नाकरनामन्यलङ्कारशास्त्रे
ग्रन्थारम्भसमर्थनं नाम
प्रथमस्तरङ्गः"

II. *S. R.* Concluding Ślokas of I Taraṅga, p. 34. (36, 37 Śl.)

"आस्थामन्दिरमिन्दिराप्रणयिनो देवस्य रामात्मन-
स्त्वङ्मुद्राङ्कतरङ्गरङ्गिणभरैरङ्गीकृताडम्बरः ।
तादृङ्निर्मलधर्मसूरिकवितासोल्लासकल्लोलिनी-
पूर्णः कर्णमनोहरो विजयते साहित्यरत्नाकरः ॥

धर्मान्तर्वाणिवर्यस्त्रिभुवनविदिते वारणाख्यन्वये यः
संजातः पर्वतेशाच्छुभगुणगणभूर्यज्ञमाम्बासुगर्भे ।
व्याख्याविख्यातकीर्तेर्विवरणगुरुवाक्सांकृत्यमुख्यागमानां
तस्यालङ्कारशास्त्रे रघुपतिविबुके चादिमोऽयं तरङ्गः ॥

III. *S. R.* Concluding Śloka of III Taraṅga, p. 110.

"धर्मान्तर्वाणि । संजातो यज्ञमाम्बासुकृतसुकृतफलं पर्वतेशश्च भाग्य-
काव्यालङ्कारकृष्णास्तुति-रचिशतकोद्घाटकादिप्रणेतुस्तस्यालङ्कारशास्त्रे रघुपतिचरितेऽयं
तृतीयस्तरङ्गः "॥

IV. *S.R.* Concluding Śloka of VII Taraṅga, p. 248.

"धर्मौन्तर्वाणिवाणीविवरणसरणीमाधुरीसाधुरीत्या
द्राक्षा द्राक्षारभावं भजति समुचितं यत्सुधायाः सुधात्वम् ।
क्षौद्रक्षौद्रप्रकारं समुचितसगमच्छर्करा शर्कराभूत्
क्षीरं च क्षीरमासीत्सुदृगधररसे साधुता सा धुताभूत् ॥"

V. *S R* Concluding (93—95. Śl) Ślokas of X Taraṅga, p. 375—376.

93. "प्राचीनाभिनवप्रबन्धविहितग्रन्थानुसन्धायिना
सोऽयं साहसिकेन सम्प्रति मया नूतनः प्रबन्धः कृतः ।
कस्तुष्येदमुनाभ्वना क्षमुखनो बोद्धा च निर्मत्सरः
सर्वज्ञो गतमत्सरोऽस्ति हि रमाराम: स सन्तुष्यतु ॥

94. भो मातः कवितेः हितं मम वचः किञ्चित् समाकर्णय
श्रीमद्रामगुणस्तवामृतवती मत्स्तुतिं मा कृथाः ।
कस्तूरीघनसारचन्दनरसन्यासोल्लवास्वादवित्
को वा विल्वतालफूपपिशिताशेपाभिलाषी भवेत् ॥

95. संजातो हरितान्वये महति यः श्रीपर्वतेशः सुधीः
पण्यं दर्शनकारिणां सुमनसामैकात्म्यलीलाकृतिः ।
धर्माख्येण मनीषिणा विरचितस्तत्सूनुना तादृशा
सोऽयं यावदिलातलं विजयतां साहित्यरत्नाकरः ॥"

VI. *S.R.* I. p. 16.

"अकृत्क्रियाः पूर्वतरैः प्रणीताः
न योजिताः काव्यन नायकेन ।
कैश्चित् कुक्षिम्भरिभिर्निबद्धाः
क्षोदीयसा काव्यन नायकेन ॥"

VII. *Narakāsura-vijaya*, 13 Śl.

"विख्यातेऽजनि पर्वतेश्वरसुधीः श्रीवारणाख्यम्बये
पुण्यां दर्शनकारिणां सुमनसामैकाम्यलीलायितः
धर्मांख्येन मखीपिणा विरचितस्तत्सूनुना तादृशो
व्यायोगो रसवृम्भितोऽस्ति नरकध्वंसाभिधो नूतनः ॥

VIII. *Narakāsura-vijaya*, 16 Śl.

"तर्के कर्कशतां गतापि नितरां वाग्वैखरी सत्कवे-
र्माधुर्यं प्रकटीकरोति कविताकाले तु किं वाद्भुतम् ।
पश्यालम्तकठोरतामुपगता ग्रीष्मे मयूखावलिः
किं नाविष्कुरुते नवामृतभरं भासां निधेः प्रावृषि ॥"

കേരള സാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

SECTION V.

PHILOSOPHY & RELIGION.

Presidential Address.

S. S. Suryanarayanan, M. A., B. Sc. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law.

My first duty is to thank the authorities for having conferred on me the signal honour of presiding over this section. The mantle of even a stop-gap president could have fallen on worthier shoulders ; and when I left Nagpur charged with Professor Ranade's message of sincere regret for the weakness of his flesh despite the willingness of his spirit, I had no idea that I would have to deliver that message from the chair that he had been chosen to fill. I owe the distinction, I am sure, to the goodness of my friends and the tolerance of others. Quite apart from my demerits, the short notice will not allow of my doing anything like justice to the position ; it will, however, be my endeavour to sustain it with a minimum of disgrace.

Let me repeat again the message sent to you by Professor Ranade. He valued highly the honour you had done him and hoped to justify it. His physical constitution, however, let him down to such a degree that any exertion was unthinkable. Only the sense of duty to this Conference gave him the energy even to utter the few words he did to me. He did not give us at Nagpur a written address which I could ponder over at leisure ; nor had either of us the leisure or energy to discuss the substance of his address. Yet I venture to hope that in the little I say to-day I shall voice the same principle that inspired Professor Ranade's address to us at Nagpur, the principle of the unity and continuity of spirit

An Advaitin's Plea for Continuity.

The charge that our philosophy has been divorced from our lives has been so often repeated that it has become common-place. We are content with repeating it where we do not ignore it. And with the sublimest of our philosophies, the *advaita*, firmly established by Kerala's greatest son, we seem compelled to admit the substance of the charge and claim that it is no defect at all, that it is a *bhūṣaṇa*, not a *dūṣaṇa*. For, has not philosophy for its sphere the highest reality — the *paramārtha*, while all mundane pursuits are concerned only with the empirically real, the *vyāvahārika*? Nothing can be gained surely by mixing up the two, except confusion, unrighteousness and despair. The concerns of the world are best regulated by sciences-physical, biological, social, and the laws they have codified. The march of time may necessitate some changes in these codes; but there can and will never be such a radical change as will convert any of the sciences into philosophy. The sciences in the narrow sense are *pāñcabhautika*; even where the term refers to the moral sciences we are still concerned with Dharma, not Brahman; between the one which is ever attained perfection and the other which is a quest of to be attained perfection no comparison should be possible. It may be that the pursuit of science or Dharma leads one eventually to the eternal truth. But to mix up the two pursuits mistaking the one for the other will lead to wandering endlessly in the deserts of error. So long as you are in and of the world, observe its standards, obey its laws; seek not to transgress them in the confused light of a spiritual unity. That unity is no doubt real, but it is not for you and me, just because we still think of ourselves in the plural. Laws and Codes may be surmounted when plurality is transcended, not a moment earlier.

The consequences of such a doctrine cannot but be far reaching, in the realms both of theory and practice. The up-holder of philosophic unity has no right to sacrifice

multiplicity; but surely he has no right to hypostatise the discrete and the diverse as the pluralist does. He cannot hold (as does a modern exponent of Advaita) [1] that in the realm of *vyavahāra* he grants *as much* reality to the multiverse as does the *dvaitin*. There are not two realms, those of *vyavahāra* and *paramārtha*; there is only one reality the *pāramārthika*, of which the *vyāvahārika* is a section and a semblance. And while in the section there cannot *ex hypothesi* be presented a synoptic view of the whole, yet the whole cannot but be in the part too, informing it, while sustaining it. From the empirical to the real, from appearance to the Absolute, a passage is either possible or it is not. If not, the absolutist philosophy is an irrelevant nightmare. If on the contrary the passage is possible there can be no radical discontinuity between the two. The appearance is neither entirely an appearance nor has it a distinctive reality in a fantastic realm of its own. It is real; but its reality derives from and is reducible to the Absolute. Non-dualism (or Illusionism if that name be preferred) may be *appreciated* by the few; but it is *not inapplicable* to the many. It may repel them as indeed which increase of knowledge or invention did not. Neither the Copernican theory nor the steam engine was welcomed with open arms even by the enlightened among the populace.

It is only on such lines that the doctrine of *adhikāri-bheda* is to be understood. It is not that the *non-adhikārin should* not take to the quest of the self, but that he will not normally; even if he does, he cannot pursue it successfully, and a wilful pursuit in these circumstances will lead to repeated failures and perhaps considerable loss to the community in respect of the services he could have usefully rendered; only thus can there be justification for social or legal condemnation of such inquiry, not on the ground of eternal damnation for the inquirer; for the *advaitin* cannot

1. Mm. N. S. Anantakrishna Sastrin, in the Sanskrit Introduction to his new edition of Nyāyāmrta-Advaitasiddhi.

hold to the doctrine of the damnation of any one. Realisation is possible for all and inevitable for all; some realise earlier, others later; not all methods are suitable to all; the closing of certain paths is purportful only as indicating others which will be more serviceable in the case of particular *adhikārins*. Hence it is that Śaṅkara denied to the śūdra the eligibility for Vedānta study alone, not for Brahman-knowledge. His successors, however, were far less liberal. Overpowered by the weight of traditions, codes and prejudices, the only salvation they could see even for the enlightened *non-dvija* was through re-birth as a *dvija* and even among *dvijas*, the Brahmin has pride of place; for he alone could renounce, and renunciation is an indispensable preliminary even to Vedānta-śravaṇa; so the hapless *śūdra* who obtained re-birth as a *kṣatriya* or a *vaiśya* had to spend yet another life in probation.[1] This stair-case theory of spiritual progression could commend itself to these self-appointed private secretaries of Providence, only because the all-pervasive Absolute was confounded with a spiritual pontiff and immured in a *sanctum sanctorum* outside which all inequalities and iniquities could be perpetrated and perpetuated. If it is true that the spirit is eternally pure, wise and free, surely it must be permissible to look for purity even in defilement, wisdom in ignorance, freedom in bondage. And does it not savour of audacity for us frail and ignorant mortals to say that thus and thus alone can the infinite spirit realise itself, not in any other, or that such and such births and rituals are indispensable before wisdom can dawn? Prescribed paths and modes are all right in their place; they serve to guide, but not to dominate; outside them there may be little safety, but there is no damnation. The Gītācārya was surely right when he said that *paradharma* imports fear; but fear produces flight only in the timid. Indian mariners of olden times, we are told, were not content with coastal navigation; they fared forth in

1. See the *Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha*, Chapter III, sections 1.422 and 2.142 (Madras University edition).

uncharted seas and were attended with notable success. Why should we in the sea of the spirit alone cling fast to the buoys and mooring ropes, fearing to venture forth? Have we not less cause for fear than the mariner? The waste of waters is but his element, whereas the ocean of spirit is not an alien entity but our own very self.

Realisation is not the monopoly of any class nor of any mode. It may come through spiritual analysis or through the melting of the heart in devotion or through self-surrender in service. This is not an innovation due to Western impact. BhāratītīrtHa in the 14th century indicated the possibility of realisation through meditation on the *nirguṇa*, instead of Vedānta-inquiry [1]; such contemplation he identified with *yoga* and cited in his support the *Gītā* verse; "*yat sāṅkhyaiḥ prāpyate sthānam tad yogair api gamyate.*" The difference between the two paths was only of the time taken. This idea of greater or less delay, again, is as old at least as Maṇḍana Miśra, who held that *āśrama-karmas* like *agnihotra* were helpful to the seeker as a horse is to the wayfarer in reaching the goal quicker. Of a piece with BhāratītīrtHa's teaching is Madhusūdana's doctrine of *bhakti* as a mode of realisation. In the case of Madhusūdana, however, the intellectualist *virus* has been active; we are not merely told that what is realised through *bhakti* is the conditioned (this may be paralleled by what Vācaspati has to say of *sākṣātkāra*), but we seem to be aware all the time of a struggle between intellectual loyalty to the unconditioned and emotional loyalty to the conditioned. And all this because of an ancient prejudice against the emotions and the will. The melting of the heart in love is not less noble than the expansion of it in wisdom; and the transcendence of the gulf between *kartṛ and karma* in action is not less noteworthy than the transcendence of that between seer and seen in knowledge. The unity appears in and

1. See the *Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha*, Chapter III, section 3'0.

breaks through the multiplicity every moment in emotion and volition no less than in intellection. One of these is not more sacrosant than the others. And the philosophy of non-dualism should look for integrative synthesis rather than intellectual dominance. *Bhakti* and *karma-yoga* have found re-cognition among our teachers; but they have seldom been treated by the *advaitin* as on a par with intellectual inquiry. Realisation is not the prerogative of the intellect; the most that intellect can claim is that in some cases it is a quicker guide.

The contrast normally developed between *jñāna* and *karma* is largely responsible for the exaltation of the former. Knowledge is of what is; it is necessary and certain; action relates to what is to be; it is uncertain and arbitrary. But cognition, which depends not merely on capacity but also interests, is not less uncertain than conation. If facts compel, so do purposes and character. And if the cognitive functioning makes us aware even of the unpleasant and unwilled, so does conation bring about the unpleasant and the not directly willed. The drain-inspector cannot avoid the stink of the sewer; no more can the revolutionary avoid killing scores of his beloved comrades in wrecking a royal train. Is there any reason why the former should be nearer Brahman-realisation than the latter?

In a world that deified ritual while abolishing the deity, Śaṅkara found himself compelled to wage unceasing war against the Mīmāṁsaka. This pre-occupation led to a two-fold defect, an exaggeration of the role of cognition and a depreciation of the unity in the empirical world. The adoption of the Bhāṭṭa-naya in *vyavahāra* has not been an unmixed blessing to the *advaitin*. The insistence on empirical plurality can be overdone to the extent of making non-dualism appear otiose. Thus, the *sphoṭa-vādin* maintains the reality of a single *artha-prasava-nimitta*, called *sphoṭa*., gradually and increasingly manifested in successive

sounds constituting a word; and the manifestation of this unity as a multiplicity he illustrates with the analogy of the reflection of a single face in different media. Though this analogy is acceptable to and handled by the *advaitin* in other contexts, the doctrine of *sphoṭa* has been discarded for no compelling reason by successive *advaitins* from Śaṅkara downwards. In this matter, as also in viewing emotions as to be sublimated and not suppressed, Maṇḍana is perhaps a truer *advaitin*. Sphoṭa-vāda, he holds, is an auxiliary to *advaita*; and the Brahman that he establishes is the Bliss wherein desires are quelled by being sublimated from the fleeting to the permanent, not extirpated, since extirpation is impossible. It may be legitimately claimed that Maṇḍana is foremost among integrative *advaitins*, [1] for whom unity instead of residing in a transcendent sphere informs and enlivens all aspects of this empirical multiverse. At no time or stage and in no mode of life is this unity to be shelved or forgotten. It is not a garment to be doffed nor a tool to be put aside or reclaimed. Nor is it a unity which is somehow lumped with the multiplicity as is done by the philosophers of identity-in-difference. [2] It is Maṇḍana again who held *avidyā* and *vidyā* to co-exist, the former being a preparation for and an instrument to the latter. Without nescience there cannot be the dawn of knowledge. In the

1. A very plausible reason for Maṇḍana's success in this line is his combination of advaita with the householder's āśrama. The popular story of his defeat in argument by Śaṅkara and his subsequent renunciation seems to have little warrant in fact. The Maṇḍana-Sureśvara equation can gain little credence after the elaborate examination of it in recent years (see particularly Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastri's Introduction to the *Brahmasiddhi*; the writer of the Foreword to that book holds a different view, but he has done little to substantiate it or go into the merits of the learned editor's arguments).

2. The identity is more fundamental than the difference; it accounts for the difference and is present in the difference; but the two are not equally real; nor is it that they are real in different spheres or at different times. As Bhagavān Ramaṇa says:

words of an Indian philosopher of to-day "Reality and existence are not to be set against each other as metaphysical contraries." [3] Or, to cite Ramaṇa again, imperfect knowledge leads to perfect knowledge and the latter itself is perfection, not that which has perfection for an attribute.

The adoption of Bhāṭṭa-naya in the realm of practice has led to some very unsatisfactory results. Kumārila is in more than one way comparable to Hegel. The godless autonomy of Dharma has a close analogue in the supermoral autonomy of the State. And both these philosophers, it will be remembered, were staunch champions of identity-in-difference. A consequence of the former doctrine is our clinging to a Sanātana Dharma, in spite of *advaita* professions, looking for permanence in the notoriously changing world of moral observances, even when the sciences where permanence held sway till recently have turned to worship the new God of Indeterminacy. The scientist's criticism of casuality is not more acute than the *advaita* dialectic of Śrī Harṣa and Citsukha. Yet our faith in causality, whether natural or magical, is pathetic. Is it unjust to trace this to the constitution of a separate world of *vyavahāra* and leaving Bhāṭṭa in undisputed sway ?

Identity-in-difference goes with the allied doctrine of the equal primacy of negation. Every entity, says the Bhāṭṭa, combines both *bhāva* and *abhāva* aspects, positive in respect of its own existence and negative in relation to something else. True enough as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. "Looking at a thing in relation to others", this is surely a secondary and subjective process;

3. The World's Unborn Soul, p. 29.

சாதகத்திலேதுவிதம் சாத்தியத்திலத்துவிதம்
ஓதுமிரு வாதமு மின்மையல—ஆதலாலப்
தான்றெதெடுக்கு மும்மனோபாதிக்தகடத்தும்
தான்றசம னன்றியார்தான்.

(Uḷḷadu Nārpadu V. 37.)

as such *abhāva* and its expression in negation must both be secondary, not of the same grade as positivity; while positivity is constitutive of the entity, negativity can make no such claim. And difference, being *anyonyābhāva*, is in no better case than other forms of *abhāva*. What happens then to the boasted identity-in-difference? It is easy to see the evils issuing from the failure to treat negation as purely secondary. The negative, subsidiary and instrumental aspects of value obtain recognition as if possessed of independent status. The positive back-ground and starting point which alone can give them worth is forgotten. Valuations are distorted and men stray far from fruitful paths. Look to the course of ideals and events in India within the last quarter of a century; you will find a series of negations beginning with the non-brahmin movement, meandering through non-co-operation and culminating in prohibition. Nor is this only a recent phenomenon. Through centuries the grim spectre of untouchability has been stalking us. And that distinctively Indian figure, the ascetic, has been seen mostly in a negative garb; he appears as one that has nothing, not the one that has given up everything; he is not a *parivrājaka* except in name; for you cannot renounce what you do not have. For all our vaunted spirituality the *sannyāsin* today is an object of superstitious awe or tolerant contempt, not of loving devotion. Is this not due to the dominence of negation, the consequent dichotomy of the world into the "Haves" and "Have-nots" and the logically consequent contempt of the former for the latter? The 'faqir' has become a term of derision not merely in

1. For a pointed, if brief, statement of the doctrine of continuity's Bhagavān Ramaṇa cannot be surpassed; see vv. 17, 18 of his *Ulladu Narpadu*, esp. the latter:

உலகுண்மையதகு முணர்வில்லார்க்குள்ளார்க்
குலகளவா முண்மையுணரார்க்—குலகினுக்
காதாரமாயுருவம் முருமுணர்ந்தாருண்மை
மீதாகும் பேதமிவர்க்கென்.

English but also in the vernacular; and for this we have the Bhāṭṭa-naya to thank. We have found the dichotomising tendency irresistible and have set up *nivṛtti* against *pravṛtti* inaction over against action, failing to heed the Gītācārya's warning. In this matter of negation at least the Prābhākara seems to have been nearer to the truth as envisaged in *advaita*. Negation for him is secondary. And not prescriptions alone but prohibitions too derive their imperative character from the realisation "*mama'dam kāryam*", not "This is not to be done by me". That the *advaitin* should have failed to adopt and build on such a position is a phenomenon which the historian may explain, but the philosopher will continue to deplore.

It is true as Appayya says that the ancients, solely intent on establishing the unity of the self, paid no heed to what is established in empirical usage, and hence expounded manifold paths; while, however, it is wise to guide oneself by the star, it is folly to give oneself up to star-gazing. And the unkind critic may say that many are the wells into which our philosophers fell because of the latter habit. It is true that all roads lead to Rome; but some are surely shorter than others; and even the more circuitous ones may in some cases have to be preferred because of the ruggedness and neglected condition of the others. The adequate survey of paths and their proper mapping is a task which the *advaitin* cannot well leave to others; for to him belong an insight and an *apercu* which cannot be theirs. In taking up this task with courage and carrying it through with perseverance the *advaitin* will make his contribution to render philosophy a live proposition; then will philosophy be rid of dryness and religion of superstition, and men's lives attain the roundedness of perfection, not the roundedness of a cypher.

PROBLEMS OF PAÑCADAŚĪ.

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Introductory Remarks.

The *Pañcadaśī* is a very well-known work in Sanskrit poetry on the Advaita Vedānta of the Śaṅkara school composed about the fourth quarter of the fourteenth or the first of the fifteenth century of the Christian era. As its very name implies it is a work in fifteen chapters. They are of varying lengths and each bears a separate sub-title, which, unlike the title of the work as a whole, is indicative of the topic treated of therein such as Tattvaviveka, Citradīpa, Yogānanda &c. Having found in the Siddhāntaleśa of Appayya Dīkṣit several references to the views of Bhārtītīrtha on several topics of importance expressed in several chapters of that work and also found those chapters invariably referred to by their sub-titles as appearing in the printed edition of that work but never as being the chapters of any single work containing a group of fifteen chapters, it struck me whether it may not be that these so-called chapters were in fact separate booklets and that they were later on strung together and given the present collective name which has no reference whatever to the subject-matter thereof, a thing, which though not absolutely rare as is shown by such titles as *Daśaślokī* and *Śataślokī*, is certainly unusual in the Vedānta literature. I therefore set to myself the task of ascertaining from the materials at my command whether it must be the author or one of the authors of those chapters who had done so or somebody else later on and if the latter was the case about what time that somebody must have done so.

Similarly while reading the commentary on the *Jīvanmuktiviveka* of Vidyāraṇya by Sastri Achyutrao Modak

(Ānandāśram Sanskrit Series No. XX). I found it narrated therein that Vidyāraṇyamuni had composed the first six chapters of this work and that on seeing them and being pleased with them his Guru Bhāratītīrtha had composed the subsequent nine. That seemed to me rather unbelievable because while the subject-matter of the five chapters are allied together and their sub-titles also end uniformly in the word "Viveka" the subject-matter of the sixth is not allied to them and its sub-title "Citradīpa" ends in the word "Dīpa" in which also end the sub-titles of the seventh to the tenth chapters, such as "Kūṭasthadīpa", "Dhyānadīpa" &c. I was therefore led to investigate the question of the authorship of the several chapters of the work and lay the result of that investigation before this learned audience.

Title of the work.

The title '*Pañcadaśī*" appears on a consideration of the internal and external evidence, which has come to my knowledge, to have been given by some one other than the author or any of the authors of portions thereof and the commentator Rāmakṛṣṇa. As for the internal evidence thereout the work as a whole and its first chapter have no colophon whatever. The separate sub-title of the latter, "Tattvaviveka-prakaraṇa" can be gathered from its having been stated at the commencement thereof. Out of the remaining fourteen chapters which have colophons, though in varying phraseology, the title of the work, *Pañcadaśī* is found mentioned in the colophons of all except two namely, Chapters IV and XIII. It might be inferred from these data that the author or one of the two authors presumably Vidyāraṇya, had himself collected together the fifteen chapters and given them the collective name *Pañcadaśī*, on arranging them in the order in which they are found in the published edition because the only obstacle to such an inference presented by the omissions above-noted can be easily removed by attributing them to the carelessness of the scribe who copied out the manuscript on which the printed edition is based, it not being improper

to assume that the colophons had been written by the author himself and that he who collected and arranged the chapters and gave the name to the work could not have been so careless as to omit to append a colophon below one out of fifteen chapters and to omit to mention the name given to the work from the colophons to only two of the chapters forming part of that work.

This inference does not however appear to be sound when certain other internal and external evidence is weighed against the above.

Firstly though in Pañca. XI. 1 the author of the last five chapters states that he will speak of Brahmānanda, which according to the sequel consists of those five chapters, each bearing a separate sub-title such as "Brahmānande Yogānandaḥ" "Brahmānande Advaitānandaḥ" &c., and in XV. 22 of the same work he refers to the present Chapters XI, XII & XIII as the first, second and third chapters, he does not mention the name *Pañcadaśī* at any place throughout the work. Similarly in Chapter IV of the *Jīvanmuktiviveka* [1] the author thereof, who is believed to be Vidyāraṇya, speaks of the "fourth chapter of Brahmānanda treating of Vidyānanda" and not as "the fourteenth chapter of the Pañcadaśī" as he can be expected to do if he had himself collected together all the fifteen chapters and given them the latter name. It would not therefore be unreasonable to infer that the idea of doing so had not struck him and that he had not in fact done so.

Secondly, the only Sanskrit commentary on that work which is so far published and ever known to scholars [2] is that composed by Paṇḍit Rāmakṛṣṇa named variously as *Tātparyabodhinī*, *Padadīpikā*, *Padayojanā* and *Vyākhyā*. The name *Pañcadaśī* does not appear in any of the introductory

1. Ānandāśram Sanskrit Series No. XX p. 358.
2. Vide Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* vt I. p 314.

verses whatever at the commencement of the commentary on each of the first ten chapters and on the first of the last five chapters (eleventh) collectively given the name "Brahmānanda". It does not also appear in the introductory remarks in prose in the beginning of each chapter in the separate colophons appended to the commentary on each chapter. There is however mention of the separate sub-title of each chapter in those verses and colophons. I have not come across that name anywhere in the body of the commentary also. On the other hand it is noteworthy that this commentator has prefixed introductory verses to Chapter XI only out of Chapters XI to XV collectively named *Brhamānanda*, has numbered the chapters as one to five instead of eleven to fifteen and has while mentioning in sub-title of each of them referred to that chapter as forming part of *Brahmānanda* as for example *Brahmānande Yogānandaḥ*, *Brahmānande Advaitānandaḥ* &c. not as *Pañcadaśyāṁ Yogānandaḥ* &c. This Rāmakṛṣṇa again describes himself in the colophons either as Śrī Paramahaṁsa Parivrājakācārya Śrī Bhāratītīrtha-Vidyāraṇya-munivarya-kiṅkara or Śrīcaraṇaśiṣya. It appears from this that he was a direct pupil of Bhāratītīrtha and Vidyāraṇya and therefore had the best means of knowing whether the authors or one of them had or not strung together the fifteen chapters and given them the collective name *Pañcadaśī*. These data point to the conclusion that he did not know that the authors or one of them had done so and that he himself too had not done so.

Thirdly, Appayya Dīkṣit has referred to portions of this work in his *Siddhāntaleśa* several times [3]. On each occasion he has mentioned the title of the chapter in which the particular view has been expressed as if it were the title of a work by itself not as if it were the sub-title of a chapter of larger work named *Pañcadaśī*.

3. Vide *Siddhāntaleśa* (Madras University edition) p. 18 (Tattvavivekа), p. 141(Citradīpa), p. 15 (Brahmānanda and the Citradīpa), p. 32 (Kūṭasthadīpa and Naṭakadīpa), p. 36 (Kūṭasthadīpa) and p. 94 (Dhyānadīpa).

The evidence both internal and external as to the fifteen chapters of the *Pañcadaśī* having originally been separate booklets and as to their having been collected and arranged as in the printed edition and given the collective name *Pañcadaśī* by some one other than Bhāratītīrtha, Vidyāraṇya and Rāmakṛṣṇa at a date subsequent to the second half of the sixteenth or the first of the seventeenth century A. D., when the *Siddāntaleśa* is believed to have been composed,[4] thus far outweighs that as to its having been done by any of the three responsible personages. Hence the conclusion that it must have been done by some scribe or editor subsequent to the second half of the sixteenth or the first of the seventeenth century.

II

Authorship of the work.

Popularly this work is believed to have been composed wholly by Vidyāraṇya Svāmi who was the same as Mādhava, minister of kings Bukka I and Harihara of the Vijayanagar kingdom who ruled in the second half of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century. Vasudeo Sastri Panashikar who edited it for publication by the Nirnaya Sagar Press of Bombay in 1926 has also spoken of it in his preface in Sanskrit to that edition as having been composed by the same writer. In the colophons to Chapters VI to X and XIII to XV Vidyāraṇya alone has been mentioned as the author of every one of them. There is a second view of Appayya Dīkṣit that Bhāratītīrtha had composed this work. This view is not expressed anywhere but is capable of being reasonably inferred from his having in his *Siddhāntaleśa* referred to as the opinion of Bhāratītīrtha that which can be traced to verses 153-62 of the Citradīpa

4. Vide Introduction to the *Siddhāntabindu* (G. O. series Vol. LXIV) pp. CXXI-II and Introduction to *Siddhāntaleśa* (Madras University Series) Vol. I, p. 3.

Chapter VI of the *Pañcadaśī*[5] and having stated the Dhyānadīpa (chapter IX of the same work[6] to have been composed by the same author. It seems possible from his having ascribed both the sixth and the ninth chapters to Bhāratītīrtha that he believed Bhāratītīrtha and Vidyāraṇya to be identical personages but such an inference is negatived by his having referred to the same individual at a third place in the same work as "Vidyāraṇyaguru"[7]. This compound word is capable of being interpreted in another way namely as meaning Guru Vidyāraṇya[8] but that interpretation does not appear to be correct in the light of the two previous references and in view of the fact that the Dīkṣit seems to refer at this place to verses 36 to 46 of *Dṛgdṛśya-viveka*, a work which is reputed to be a composition of Bhāratītīrtha not of Vidyāraṇya. The identity theory is also negatived by other evidence which consists of a statement in the colophon to the *Jīvanmuktiviveka*[9] that it had been composed by "Vidyāraṇya, a pupil of Bhāratītīrtha" and the fact of Paṇḍit Rāmakṛṣṇa, the only commentator on the *Pañcadaśī*, having made obeisance to both Bhāratītīrtha and Vidyāraṇya in an introductory verse placed at the commencement of the commentary on each of chapters I to X, and XI with which *Brahmānanda* consisting of five closely allied chapters begins, by using the dual expression "Śrī Bhāratītīrtha-Vidyāraṇya—munīśvarau". Therefore Appayya Dīkṣit must be held to be of the view that Bhāratītīrtha alone had composed the whole of the *Pañcadaśī*. There is yet a third view as to the authorship of that work and that is that it had been composed partly by Vidyāraṇya and partly by Bhāratītīrtha. This view appears to have

5. *Vide* Madras-University edition Vol. II p. 23 and Mr. S. S. Sastri's Note No. 137 at p. VI of the Notes to Chapter I of that work.
6. *Ibid* p. 94.
7. *Ibid* page 61.
8. Vide Sastri's Note 50 at p. X of his Notes.
9. Anandaśram Sanskrit Series No. XX p. 382.

been held by Sādhu Niścaladās, the learned author of the *Vṛttiprabhākara*, a Hindi work on the Vedānta dialectics and by Pītāmbar Svāmi, the learned editor of the *Pañcadaśī* [10]. Pandit Achyutarao Modak, the learned commentator of the *Jīvanmuktiviveka* also mentions it as a fact that Vidyāraṇya had at first partly composed this work and latterly his Guru BhāratītIrtha composed the remaining portion thereof at his request [11].

Out of these three views neither the first nor the second is sound and reliable, because the general mass of readers cannot be expected to be critical. Its judgment is generally found to have been based on a grain of truth mixed with consciously or unconsciously invented falsehood. Śāstri Panaśikar too does not seem to have formed his opinion above referred to on weighing the available evidence for and against the single authorship of the work. The colophons to three of the chapters of the *Pañcadaśī*, namely, IV, V and XI speak of it as a work of the joint authorship of BhāratītIrtha and Vidyāraṇya and although it is open to doubt whether BhāratītIrtha had or had not a hand in the composition of this work there is no room for doubting the fact that Vidyāraṇya had played an important part in its composition because it must be on that very fact that the popular belief above-mentioned must have been primarily based and because the author of such a standard work could not have remained so obscure as BhāratītIrtha is, his name being known only to critical students.

On the other hand the view as to the dual authorship of the work is supported by strong internal and external evidence. With regard thereto however tradition differs as to how many chapters had been composed by Vidyāraṇya and how many by BhāratītIrtha, Pitāmbar Svāmi in his edition of the work records the tradition that the former had composed the first six chapters (up to Citradīpa) and the

10. *Vide* Sir S. Radhakrishnan's *Indian Philosophy* Vol. II. p. 451.
11. Ānandāśram Sanskrit Series No. XX p. 4.

latter the remaining nine [12]. Sastri Achyutarao Modak, the learned commentator of the *Jīvanmuktiviveka* narrates [13] that Vidyāraṇya having composed the first six chapters showed them to his master and then the latter completed the work by composing the next four Dīpa chapters and the last five Ānanda chapters. Sādhu Niścaldās on the other hand states that the former had composed the first ten chapters and the latter the last five. I will consider later on which version of the tradition is reasonable and true to fact. For the present I devote my attention to the question of dual authorship itself as against single authorship.

Now, the last five chapters are not only allied together on account of their treating of different aspects of Brahmānanda but it appears that they had been given that collective title by the author himself by the first verse of the eleventh chapter. In XIV. 22 again he refers to the eleventh to thirteenth chapters as the first, second and third chapters. Moreover though, as we have seen, the colophons, which seem to have been added by a scribe, are not reliable in that they ascribe the authorship of a majority of the chapters to Vidyāraṇya, amongst which there are Chapters XIII to XV also, those of Chapters IV, V and XI show this much at least that the scribe was aware that the whole work had not been composed by Vidyāraṇya alone. Then again in the fourth chapter of the *Jīvanmuktiviveka* entitled *Svarūpasiddhiprayojanaprakaraṇa* there is a reference to the fourth chapter of Brahmānanda treating of Vidyānanda[14], which points to the conclusion that Vidyāraṇya himself had treated the last five chapters of the present *Pañcadaśī* as constituting a separate booklet. Further Rāmakṛṣṇa, the learned commentator of this work, has placed the introductory verse containing an obeisance to both Vidyāraṇya and Bhāratītīrtha at the commencement of his commentary on

12. Sir S. Radhakrishnan's *Indian philosophy* Vol. II p. 451.
13. Ānandāśram Sanskrit Series No. XX p. 4.
14. *Ibid* p. 358.

each of the first ten chapters and the eleventh and thus indicated his preference for the view that both of them had taken part in the composition of this work. At the same time, in asmuch as he states in the second line of the verse introducing the Yogānanda chapter that he is going to comment upon "the Grantha known by the name of Brahmānanda," introduces the Ātmānanda chapter as forming the second chapter in *Brahmānanda* and in the introduction thereto calls the Yogānanda chapter, the first chapter, speaks of the former as the second chapter in the introduction to the Advaitānanda chapter and while introducing the Viṣayānanda chapter calls it the fifth chapter, refers to the Yogānanda chapter as the first chapter in his commentary on verse 22 of the last chapter and has not placed the above-mentioned introductory verse at the commencement of his commentary on the last four chapters,[15] it can be definitely gathered that he believed the last five chapters on Ānanda to constitute a separate booklet. Thus though Rāmakṛṣṇa has not stated anywhere which chapters had been composed by Vidyāraṇya and which by Bhāratītīrtha he can be held to support the view of the dual authorship of the work as against that of the single authorship of Vidyāraṇya or Bhāratītīrtha and the one that the last five chapters originally constituted a separate work from the first ten.

The fact of dual authorship being thus proved to be more believable than that of single authorship, I now address myself to a consideration of the question which of the two versions of the tradition as to the composition of particular chapters by Vidyāraṇya and the others by the Bhāratītīrtha appears to be more reasonable and therefore true to fact.

As stated above the fifteen chapters of work are capable of being divided into three well defined groups each having an equal number of them in it. That being so, it does not

15. Nirnaya Sagara Press edition pp. 401, 464, 541, 552 and 556.

seem reasonable that Vidyāraṇya should have composed all the chapters of the first group and one of the second group and having stopped there shown them to his Guru and that then the latter should have completed the second group by adding four chapters thereto and composed the whole of the third group, while on the other hand it stands to reason that the former should have composed the first ten chapters constituting the first two groups and then shown them to his Guru and that thereafter the latter while leaving the two groups untouched, should have added one entirely independent group thereto. The facts that the author himself had numbered the five chapters of the last group separately and given a compact name to that group, that he himself and his commentator treated it as a work by itself, that the said five chapters treat of only one topic though in its different aspects and that while that topic was such that only one who has made successful efforts to realise in actual experience what one learns from books could do proper justice to it, the topics treated of in the first and second groups of chapters are such that anyone who had a mere bookish knowledge of the Advaita philosophy and a good command over the Sanskrit language could have composed all of them, are, in my opinion, sufficient for holding that there is reason only in favour of the version of the tradition contained in the *Vṛittiprabhākara* of Sādhu Niścaladās.

It is really admirable that though this is thus a work of dual authorship, the fifteen chapters which it contains are divisible into the three well-defined groups above-mentioned and that the order in which they are arranged is such that it marks the different stages through which a student has to pass in his journey towards the highest goal held out by the absolute idealistic doctrine of the Śaṅkara school, namely :— (1) discriminative knowledge of the self and the non-selfs, (2) enlightening elaborate knowledge of the ultimate and only reality, and (3) actual realization of its identity with the self in the day-to-day life of the individual.

THE DESTINY OF THE BRAHMAJÑĀNIN IN THE LIGHT OF THE BRAHMASŪTRAS.

PROF. P. M. MODI M. A., PH. D., KEIL.

The last topic in *Bra. Sū.* IV. 3 is "Where does the conductor take knowers of Brahman?" The Śrutis beginning with the Rays say that the conductor leads them upto Brahman (*Chā. Upa.* IV. 15:5) or upto Brahmaloka (*Br. Upa.* VI. 2:15). What is exactly the meaning of this Brahman or Brahmaloka? *Brahmasūtras* IV. 3:7-16 deal with this question, though Sūtras IV. 3-15-16 refer to a different topic according to Śaṅkara In these Sūtras three different views about the destination of the Brahmajñānin's journey are given, *viz.*, those of Bādari, Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa.

Bādari raises the above question on the ground of the limits of the conductor's capacity to lead the Brahmajñānin : "How far is it possible for the conductor to go". He holds that the conductor can go only upto a world which is *an effect* of Brahman. He cannot go beyond it. Therefore the knower of Brahman can be carried by the conductor only upto a world which is an effect (*Bra. Sū.* IV. 3.7). Br. *Upa.* III, 6.1 and *Kau. Upa.* I.3 distinguish between this effect-world and the cause or the Para, though this distinction is not found in the *Chā. Upaniṣad.* The *Br. Upa.* Śruti distinguishes the Kārya as Prajāpatiloka and the Para as Brahmaloka which is called there the "*anatipraśnyā devatā*" (the deity beyond which no question should be raised. Similarly, the *Kau. Upa.* Śruti distinguishes between the same under the names of Prajāpatiloka and Brahmaloka. *On the ground of this distinction* Bādari argues that the conductor leads the knower of Brahman only upto th Kārya (*Bra.Su.* IV. 3:8), though this distinction is not found in the *arcirādi* Śruti, *e. g., Chā. Upa.* IV. 15:5. If it be asked, "How would you explain the *Chā. Upa. Śruti.*"

Bādari replies, it does not mean that the conductor leads the knower of Brahman upto the Para, but in that Śruti the Prajāpatiloka is called 'Brahman', because the former is very *near* the latter (*Bra. Sū.* IV. 3:9), spatially, just as this world is said to be very *remote* from Brahman (*Bra. Sū.* IV. 4·17). An express statement like the one in *Mu. Upa.* III·2.7 shows that the knowers of Brahman whom the conductor carries upto the Prajāpatiloka as shown in Sūtras IV. 3. 7-8, *go further than that* 'in company of the governor of that *loka*' when that *loka* comes to an end (*Bra. Sū.* IV. 3. 10). And there is a Smṛti text, *viz*,. "All of them who have achieved the aim of their life enter the supreme abode in company of Brahman (*i. e.* Hiraṇyagarbha) at the end of the Para, when the dissolution of the universe is at hand". Thus, in addition to the three arguments *viz.*, 1. the capacity of the conductor to go upto the Kārya, 2. the mention of the distinction between the Kārya and the Para in *Br. Upa.* III. 6. 1, and 3. the explanation of the word 'Brahman' in the *Chā. Upa. Śruti* in the sense of 'Prajāpati' (*Bra. Sū.* IV. 3. 7-9), Śruti and Smṛti can be quoted in support of the view that the conductor leads the knower of Brahman upto the Kārya, the Prajāpatiloka (*Bra. Sū.* IV. 3. 10-11).

Jaimini holds that the conductor leads the knower of Brahman upto the Para, because that Para is the chief aspect of Brahman, but the Kārya is not the chief aspect (*Bra. Sū.* IV. 3. 12), and because Śrutis like *Tai. Upa.* II. 1. show that he reaches the Para (*Bra. Sū.* IV. 3-13). Again it is not that the knower of Brahman has simply aimed at knowing (and reaching) the Kārya (*Bra. Sū.* IV. 3. 14).

Bādarāyaṇa, however, believes that the conductor *leads* those meditators on Brahman *who do not resort to the Symbol* 'Om' for their meditation on Brahman. In the case of the meditators who resort to the Symbol 'Om', there is no need of a conductor because they are carried to their destination by the Sāmans (*Pra. Upa.* V. 5; *Bra. Sū*

IV. 3.15—*apratikālambanān nayatīti Bādarāyaṇaḥ*[3] Now, the meditators on Brahman not resorting to the Symbol for that purpose are of two types according to Bādarāyaṇa, *viz.*, those who meditate on Pradhāna the *arūpavad Brahman*, *i. e. nirākāra Brahman* (*Bra. Sū.* III. 2. 14, III. 3. 11) and others who meditate on Puruṣa the *rūpavad Brahman* (*Bra. Sū.* I. 2. 23; *Vide* the author's Paper on '*The Scheme of the Brahmasūtras* I. 1—3 : *A Rapproachement*', pp. 112-120 in the Journal of the Bombay University, Vol. IV. Part III, November 1935), (4). Therefore there is no conflict both ways, *i e*, between the views of Bādari and Jaimini *ubhayathādoṣāt*—*Bra. Sū.* (IV. 3..15). And, again, either type of meditator has made a specific resolution that he is going to be born unto that Brahman after having departed from this world', as stated in *Chā. Upa.* III. 14. 4 (*tatkratuś ca*—*Bra. Sū.* IV. 3. 15). While accepting both the views of Bādari and Jaimini, the Sūtrakāra points out what he thinks to be the exact *difference between the two aspects of Brahman*, because it is on this point that he does not fully agree with either Bādari or Jaimini. The Sūtrakāra appears to depend upon *Pra. Upa.* V. 2-5 for proving this difference because that Śruti seems to have been referred to by him in *Bra Sū.* IV. 3 16. We have elsewhere shown that the Sūtrakāra's interpretation of this Śruti is given by him in *Bra. Sū.* I. 3. 13 and that it is further discussed by him in *Bra. Sū*, III. 3. 39 (*Vide p.* 116 of the above-mentioned Paper). In the light of these Sūtras, the Sūtrakāra understands *jīvaghana* in *Pra. Upa.* V. 5 as the Para and Puruṣa in the same Śruti as Apara Brahman The two are identical and they may be understood as separate according as the meditator wishes (*Bra.*

3. It is interesting to note how the Śruti. (*sa esaḥ Brahma gamayati*—) is interpreted by Bādari, Jaimini, and Bādarāyaṇa. Bādari puts emphasis upon *saḥ* (*i. e.*, *atiṣṭhakaḥ*), Jaimini upon *Brahma* and Bādarāyaṇa upon *esaḥ* (*Brahmajñānaḥ*).

4. Only these two aspects are described in detail in *Bra. Su.* III, 3. 11—54, as I propose to show in a book which I hope to publish soon.

Sū. III. 3. 39). This alternative identity and differentiation between these two aspects of Brahman suggests to us the view of the Sūtrakāra about the distinction between them. He apparently believes that the two are not numerically two, though they are not necessarily one and the same; at least for the purpose of meditation they need not be regarded as the same or identical. In so far as the two are *different*, both Bādari and Jaimini are correct and acceptable to the Sūtrakāra in asmuch as the *conductor* is required to lead the knower of Brahman to his destination; and in so far as the two are *identical*. Bādarāyaṇa modifies the views of Bādari and Jaimini regarding the difference between the Kārya and the Para (*Bra. Sū.* IV. 3. 16).

Now we may give additional arguments in support of what we have said above regarding the main point on which Bādarāyaṇa differs from Bādari and Jaimini, *viz.*, the nature of the Kārya or Prajāpatiloka. According to Bādarāyaṇa the world of Brahmā or Prajāpati is not a Kārya, but it is only a personal or *rūpavat* (*sākāra*) aspect of the Para, the other aspect of which is the *a-rūpavat* or *nirākāra* one. Jaimini and Bādari distinguished these two, *sākāra* and *nirākāra* aspects as Kārya and Para which may be called 'Kāraṇa', but Bādarāyaṇa takes both of them as Kāraṇa—aspects or two aspects of the Para itself. It is in agreement with this that he drops the mention of the Prajāpatiloka in his list of the stations on the Path of gods (*Bra. Sū.* IV. 3. 3). That he would not admit it as a *loka* at all, is clear from the fact that he denies that the Puruṣa aspect of the Para is subject to the fault of being regarded as a *loka* though there is something common to an ordinary *loka* and puruṣa or *sākāra* aspect. Moreover this latter aspect in his school is on an equal level with the *nirākāra* aspect, both being equally powerful means for attaining directly absolute liberation, so much so that an option of choice between the two is given to the seeker in *Bra. Sū.* III. 3. 11-54. The two are only two different names of the Para and

the difference in the method of meditation on the two is due to those names (*Bra. Sū.* III. 3. 8, 10). The two are different like the serpent and the coil of a serpent (*Bra. Sū.* III 2. 27 and III. 3. 8). Bādarāyaṇa would, therefore, not regard the Puruṣa aspect, as a *loka* or a Kārya of Brahman. For this reason, it may here be pointed out, Śaṅkara's suggestion to add Prajāpatiloka after Varuṇa and Indra (Vide his commentary on *Bra. Sū.* IV. 3. 3) does not appear consistent with the Sūtrakāra's view about it.

As a result of this difference between these three thinkers we find that Bādari and Jaimini refer to Śrutis like *Br. Upa.* III. 6. 1 and *Kau. Upa.* 1. 3 in order to prove their view about the difference between the Kārya and the Para (*Bra. Su.* IV. 3. 8) and Bādari even explains the *Chā. Upa.* and *Br. Upa.* Śrutis beginning with the Rays (*arciḥ*), by giving a secondary sense to the words 'Brahman', (*Chā. Upa.* IV. 15. 6 and V. 10. 2) and 'Brahmaloka' (*Br. Upa.* VI. 2. 15). Bādari had the real support of *Br. Upa.* III. 6. I, which places Brahmaloka higher than Prajāpatiloka and says that the former is the '*anatipraśnyā devatā*. This phraseology seems to have induced Bādari and Jaimini to interpret the difference between the Kārya and the Para in their own way. But Bādarāyaṇa who depends upon the *Chā. Upa.* and other *arcirādi* Śrutis, and also upon many other Śrutis like *Pra. Upa.* V. 2-5 (*Bra.* Sū. IV. 3. 16; and *Kaṭha Upa.* III. 0-11, does not accept their view, but says that both of them are really the aspects of the Para. And he further says that because the Para has these two aspects, the conductor carries the worshippers or meditators of both up to Brahman which is both *nirākāra* and *sākāra* in all the states (*Bra. Sū* III. 2. 11). For this reason he accepts the views of Bādari and Jaimini in as much as the conductor carries the knower of Brahman, but he replies to Bādari that the Prajāpatiloka is not a Kārya, but

5. Vide our interpretation of Bra. Su. III. 3. 51 (*na sāmānyato apy upalabdhir mṛtyuvan na hi lokāpattiḥ*) in Akṣara : A Forgotten Chapter, P. 165.

the Para itself in a way and he also says to Jaimini that besides the Para, there is another aspect of the Para viz. the *sākāra* or Puruṣa aspect to which also a conductor is required to lead and consequently Bādari's view is not inconsistent with his own view. Or, in other words, both the views could be justified on the strength of the Upaniṣads.

Though these three authorities differ regarding the nature of the two aspects of Brahman, all of them agree that the attainment of the Para only is the state of liberation. Bādari holds that the conductor leads the knower of Brahman upto the world of Prajāpati, but the knower goes to or reaches Brahman which is higher than this Prajāpatiloka, in company of the Prajāpati on the dissolution of the Prajāpatiloka (*Bra. Sū.* IV. 3. 11-10). Jaimini believes that the conductor himself leads the knower of Brahman upto the Para (*Bra. Sū.* IV. 3. 12-14). This also shows that in the opinion of all the three *going to the Para* is a necessary prerequisite of liberation. Thus none of them exactly believes in what Śaṅkara calls liberation by stages (*kramamukti*) and liberation-in-this-life (*jīvanmukti*). It would appear that Bādari's view upholds *kramamukti*, but it is entirely different from that as propounded by Śaṅkara, because Bādari believes that from the Prajāpatiloka the knower of Brahman has to *go* in company of Prajāpati *to* Brahman. Moreover, according to Bādari the knower of Brahman *first* goes to the Kārya because the conductor is not able to go further. It is not that the knower lacks some knowledge of Brahman and gets it by staying in the world of Prajāpati. He has to wait in the Kārya because none could lead him directly to the Para. Thus Bādari does not believe in any kind of *kramamukti*.

Śaṅkara's view that Bādari believes in the impossibility of Brahman being achieved by the knower of Brahman *going* to it, is founded upon his own interpretation of *asya* and *gatiḥ* in *Bra. Sū* IV. 3. 7 as *kāryasya brahmaṇaḥ* and *gantavyatā*, respectively. But we believe that *asya* in the light of the context refers to the *vaidyuta ativāhika* mentioned in *Bra.*

Sū. IV. 3. 6 and that *gatiḥ* means "going", the act of going, not the possibility of being reached by going to. Moreover, his main arguments *viz.* (1) *Brahmaṇaḥ sarvagatatva* "the omnipresence of Brahman", and (2) *Brahmaṇaḥ pratyagātmatva* "Brahman itself being identical with the inner soul of the seeker", are not given by Bādari; nor do we find their refutation in the Sūtras giving Jaimini's reply to Bādari. These arguments of Śaṅkara are refuted by Śaṅkara himself in his commentary on *Bra. Sū.* IV. 3. 14, from the standpoint of a supposed opponent. Again, to us Bādari seems to argue that the Prajāpatiloka is near Brahmaloka or Brahman (n.) and thus Bādari gives a spatial view of Brahman, as would appear from not only the word '*sāmīpyāt*' in *Bra. Sū.* IV. 4. but also from the phrase '*ataḥ param*' in *Bra. Sū.* IV. 3. 10 and *asannihitatvāt*, in *Bra. Sū* IV. 4. 17. But Śaṅkara interprets it in a secondary sense. In order to prove that Bādari believes in liberation-by-stages Śaṅkara says that according to Bādari those whom the conductor leads upto the Kārya get the right knowledge of Brahman in that Kārya itself (See '*tatraivotpannadarśanāḥ santaḥ*' in *Śā. bhāṣya* on *Bra. Sū* IV. 3. 10), but from the context Bādari seems to believe that those whom the conductor leads to the Kārya have already attained the perfect knowledge on this earth. The Sruti which Bādari seems to have referred to under Sūtra IV. 3. 10 (*viz. Vedāntavijñānasuniścitārthāḥ sannyāsayogād yatayaḥ śuddhasatvāḥ, Mu. Upa,*) also appears to favour this conclusion.

To us it appears that the Adhikaraṇa consisting of Bra. Sū IV. 3. 7-16 is not meant to discuss whether *going* to the 'Para' is possible or whether only the 'Kārya' could be reached by going. It is meant by the Sūtrakāra to decide upon what station or *loka* the conductor can lead the knower of Brahman (*asya* in Bra. Sū. IV. 3. 7 standing for the *vaidyuta ativāhika*) and if he can not accompany him to the Para, who can lead him finally to his destination. While stating the stations on the Path of gods, the Sūtrakāra has

mentioned the *vidyut* and *Varṇaloka* and the discussion about the Prajāpatiloka and Brahmaloka follows in Sū. IV. 3. 7-16 by way of the discussion of the function and capacity of the conductor mentioned in Sū. IV. 3. 6. Sūtra IV. 3. 15 also confirms our view because "*nayati*" in that Sūtra refers to the conductor and Bādarāyaṇa gives his own view that the conductor carries the meditators on (both the aspects of) Brahman and thereby he says that he carries them to the Para. In his opinion the Śruti and Smṛti referring to the knower of Brahman being accompanied by Brahman (mas.) or the governor of the Prajāpatiloka deal with the fate of those who belong to the circle of officers (*ādhikārikamaṇḍala—Bra. Sū* IV. 4. 18) and have nothing to do with those who know Brahman in this life on this earth. Thus, we are led to conclude that the topic or this last Adhikaraṇa, consisting of Sūtras IV. 3. 7-16 is quite different from what Śaṅkara and some other commentators take it to be.

Lastly, Śaṅkara's *pāṭha* according to which Sūtras 7-14 and Sūtras 15-16 of the Pāda form two different Adhikaraṇas has, as he says, the support of a predecessor of his (Vide *Śa. Bhāṣya* on *Bra. Sū.* IV. 3. 14), but according to our interpretation, it would appear that even Śaṅkara's predecessor was not in the possession of a correct *pāṭha*. That Sūtra IV. 3. 15 should be taken to be a modification of what the Sūtrakāra has said in Sūtra III. 3. 31 and that Sūtra IV. 3. 16 deals with the *kāmya* meditations on particular symbols of Brahman seems to us to be impossible both on the ground of the context and the propriety of the subject matter in this Adhyāya. Rāmānuja takes all these Sūtras as forming *one* Adhikaraṇa. This is quite consistent with other places in the Sūtras where Bādarāyaṇa's view is given under the express mention of his name. A comparison of the Sūtras under discussion with *Bra. Sū.* IV. 4. 10-14, IV. 4. 5-7 shows that this is the case only when the Sūtrakāra gives his view *after* discussing the view or views of others also.

If thus our suggestion about grouping all these Sūtras (7-16) into one Adhikaraṇa be correct, the view of Bādarāyaṇa would naturally be the Siddhānta and consequently Śaṅkara's view that the doctrine of Bādari is the Siddhānta intended here will be found to be untenable. As he himself says, the general rule is that the preceding Sūtras are the aphorisms of the Pūravapakṣa, the succeeding ones those of the Siddhānta. The same rule was followed by Śaṅkara's predecessor and is followed by his successors. And if, as we have shown, Sūtra IV. 3. 7 deals with the question about the capacity of the conductor to carry the knower of Brahman to the destination, Śaṅkara himself would not insist upon taking Sūtras IV. 3. 7-11 as the Sūtras of the Siddhānta.

BHARTṚHARI—

A Pre-Śaṅkara Advaitin.

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It has already been maintained* that Bhartṛhari, the author of the *Vākyapadīya*, was not a Buddhist. It is proposed in this paper to show that he was one of the earliest *pre-Śaṅkara* exponents of the doctrines of the *advaita* system in Indian Philosophy.

The *Vākyapadīya*, though chiefly a treatise on Sanskrit grammar, contains explanations of many genuine philosophical questions. What is the ultimate reality is the foremost question in philosophy that puzzled and is puzzling still the mighty intellects of the world; and the Brahmakāṇḍa of the *Vākyapadīya*, as the title suggests, deals with the Śabdabrahman as the ultimate reality. Bhartṛhari refers to the ultimate reality by terms like *śabdabrahman* and *śabdatattva*. He describes it as devoid of beginning and end and as the originator of the *śabdaprapañca* and *arthaprapañca* both being the manifestation of the Supreme being when it assumes the power of Kalaśakti, with the result that the *śabdabrahman* is also known as the *vivartopādāna* of this phenomenal world—

"अनादिनिधनं ब्रह्म शब्दतत्त्वं यदक्षरम् ।
विवर्ततेऽर्थभावेन प्रक्रिया जगतो यतः ॥"

(*Vākyapadīya*, Kāṇḍa 1, Verse 1)

The term *vivarta* is explained by *śāstrakāras* in many ways † Bhartṛhari's explanation is contained in the following passage:

*Vide the writer's paper 'Bhartṛhari, a Bauddha ?' submitted to the eighth session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Mysore, 1935.

† (1) अतात्त्विकस्यान्यथाभावो विवर्तः । (2) स्वोपादानसत्तातिरिक्तसत्ताशून्यो विवर्तः।

"एकस्य तत्त्वादप्रच्युतस्य भेदानुकारेणासत्यविभक्तान्यरूपोपग्राहिता विवर्तः स्वप्नविषयप्रतिभासवत् ।"

(*Ibid*; *Ṭīkā* on Verse 1, Cārudeva Śāstri's edition, p. 5) The appearance which is called *vivarta*, has no reality other than that of its substratum, which is no doubt real. This is illustrated by the popular instance स्वप्नविषय—the objects of a dream. The objects of a dream are called *vivarta* of *caitanya* in that they have no reality separate from that of their substratum (*caitanya*), which has real existence Similarly, the *nāmarūpaprapañca* is the *vivarta* of Śabdabrahman, so much so, that the universe in its twofold form of *nāma* and *rūpa* has no reality other than that of its cause—Śabdabrahman.

"तत एव हि शब्दरूपादुपसंहितक्रमाद् ब्रह्मणः सर्वविकारप्रत्यस्तमये संवर्तादनाकृतात्पूर्वं विकारग्रन्थिरूपत्वेनाव्यपदेश्याज्जगदाख्या विकाराः प्रक्रियन्ते ।"

(*Ibid*; Ṭīkā, C. D. S's. Ed., p. 6.)

The *śabdabrahman* is devoid of any property, when all-seeming changes vanish; and before the manifestation process comes into effect, it is not at all to be spoken of in terms of phenomenal objects, which are unreal. The *Brahmas vivartatva* of this universe is one of the *fundamental doctrines* enunciated by all *advaitins* including Bhartṛhari and Śaṅkarācārya in order to establish their Advaitic conception of ultimate reality.

This *vivartavāda* is viewed as better and more satisfactory solution of the question of world-creation than the two other well-known vādas—*pariṇāma-vāda* and *ārambhavāda*. The advocates of these two vādas admit of the reality of the phenomenal world. The *ārambhavādins* explain the creation of the *kāryaprapañca* out of eternal atoms which, on the will of God, begin to act, produce *dvyaṇukas*, which, in their turn, produce *tryaṇukas* (triads) and so on.

They accept the view that the Kārya is a new entity when it is produced by its causes and that the very production implies its previous non-existence. It is in this sense that they are *asatkāryavādins* who accept separate existence of the effect from its cause. The *pariṇāmavādins* are opposed to the *ārambhavādins* in that they are *satkāryavādins*. By satkāryavāda, they mean that the *kārya* is the *Kāraṇa* itself in a new garb and that its *utpatti* is nothing but *pariṇāma*—transformation of the cause into the effect. Hence there is no non-existence of the *kārya* even before it is made visible to us. Yet they differentiate *kārya* from its *kāraṇa* by the different properties they possess. Thus they establish separate existence of the *kārya* from that of its cause. So, in this point, the *pariṇāmavādins* agree with the *ārambha-vādins* though the former differ fundamentally from the latter in their conception of *kāryotpatti* from *kāraṇa*, as noted above.

The *vivartavādins* are no doubt *satkāryavādins*. The Advaitins among them attribute to the *vyāvahārika prapañca* a relative *satyatva* which is superior to the *prātibhāsika satyatva* of the silver in nacre (*śuktirūpya*). Since they have accepted one entity only as the real ultimate being, the phenomenal world is described by them as a seeming manifestation of that ultimate being, without any reality outside that of its *upādāna*. They are also *pariṇāmavādins* in the sense that the phenomenal world is *avidyāpariṇāma*—the transformation of *avidyā*, so much so, that the reality of the universe is only so long as *avidyā* exists or till the realisation of the Brahman.

The conception of one ultimate reality, be it *śabda-brahman*, *sattā brahman*, *ātma-brahman* or *vijñāna-brahman* led all the exponents of advaita philosophy to conceive in it a power called *māyā*, *ajñāna*, *avidyā* or *kālaśakti* which is unique in its nature and is capable of creating what we call the phenomenal world—the *bāhyaprapañca*. Bhartṛhari calls

it by the term *kālaśakti* and *avidyā*,* the chief function of which is to conceal the ultimate truth and present to us things unreal and different in form and essence. He is particular in saying that the *kālaśakti* is *anirukta* or *anirvacanīya* which cannot be said as identical with or different from, the *śabdabrahman*, but is capable of presenting its own substratum in different forms of *bhoktṛ* (enjoyer), *bhoktavya* (enjoyable object) and *bhoga* (enjoyment). Here, it may be observed that the way in which Bhartṛhari equates *māyā* with *kālaśakti* would lead one to surmise that phenomenal existence (व्यावहारिकसत्ता) is to be understood as nothing more than time relation कालसम्बन्धः ।

"एकस्य सर्वबीजस्य यस्य चेयमनेकधा ।
भोक्तृभोक्तव्यरूपेण भोगरूपेण च स्थितिः ॥"

"एकस्य हि ब्रह्मणः तत्त्वान्यत्वाभ्यां सत्वान्यत्त्वाभ्यां चानिरुक्ताविरोधिशक्त्युपप्राह्यस्यासत्यरूपप्रविभागस्य स्वप्नविज्ञानपुरुषवदयहिस्तत्त्वाः परस्परविलक्षणाः भोक्तृभोक्तव्यभोगग्रन्थयो विवर्तन्ते । तस्य च ग्रन्थ्यन्तररूपसमतिक्रमेण विवृत्तग्रन्थिपरिच्छेदस्येयमनेकधा लोके व्यवहारव्यवस्था प्रकल्पते"॥

(C. D. S's. Ed. Ibid, Verse 4, p. 12.)

It is just like the mist in the horizon. The mist completely enshrouds the rising sun and though it cannot shine by itself, it appears to be shining with the help of the sunshine behind it; and people who look at it fancy that the mist shines—"नीहारः प्रकाशते". This *Kālaśakti* otherwise known as *avidyā* is nothing but *Kāla*. So says Bhartṛhari in the Kālasamuddeśa of the Prakīrṇakāṇḍa of his *Vākyapadīya*——

"निर्मासोपगमो योऽयं क्रमवानिव दृश्यते ।
अक्रमस्यापि विश्वस्य तत्कालस्य विचेष्टितम् ॥"

(Trivandrum Ed. p. 66, Verse 46.)

* *Vide* Bhartṛhari's Ṭīkā—

"एवं ह्याह—मूर्तिक्रियाविवर्तौ अविद्याशक्तिप्रवृत्तिमात्रम् । तौ विद्यात्मनि तत्त्वान्यत्वाभ्यां अनाख्येयौ । एतद्धि अविद्याया अविद्यात्वम् ॥"

(Ibid. Edn., p. 5)

It has three properties or powers—*atītatva*, *anāgatatva* and *vartamānatva*; by the first two kāla conceals or destroys objects while by the last it manifests or creates them—,

"एकस्य शक्तयस्तिस्रः कालस्य समवस्थिताः।
यत्सम्बन्धेन भावानां दर्शनादर्शने सताम् ॥
द्वाभ्यां स किल शक्तिभ्यां भावानां वरणात्मकः ।
शक्तिस्तु वर्तमानाख्या भावरूपप्रकाशिनी ॥"

(Kāṇḍa III. Kālasamuddeśa, Verses 49-50.)

Bhartṛhari further adds that the two *śaktis*—*atītatva* and *anāgatatva*—possess the properties of *tamas* in that they conceal objects, while the *vartamānatvaśakti* is of *sattva-guṇa* and so illumines the objects. The Kāla itself is said to possess the property of rajas in view of the fact that it acts persistently by the twofold power—*pratibandha* and *abhyanujñā*—

"द्वौ तु तत्र तमोरूपावेकस्यालोकवत् स्थितिः।"

(*Ibid*, Kālasamuddeśa, Verse 53.)

"अतीतानागतावध्वानौ भावावरणहेतुत्वात् तमःस्वभावौ । आवरणं हि तमोधर्मः। गुरुवरणकमिव तम इत्युक्तम्। वर्तमानोऽध्वा प्रकाशतुल्यः सत्त्वसदृशः। सत्त्वं लघुप्रकाशकमिष्टमिति। रजस्तु प्रवृत्तिसामान्यं कालस्वरूपं सर्वत्रान्वयि। प्रतिबन्धाभ्यनुज्ञाभ्यां प्रवर्तकं प्रेरणानुरूपं रजः कालात्मकमेव॥"

(*Ibid*., Helarāja's Com. on Verse 53, p. 68.)

* *Vide* Helarāja's Com., p. 66.

"कालाख्यो हि ब्रह्मशक्तिरविद्येव कर्मावभासकारितया जीवात्मसु सफला।"

† *Vide* Ibid p. 67.

"कार्यभेदे कारणभेदानुमानम्, शक्तिभेदादेव च कार्यभेदोपपत्तेः। कालाख्यस्य मुख्यो भेदो नास्ति। तथाहि— वर्तमानशक्तिसम्बन्धेन भावानां सतामेवाभिव्यक्तिर्जन्म अतीतानागतकालशक्तिसम्बन्धेन तु सतामेव तिरोभावः। अदर्शनमनभिव्यक्तिर्विनाशः प्रोक्प्रध्वंसाभावरूप इति शक्तिभेदात्कार्यभेदोपपत्तौ कालभेदकल्पना निर्निमित्ता॥"

‡ *Vide* Ibid, p. 67.

"अतीतानागतशक्तिभ्यां वरणं तिरोधापनं भावानां सर्वो कालः करोति। वर्तमानशक्त्या दर्शनं भावरूपप्रकाशनम॥"

These two powers of *Kalaśakti*—*pratibandha* and *abhyanujñā*—more or less correspond to the two powers—*āvaraṇaśakti* and *vikṣepaśakti*—of *avidyā* or *māyā*, as described by the later Advaitic writers. They say that *avidyā* is *anirvācyā* —सदसद्भ्यामनिर्वाच्यां तामविद्यां प्रचक्षते,—that which cannot be identified with *sat* (*caitanya*) and with *asat* (*śaśaśṛṅga*) but is *sadasadbhinna*—different from both *sat* and *asat*. This *avidyā*, they add, with its two powers—*āvaraṇaśakti* and *vikṣepaśakti*—is responsible for the creation of this entire universe which also thus acquires सदसद्भिन्नत्व—the property of its *pariṇāmikāraṇa*, *viz.*, *avidyā*. This explanation of the *bāhyaprapañca* as *anirvacanīya* on a par with *avidyā*, is a necessary outcome of the *vivartavāda* which the Advaitins including Bhartṛhari have expounded. To them *sat* ever exists and never becomes the object of negation, while *asat* never exists and never becomes the object of a valid cognition—

"सत्येन न बाध्येत, असत्येन न प्रतीयेत ।"

But the phenomenal world exists and at the stage of one's *brahmasākṣātkāra*, becomes the object of negation :—प्रपञ्चस्तु अस्ति बाध्यते च. This idea is explained with some emphasis by Bhartṛhari in the *dravyasamuddeśa* of the third *kāṇḍa* of his *Vākyapadīya*—

"न तत्त्वातत्त्वयोर्भेद इति वृद्धेभ्य आगमः ।
अतत्त्वमिति मन्यन्ते तत्त्वमेवाविचारितम् ॥"

(Chaukhāmba Edn., Kāṇḍa III. Verse 7.)

*Vide Helarāja's commentary on Verse 7 :

"नेहाद्वैतनये सत्यासत्ये द्वे रूपे स्तः, अद्वैतहानिप्रसङ्गात् । किन्तु पारमार्थिकमेकमेवाद्वयम् । तच्चानाविर्भूताविद्याविलसितमहं प्रमातृविषयतया ज्ञेयातत्त्वमनवभासमानमनेकविकल्पपरिघटिताकाररूपतया व्यवहारमवतरति । तथा च तदेवाकारनाम्नोर्ज्ञेयमानस्वरूपभेदं चकास्ति, नान्यत् तद्व्यतिरिक्तस्वान्यस्वाभावात् । तत्र च द्वौऽयं प्रकाशः स विद्या । अप्रकाशस्तु तमोऽविद्या । न च प्रकाशाभावोऽप्रकाशो नाम कश्चित्प्रमाणसिद्धो निरूप्यः । ततश्च द्वौऽयं ज्ञेयप्रकाशः सैवैकघनप्रकाशभावः प्रकाशश्चिच्छेदोऽविद्या — — —तत्त्वमेव यथाप्रतिभासं भेदेन ज्ञेयाकारान्तरितारितरमणीयं प्रपञ्चोऽतत्त्वमिति व्यवह्रियत इति ब्रह्मविदः" ॥

(Chaukhamba Edn. p. 89.)

According to the Advaitins there cannot be two entities-satya and asatya—while they accept one ultimate reality which they call *satya*, the so-called *asatya* is explained by them as the manifestation of this *satyavastu* in the diverse but unreal forms of the deep-rooted *avidyā* that completely enshrouds its *substratum*, the *satya*; and when that veil of *avidyā* is removed for ever, the knower, the *satyavastu*, reveals *himself* in his own form of illumination. Such an omniscient reality is known as *vidyā* (supreme knowledge) and its reverse is *avidyā* (ignorance) the latter of which resembles only a pitch of darkness. So *avidyā* is not a true entity like *vidyā*.

How these manifestations are called unreal is explained by Bhartṛhari in the verse—

"सत्यमाकृतिसंहारे यदन्ते व्यवतिष्ठते ।
तन्नित्यं शब्दवाच्यं तच्छब्दतत्त्वं न भिद्यते ॥"

(*Ibid*, Kāṇḍa III, Dravyasamuddeśa. Verse 11.)

While commenting on this verse Helarāja says that this Kārikā is based on the passage in the *Mahābhāṣya*—

"तदेव हि नित्यं यस्मिंस्तत्त्वं न विहन्यते ।"

He further explains[1] that just as gold, though it is given different shapes and is called by different names like *rucaka*

1. "कथं पुनरेतदवगम्यते आकारा असत्यास्ततोऽन्यत्सत्यमित्याह—सत्यमिति । तदेव हि नित्यं यस्मिंस्तत्त्वं न विहन्यत इति भाष्यानुसारेणैतदुच्यते । तथा ह्युक्तं कनकमित्येव सत्यम् । पुनरपरया आकृत्या युक्तं (क्तः) खदिरांगारसदृशो सुवर्णकुण्डले भवतः' इत्यनेनैव दृष्टान्तेन विकारापेक्षया भिन्नस्य ब्रह्मनः सत्यतोच्यते । तथाहि—तत्र रुचकाद्याकारोपमर्देन सुवर्णमित्येव सत्यम् । एवमनन्तविकाराद्यपाये सर्वान्तेऽवतिष्ठमानमनपायि ब्रह्मरूपं सत्यं तदेव च भावतो नित्यम् । आपेक्ष्यन्तु जात्यादीनां सर्वव्यवहारे नित्यत्वमुच्यते । तथाहि — व्यक्त्यपाये जातिरवतिष्ठमाना गोत्वादिका नित्या । तत्राप्यश्वत्वादिभेदत्यागे पृथिवीत्वेव सत्यम् । तत्राप्यत्वादिभेदापाये वस्तित्वमेव सत्यं सर्वनामप्रत्याय्यम् । तत्रापि संविद्रूपत्वानपायिनोऽनुगमादविषयाकारविवेके तदेव पारमार्थिकं सत्यमिति नेति नेत्युपरंतीति भावनया चोच्यते । संविच्च पश्यन्तीरूपा परा वाक् शब्दब्रह्ममयीति ब्रह्मतत्त्वं शब्दात्पारमार्थिकान्न भिद्यते । विवर्तदशायां तु वैखर्यात्मना भेदः । तत्र च तदेव नित्यं जात्यादिरूपेण शब्दवाच्यम् । तत्रान्तरे उपादाननिश्चान्त्या वाचकत्वस्य व्यवस्थापनात्स्वरूपान्तर्गतस्यार्थस्य वाच्यत्वाद्वाच्यवाचकयोरविभागः सिद्ध इति प्रथमकाण्डे निर्णीतम् ॥"

is one entity, so also the eternal Brahman is the only uniformity in all experiences presenting different phenomenal objects. No doubt, the generalities like *gotva* (cowness) are eternal when all their *substrata*—individuals—perish ; but when these particular generalities are ignored and a higher generality like *pṛthivītva* (earthness) is predicated, it is understood that only *pṛthivī* is real; so, when all high generalities are also completely ignored, the objects are experienced as *mere vastus*. This uniformity in experiences is nothing but Brahman which is identical with the *śabdatattva—parā or paśyantī*.

That one and the same *ātman* is manifested through avidyā in diverse forms is pointed out by Bhartṛhari in the verse—

"तन्नास्ति विद्यते तच्च तदेकं तत्पृथक् पृथक् ।
संसृष्टञ्च विभक्तञ्च विकृतं तत्तदन्यथा ॥"

(V. P. Kāṇḍa III, Dravyasamuddeśa, Verse 13.)

This phenomenal world is a bundle of manifestations of *ātman*. They possess diverse and sometimes inimical forms and properties like *bhāva* and *abhāva* through the agency of *avidyā* which delimits *ātman*. Hence the only truth is *ātman* and *avidyā* and its *pariṇāmas* are illusions.

"विद्या सा सर्वशब्दानां शब्दाश्च न पृथक् ततः ।
अपृथक्त्वे च सम्बन्धस्तयोर्नानात्मनोरिव ॥
आत्मा परः प्रियो द्वेष्यो वक्ता वाच्यं प्रयोजनम् ।
विरुद्धानि यथैकस्य स्वप्ने रूपाणि चेतसः ।
अजन्मनि तथा नित्ये पौर्वापर्यविवर्जिते ॥
तत्त्वे जन्मादिरूपत्वं विरुद्धमुपलभ्यते ॥"

(*Ibid*, Dravyasamuddeśa, Verses 16-18).

Even *śabda* and *artha* are the *vivartas* of *ātman* and their separate existence is only empirical. As in a dream which presents *ātman* with diametrically antagonistic properties like *priyatva, dveṣyatva, vaktṛtva* and *vācyatva*, He,

though ultimately eternal and devoid of states like birth, is known, in the state of *vyavahāra*, as possessing birth, existence, destruction and many other properties of mutually inimical character.

Thus all *śāstras* including the *vedas* describe in detail the nature of *avidyā* and its work in diverse ways by adopting different methods of explanation :—

"शास्त्रेषु प्रक्रियाभेदैरविद्यैवोपवर्ण्यते ।"

(*Vākyapadīya*. Kāṇḍa II, Verse 136)

and the knowledge of *avidyā* and of its functions in making up the phenomenal world is quite essential for a distinct understanding and realisation of the ultimate truth, though *avidyā* and its work are ultimately unreal.

"उपायाः शिक्षमाणानां बालानामुपलालनाः ।
असत्ये वर्त्मनि स्थित्वा ततः सत्यं समीहते ॥"

(*Ibid*. Kāṇḍa II. Verse 240.)

The realisation of *śabdabrahman* by the total removal of the bondage of *avidyā* is the final aim of mankind; and Bhartṛhari, like other *āstika advaitins*, exhorts people to study the *vedas* which explain the true nature of this universe and the ultimate reality :

"प्राप्त्युपायोऽनुकारश्च तस्य वेदो महर्षिभिः ।
एकोऽप्यनेकवर्त्मेव समाम्नातः पृथक् पृथक् ॥"

(*Vākyapadīya*. Kāṇḍa I, Verse 5.)

The *Vedas* are the only means of the knowledge of *śabdabrahman* ; hence they are called *anukāra-brahman* in miniature. Those who have realised the ultimate truth call these Vedas the first *vivarta* of *śabdabrahman* (compare the Brahmasūtra, शास्त्रयोनित्वात् *Ibid*., 1-3), which has, owing to the incapacity of mankind, subsequently been divided into four branches, each with numerous *śākhās* or recensions. So the formal manifoldness of the *vedas*, does not, in any way, hamper the

inner unity in the text, namely, that they uniformly expound the nature of the ultimate reality—

"एकोऽयं वेदाख्यो दर्शनात्मनि स्थितो दृश्योऽर्थः स महर्षिभिर्भेदेनाभेदस्य प्रतिपादयितुमशक्यत्वादभिव्यक्तिनिमित्तालब्धक्रमे वागात्मरूपे प्रापितः एकत्वानतिक्रमेण संहितापदक्रमविभागेन प्रविभक्तमार्गोऽध्ययननिमित्तमध्येतृणां चरणसमाख्यां व्यवस्थापयद्भिः समाम्नातः।"

(*Ibid.* Ṭīkā. p. 14.)

Even the different *darśanas* which seek to explain the true nature of this universe are started on the basis of some Vedic texts which the *darśanakāras* interpreted differently. Bhartṛhari says that there cannot be different interpretations of the Vedic texts emphasizing dualism or monism and that those advocating dualism mistook some *arthavādas* for *vidhis* or took those Vedic passages in their literal sense in spite of the established fact that those *arthavādas* praise or condemn things that are enjoined or prohibited by the adjoining *vidhis or niṣedhas*. Even among the advocates of monism, Bhartṛhari adds, some have fancifully suggested on the basis of *arthavādas* like "असद्वा इदमग्र आसीत्" praising the *cayana-sthāna*, that *asat* is the only reality and that this phenomenal world, being the manifestation of that *asat*, is also *asat*—unreal—in view of the fact that the properties of the cause are transmitted to its effect.

"तस्यार्थवादरूपाणि निश्चिताः स्वविकल्पजाः।
एकत्विनां द्वैतिनाञ्च प्रवादा बहुधा मताः॥"

"अर्थवादानर्थवादप्रकाराणि श्रुतिवाक्यानि पौरुषेयाः प्रवादाः प्रायेणानुपतन्तो दृश्यन्ते। पुरुषबुद्धिभेदाश्च प्रवादभेदाः सम्भवन्ति॥"

(*Vākyapadīya Ṭīkā*—Verse 6, Ibid p. 17).

While there is no agreement among the *darśanas* in their explanation of the nature of this universe, Bhartṛhari suggests the final solution, that there is only one reality which appears in diverse forms, so much so, that the ultimate truth is *advaita* and that the *dvaita* is only its *vivarta*. In the Vedas there are many passages like "एकमेवाद्वितीयं ब्रह्म" and

"आत्मैवेदं सर्वम्"—expounding the nature of one ultimate reality. They cannot be set aside as mere *arthavādas*. The passages dealing with the dualistic aspect of this universe can be well taken in their literal sense in as much as they emphasise the empirical reality of the phenomenal world.

The ultimate truth, according to Bhartṛhari, is *śabda-brahman*. Its true symbol is the *praṇava* (*Oṁkāra*) which contains the essence of the *Vedas*. It is only through the *upāsanā* of *Oṁkāra* that mankind can aspire for the realisation of the ultimate Brahman. It admits of both *diversity* as found in the phenomenal world and *unity*, in the ultimate truth. Those who follow the path of *Karman or avidyā* view diversity as real while those who transcend Karman and march through the path of *jñāna* see the unity through diversity.—

"अत्र प्रणवः सर्वाभ्यनुज्ञाविषयः सर्वश्रुतिरूपः प्रकृतिसर्वनामसर्वदर्शनोदयप्रत्यस्तमययोनिः सर्वविरुद्धार्थोपग्राही सर्वभेदं ब्रह्माभ्यनुजानाति सर्वथा च प्रतिबोधति । न च प्रतिषेधाभ्यनुज्ञयोरस्य प्रवृत्तितत्त्वं विकल्पेत । तथाह्याहुः —

"तदेतदेकं नैकञ्च तथोभे नाप्युभे न च ।
कर्मस्था विधमं ब्रूयुः सत्त्वस्थास्समदर्शिनः ॥"

(*Ibid. Ṭīkā*—Verse 9, pp. 20 and 21).

The greatness of Oṁkāra, the essence of the Vedas, cannot be overestimated. From it, not only all *darśanas* are developed, but also all other *vidyās*—the six *vedāṅgas* beginning with the *śikṣā* and the various *upāṅgas* like the *purāṇas* and the *dharmaśāstras*—thus constituting the main basis of Hindu culture and the sole means of supreme knowledge.

"विधातुस्तस्य लोकानामङ्गोपाङ्गनिबन्धनाः ।
विद्याभेदाः प्रतायन्ते ज्ञानसंस्कारहेतवः ॥"

(Kāṇḍa I, Verse 10.)

Ōṁkāra or the Vedas are called the very creator of this mundane world in that all *vidyās* of both spiritual and temporal utility do not transgress the path of the Vedas.

"वेदो हि लोकानां प्रकृतित्वेन चोपदेष्टृत्वेन च विवर्तेषु व्यवस्थासु च विधाता । प्रणव एव वेद इत्येके, स हि शब्दार्थप्रकृतिरिति । एतस्मिंश्च दर्शने विद्याभेदाः प्रणवात्मतया वेदतत्त्वं नातिक्रामन्ति । तदाहुः —

'सर्वा वाचो वेदमनुप्रविष्टाः, नावेदविन्मनुते ब्रह्म किञ्चित् 'इति।"

(*Ibid Ṭīkā*—Verse 10, p. 21).

And mankind has to rely on the Vedas alone in order to seek the knowledge of the Absolute and consequently its eternal emancipation.[1]

Like other āstika philosophers, Bhartṛhari emphasises the fact that all *smṛtis*, including the chief *Vedāṅga Vyākaraṇaśāstra*, modified by great seers, and the practices or customs of the *śiṣṭas* are also authorities on *dharma*, in that they are composed or practised by them after their understanding the hidden or scattered truths of the Vedas.

"न चागमादृते धर्मस्तर्केण व्यवतिष्ठते ।
ऋषीणामपि यज्ज्ञानं तदप्यागमपूर्वकम् ॥"

(Kāṇḍa I, Verse 30.)

The knowledge of *dharma* and other supernormal things like mokṣa can be obtained only by a careful study of *āgamas* (*vedas*, *smṛtis* and *śiṣṭācāras*). Logical arguments cannot

* Here some Vedic passages explaining the true nature of *śabdabrahman* may be noted:

"वागेवार्थं पश्यति वागेवार्थं वदति वागेवार्थं निहितं संतनोति । वाचेव विश्वं बहुरूपं निबद्धं तदेतदेकं प्रविभज्योपभुञ्क्ते ॥"

2. "ओमित्येतदक्षरमिदं सर्वम्, वाचो ह वाक् ।"

explain the nature of *śabdabrahman* as *satya*, *eka* and *ātman* and as the creator of this phenomenal world—

"तमेव भान्तमनुभाति सर्वं तस्य भासा सर्वमिदं विभाति"

describes the *saguṇaśaktis* of Brahman.

enlighten mankind on these supernormal questions. Even on matters perceptible and inferable, Bharthṛhari says human logic miserably fails in giving a proper explanation.

"को ह्यनवस्थितसाधर्म्यवैधर्म्येषु निरूपणेषु पुरुषतर्केषु विश्वासः।"
(*Vākyapadīya*- Ṭīkā, p. 46, Verse 30).

So superiority of *āgama* to *tarka* (logical arguments) is one of the fundamental doctrines that all Advaitins have emphasised ; and Bharṭṛhari in the Brahmakāṇḍa of his *Vākyapadīya* devotes a major section to this topic. Man generally relies on his special gift, *viz.*, reason ; but it fails in giving true solutions for the puzzling problems like the nature of the ultimate reality and its relation to the phenomenal world. *Tarka* leaves always a residue of doubt in man, with the result that he is disinclined to accept even the solution given by *āgama*, which alone, as true revelations and invaluable records of truth, is the infallible authority on those supernormal matters. It is therefore laid down, that, on questions of supernormal character like *dharma*, *āgama*—*Vedas*, *smṛits*, etc., generally known as *śāstra*—is the only authority :—

"तस्माच्छास्त्रं प्रमाणं ते कार्याकार्यव्यवस्थितौ।"
(*Bh. Gītā*, Ch. 16, Verse 24.)

and *tarka*—reasonable arguments—chiefly in the form of syllogism—is unreliable, for, however great might be a man's intellectual attainments, his well-thought-out syllogism, will, in no time, be proved fallacious by a greater intellectual giant.

"यत्नेनानुमितोऽप्यर्थः कुशलैरनुमातृभिः।
अभियुक्ततरैरन्यैरन्यथैवोपपाद्यते॥"
(*Vākyapadīya*. Kāṇḍa I, Verse 34.)

Bharṭṛhari compares the man who *relies* simply on his reason in *alaukika* topics to a blind person, who, when he touches only with his hands the slope of a huge precipice and

advances further, is doomed to death by an instantaneous fall—

"हस्तस्पर्शादिवान्धेन विषमेऽप्यभिधावता।
अनुमानप्रधानेन विनिपातो न दुर्लभः॥"

(*Ibid.* Verse 42).

Bhartṛhari does not, however, completely set aside *tarka* as *apramāṇa*. His famous dictum is—

"वेदशास्त्राविरोधी च तर्कश्चक्षुरपश्यताम्।"

(V. P. Kāṇḍa I. Verse 136).

Tarka which does not go against the Vedas and other *śāstras* is really helpful to those who seek the realisation of the highest truth. It may be noted here, that, this doctrine, namely, that *tarka* which has the support of *āgama*, is an authority, is further elaborated and used by all Advaitins as one of the powerful arguments against the exponents of *bhedavāda*—the doctrine of dualism. It is even said—

"यस्तर्केणानुसन्धत्ते स धर्मं वेद नेतरः।"

He alone understands *dharma*, who makes a judicious use of *tarka*. So *tarka* is of paramount importance in that it is of great use to mankind for understanding the true import of *āgama*; but, it must be remembered that it cannot enlighten mankind against the authority of *āgama* on all matters on which it cannot be considered an infallible and ultimate authority.

Not only in the glorification of *āgama* as an independent and infallible authority does Bhartṛhari wax eloquent but also in the glorification of *śabda*. It has already been said that Bhartṛhari conceives it as the ultimate reality. He says that the Vedic seers call *śabda* the inner Soul of the speaker

Compare the ṛk- "चत्वारि शृङ्गात्रयो अस्य पादा द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य। त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महो देवो मर्त्यां आविवेश॥"

and the Divine Bull which has come down from heaven to bless mankind—

"अपि प्रयोक्तुरात्मानं शब्दमन्तरुपस्थितम् ।
प्राहुर्महान्तमृषभं येन सायुज्यमिष्यते ।"

(V. P. K. I, Verse 131.)

Hence the importance of *śabdopāsti* and *ōṁkāropāsti* which lead one to the spiritual path of the realisation of *śabda-brahman*.

Equally important is *śabda* in the *vyavahārāvasthā* also. Bhartṛhari emphasises the fact that there is no cognition without the accompaniment of a *śabda* and that all cognitions get their property of illumination through *śabda*—

"न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके यः शब्दानुगमादृते ।
अनुविद्धमिव ज्ञानं सर्वं शब्देन भासते ॥"

(*Vākyapadīya*. Kāṇḍa I, Verse 124.)

The true nature of knowledge is *prakāśa* – illumination—and this illumination of knowledge cannot be effective if all knowledge is deprived of its expressive element of *śabda*.

"वाग्रूपता चेदुत्क्रामेत् अवबोधस्य शाश्वती ।
न प्रकाशः प्रकाशेत सा हि प्रत्यवमर्शिनी ॥"

(V. P. Kāṇḍa I, Verse 125).

That *śabda* is self-luminous and that it gives illumination to all objects is well explained in the following passage—

"इह त्रीणि ज्योतींषि त्रयः प्रकाशाः स्वरूपपररूपयोरवबोधकाः । तद्यथा—
'योऽयं जातवेदाः यश्च पुरुषेष्वान्तरः प्रकाशो यश्च प्रकाशप्रकाशयोः प्रकाशयिता शब्दाख्यः प्रकाशः तत्रैतत्सर्वमुपनिबद्धं यावत्स्थास्नु चरिष्णु चेति।"

(*Vākyapadīya*-Ṭīkā. page 24, Verse 12).

The fact that all cognitions involve a word element led all grammarians to believe that all cognitions are only determinate cognitions ; but, it must be said that this view has reference and application to cognitions of *vyavahārāvasthā* (empirical stage) and not to the *Brahmasākṣātkāra*.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ANIMA AND ANIMUS AND CONCEPTIONS OF EASTERN SCHOOLS.

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There are many points in which the conclusions of the modern Schools of psychology, especially that of C. G. Jung, run parallel or are very similar to the doctrines of the old Schools of psychology of the East. The old schools were founded upon methods of observation and experience which have now been largely forgotten. Jung's conclusions have been arrived at by the ordinary scientific methods. But during all this experiments Jung's remarkable personality with highly intuitive faculties was the guiding light.

In this paper I want to draw the attention to one particular conception, somewhat new and almost revolutionary in Western science, but in an allied form not unknown in schools of eastern thought. I mean that of *anima*, the female "soul" in man and that of the *animus*, the male "soul" in woman.

This doctrine of *anima* and *animus* is deeply suggestive and presents the solution of a good many psychological knots with far going sociological implications.

Before I proceed I must make clear the terms that are used. The *anima* is the soul, of course not to be confused with the *spirit*. In Hindu psychology the equivalent of *spirit* is *Ātman*. For *soul* it is not so easy to find an equivalent. The soul or *anima* is what we might call the *personality*. Here we are dealing with the mind world. There are as it were two aspects or attitudes of this personality. Let me quote Jung's definition: "The inner personality is the manner of one's behaviour towards the inner

processes, it is the inner attitude, the character that is turned towards the Unconscious." (Psychological Types, p. 593). The outer attitude or outer personality" corresponds with the conscious intentions while it also meets with the requirements and opinions of the environment" (p. 500). It is the result of the relation with the environing personalities, and is as such a *mask* of the inner personality. Therefore it is called *persona*, which word meant mask. "The persona is a function complex which has come into existence for reasons of adaptation or necessary convenience but by no means is identical with the individuality". (p. 591.) Of course persona must not be confused with personality, it is only the outer aspect of a personality.

One of the most difficult of all educational achievements is the task of changing the outer attitude, or persona. But to change the inner attitude, or anima, is equally difficult, if not more.

Most interesting is the following point which we have taken as the main theme of this paper. As Jung remarks, (in Psychological Types, p. 594) "as regards the character of the soul (anima), my experience confirms the validity of the general principle that it maintains, on the whole, a *complimentary* relation to the outer character (persona). Experience teaches us that the soul is wont to contain all those general human qualities the conscious attitude lacks." And more "That the complimentary character of the soul is also concerned with the sex character is a fact which can no longer seriously be doubted" Every man, woman or child is a full human being, all humanity is contained in him or her. That part of humanity which has no possibility of manifesting in the conscious outer attitude, is found to exist in the unconscious, in the soul. In a man's soul we find all the female characteristics, in woman's soul we find the characteristics of man. Therefore we must logically speak of the *animus* of a woman in distinction to the *anima* of a man.

The very manly men are most subject to characteristic weaknesses, as Jung remarks. (Psychological Types p. 595.) Their attitude to the things of the Unconscious and of the inner world has a womanly weakness and impressionability. And, vice versa, it is often just the most womanly women, who, in respect to certain inner things, have an extreme intractableness obstinacy and wilfulness, which qualities are found in such intensity in the outer attitude of men. These are manly characteristics whose exclusion from the outer attitude of the woman makes them qualities of her soul.

Logic and objective reality commonly prevail in the outer attitude of man, and are his ideal. And it is feeling which prevails in the outer attitude of woman and is the ideal. But in the soul the relations are reversed; inwardly it is the man who feels and the woman who reflects.

Jung even goes as far as saying (p. 595) that "as regards general human charecteristics the character of the *anima* may be deduced from that of the persona. Everything which should normally be in the outer attitude but is decidedly wanting there will invariably be found in the inner attitude. This is a basic rule which my experience has borne out again and again".

There is the well-known and significant story in the Symposium of Plato: a discussion about the nature of Love, how one of the speakers, talking about the origin of love, said that he had heard that in the beginning of time man was a two sexed being, both male and female. However when man became too self-assertive and began to trouble the gods, to control him they cut him in two halves and condemned each half eternally to seek its complement, half. As a story it is amusing, as a piece of symbolism however and from a psychological point of view it is highly significant, as also the statements about bi-sexed beings we so often come across in the Purāṇas.

As it is, the symbolism of cutting in two represents the gradual evolution of the persona. Man indeed becomes a double sided being trying to re-establish contact with his own soul. He does not become two halves, but he becomes two persons in one body. Plato goes even further, anticipating, as it were, the schizophrenic personality of modern psychology, in saying: "If we are not obedient to the gods there is a danger that we shall be split up again."[2]

From his collective personality evolves his individual personality, with its sharp line between the conscious and the unconscious, with its sharp distinction between the *persona* and the *anima*.

His goal is again to realize his full humanity and re-establish full contact between the two halves of his being.

In India there are several conceptions of Deity representing full humanity. Most known is Ardha-Nārīśvara, "half-goddess half-god", represented as male on the right side and female on the left side. Also Hara is often represented as such. Here again we have the two-sided nature or humanity stressed. The two-sided nature of the physical body is taken advantage of to symbolize the two-sided nature of the psychological human being. Nothing sexual must of course be looked for in this representation. As so often in Hindu symbology, the physical, or even sexual is only taken as symbol for the psychological.

Other deities, as for instance Channa Keśava in the Belur temple in Mysore State, are represented as male in body and female in face. Here the duality is on a different plan. The body stands for the conscious, the face for the unconscious. The body is persona, the head is anima. The complete picture is there, as it were the symbol of the ideal. Also in modern India the same tendency can be found, it has struck me for instance that the representations of Śrī

[2] Symposium in B. Jowett, The Dialogues of Plato, Vol. p. 561.

Kṛṣṇa practically always show him with a male body and with a female face. He is as it were both *anima* and *animus*, according to the worshipper. That this double nature is brought in unconsciously by the artist makes no difference.

These conceptions provide the key to Tāntric Philosophy and Tāntric practices. Some philosophers and Yogis of the present day in India have doctrines closely resembling that of the *anima*, as for instance Upasanibaba of Sakore, Dt. Ahmadnager near Nasik, who has written a book in Marāthi on the subject.

Also Buddhist philosophers have been aware of the double nature of humanity. Buddha is sometimes called "the Father of the Universe and the Mother of the three worlds." The Buddhist deities of the Mahāyāna school are seldom represented without their Śaktis, and often, if they are, it is at first sight hard to tell whether they are male or female.

It is also deeply interesting to study the *anima* and *animus* in religion. It is a curious fact that *Love*' that pre-eminently womanly characteristic, was and is always represented as a male god, whereas *Wisdom*, certainly generally regarded as pre-eminently a characteristic of man, was and is always associated with a goddess. It was so in ancient Greece and Rome. For some sects of early Christians wisdom was Sophia, the Holy Spirit, who in fact was very much like a goddess. For the Hindus Sarasvatī is the goddess of Wisdom.

The Hindu institution of the Four Āśrams was undoubtedly founded upon a knowledge of the double nature of man. In the Brahmacarya Āśrama the contact with the soul is established. In the Gārhastya Āśrama the man projects his *anima* on to the woman with which he is married and she projects her *animus* onto her husband. The relation of the sexes is fundamentally a complementary one of the

Conscious and the Unconscious. The conscious part of the man or the woman has contact with the unconscious of the partner. It is clear that it is a double relationship. In the ideal marriage it will be a full and double contact. If the contact is only half a one, the marriage will not be always happy.

It will easily be seen that the application of the doctrine of *anima* and *animus* in practical psychology has solved a good many marriage problems and other problems of relationship.

An important implication of the doctrine is that the relation of the sexes cannot be fundamentally one of intellectual understanding. The relation is a far deeper one, since it concerns the contact between the conscious in the one party and the unconscious in the other. There is consequently no use for the parties in a marriage to argue about their problems, since talk, unless dealing with these deeper issues, will not be able to achieve anything. The true understanding between the sexes lies on a deeper plan. *Love* can never *know*. For this reason the modern form of marriage as comradeship without a deeper basis can never be a success.

When men and women become older, their personal becomes less vital, it loses its strong characteristics of maleness in man and of womanliness in woman. The complementary part of the Unconscious however comes gradually more and more to the foreground. It is a well known fact how old men generally become sweet and loving of nature, the female side of their inner nature is evolving. Old women however generally develop manly characteristics of which the most prominent are a manly will and manly powers of argument.

As is a well known fact, even the physical body follows suit and begins to show characteristics of the other sex.

There is no reason however, why normal man and woman should lose the characteristics of their sex when the

characteristics of the other sex are beginning to manifest in them. The secret of really great personalities is that they combine the characteristics of both sexes. Buddha, Christ, great sages and saviours show at one and the same time infinite strength, power and knowledge and infinite love and sweetness of feeling.

The Vānaprastha Āśrama is a preparation for the last Āśrama, it is a transitional stage. It is the purpose of the Sanyāsa Āśrama that a complete purification of the personality takes place. All bonds, all complexes have to be dissolved. The inner personality and the outer personality have to be in full contact, the soul must have opportunity to shine in its full lustre. The personality rises above sex and sex attractions and tends to manifest the psychological characteristics of both sexes. In a way the highest stage is that a man becomes like a little child again.

The goal of man is to unfold in the course of his development the soul nature of woman. His communion with woman helps him to establish contact with the unconscious or, in other words, with the spiritual world. She represents his own unconscious self, in a tangible form, if the contact is a deep and true one. In Hindu religious ideas the husband is to the wife an incarnation of God, and the wife is to the husband an incarnation of the divine female principle. Thus a perfect relationship between man and woman leads to self-realization and full manifestation of humanity in one personality.

FREE WILL IN DVAITA PHILOSOPHY.

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The standpoint of the Dvaita School of Philosophy is summarised in the following stanza attributed to Śrī Vādirāja —

"श्रीमन्मध्वमते हरिः परतरः सत्यं जगत्तत्वतो
भेदो जीवगणा हरेरनुचरा नीचोच्चभावं गताः ।
मुक्तिर्नैजसुखानुभूतिरमला भक्तिश्च तत्साधनं
ह्यक्षादित्रितयं प्रमाणमखिलाम्नायैकवेद्यो हरिः ॥"

The second line of the stanza emphasises the point that the Jīvātman, while being essentially different from the Paramātman, is also subordinate to it (literally a follower) and that among the group of such Jīvātmans there is a rank fixed (eternally) to each individual soul (Jīvātman). This leads to the conclusion that only the Supreme Soul (Paramātman) is free to think, speak or act while the individual soul is subordinate to it in all these aspects. The question then arises: 'Has the subordinate soul no freedom at all? If it is not free to act, has it not got a free will at least? Is every one of its acts entirely guided from the begining to the end by the whims and fancies of the Supreme being?' If the answer to the last question is 'Yes', then the question of punishment and reward arises. The award of either of these to the soul which is not in the least responsible to its acts will attribute to God the quality of partiality. In fact there would be no justification at all for it. Even under the imperfect scheme of justice that human beings are able to dispense, the hang-man who kills the man sentenced to death by the judge is not punished for homicide or wilful murder. How can God whom we all agree to call 'the just'

commit such a blunder? If again we assume that the individual soul is responsible for its own acts and thoughts, surely then, God's omnipotence is done away with, for there is at least something in respect of which 'the dependent' soul is independent of 'the supreme being.' This paper proposes to summarise the attitude of the Dvaita school of philosophy regarding this question.

At the very outset we have to note that the freedom possessed by the Jīvātman can be visualised by प्रत्यक्ष, अनुमान and आगम. We actually see men doing what they want to do or what they say they want to do. The scriptures that order men to do something and to refrain from doing others would be futile if man had no freedom of action at all. Śrī Madhvācārya obviously admits the freedom of Jīvātman when he makes the following statements —

'कुरु मुंड्व च कर्म निजं नियतम्' (द्वादशस्तोत्र).

'महाप्रयत्नवर्जिताः न भूतिमाप्नुयुः'

(महाभारततात्पर्यनिर्णय).

At the same time here are some statements of the Ācārya which go to substantiate the dependence of Jīvātman.

'सोनुत्पत्तिलयः कर्ता जीवस्तद्वशगः सदा।'

'सर्वावस्थामेरकश्च ... स एकः परमेश्वरः।'

Even after attaining मोक्ष the Jīvātman is not entirely free to act as he pleases, according to Śrī Madhvācārya.

'जगत्सृष्टयादिविषयं महासामर्थ्यमप्यृते।
यथेष्टशक्तिमन्तश्च विना स्वाभाविकोत्तमान्॥'

Thus the मुक्तात्मा is powerless to create the worlds or to defy the inherent seniority. The fact that we are unable to control our actions during the period of sleep, illustrates the control of our actions by external agencies. Says Jagannātha Dasaru:

If we suppose that the various organs of our body perform their functions of their own accord, then why is it that we are sometimes forgetful and absentminded and we do not even reply to the speeches of others? When we regain the normal mood we function as usual. How can we say we have freedom?" (16th Sandhi, 30th Verse.)

As a solution of this problem, a section of the Dvaita school of philosophy brings forth a theory of दत्तस्वातंत्र्य (freedom allowed by the grace of God). An illustration will make the point clear. Consider a horse tied to a pole by means of a rope. Has it any freedom of motion or not? Yes and no. It has certainly the freedom to move in the circular space permitted by the length of the rope. It can move forwards or backwards along any radius, or it can move round the pole. It may even refuse to move and stand still. But beyond the limits of the circular area the horse is unable to move. It has a degree of freedom which, we may say, is very limited. The freedom of the Jīvātman is said to be of this type. According to the nature of his Karma in the previous births his environments and atmosphere will be fixed for him by the creator — the supreme being. His own nature (प्रकृति or स्वभाव) will then lead the Jīvātman by the nose and determine his course of action. The statement in the Gītā 'प्रकृतिस्त्वां नियोक्ष्यति' proves this idea. (Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa says to Arjuna, 'It is the ego in you that makes you say that you will not fight. But nevertheless your nature will prevail upon you in the end'.) According to this school of thought a negligibly small degree of freedom is given to the subordinate soul. The independence is not inherent in the soul but is allowed to it by the Grace of God in order to permit its developments and evolution, the magnitude of the independence being small.

Some members of the Dvaita school believe that there is no need for any freedom at all. They say that even the existence of the Jīvātman is independent of God and eternal only through the grace of God.

'योऽन्तः प्रविश्य मम वाचमिमां प्रसुप्ताम्'
'तेन विना तृणमपि न चलति'
'यं कामये तं तमुग्रं कृणोमि'
'पचनं गमनं भक्ष्यं मुक्तिरित्यादिकर्मसु ।
दृश्यते यत्नसाध्यत्वं दैवं तत्रापि चिन्तयेत् ॥' (विष्णुरहस्य).

Quotations of the above type explain this attitude to the question. The difficulty of the award of punishments and rewards is explained according to this view in the following manner. God certainly determines the course of our actions. He is the प्रेरक as well as the कारक. But being impartial he has no end of his own to serve. The Jīvātman in the primary stage of existence is made up of Guṇas. He has his own particular Goal to attain and a capacity to work for it. Just as a wise parent who detects mechanical skill in the early stages of his child's life, develops the same by the presentation of a graduated system of machanical toys and by explanations of the workings of various machines by degrees, so does God create fresh environments and experiences for the subordinate soul to give him opportunities for self realisation. The circumstances of the very first birth are determined by the nature of the soul as well as the 'अनादिकर्म' attached to it. The subsequent conditions of life, of course follow as a result of the Karma of that birth. According to this school of thought, the injunctions of God as expressed in the Vedas which are meant to guide all rational beings may mean differently for differently destined souls. The subordinate soul has no option in the matter, but is forced to take up the interpretation of the texts forced upon him by the Supreme being.

It is this last aspect of the question which is not quite clear. Incentive for actions will be absent if God should be considered the source of inspiration for everything. Why should anybody pose himself as a *guru* and take up the role of the preacher exhorting others as to what they should or should not do? Why should there be any *śāstra* at all if one has no chance of determining his course of thought or action?

The theory of दत्तस्वातन्त्र्य which allows some freedom to the soul to choose the good or the evil seems to be really very satisfactory. It has many analogies in the daily routine of our lives such as the independent actions of the members of a family subject to the will of the master and the work of the servants of a Government controlled by a central authority. We find the following in Viṣṇurahasya —

'सर्ववस्तुषु या शक्तिः सा मदीयैव नान्यधा ।
मयैव दत्तं स्वातन्त्र्यं केवलेष्वपि कर्मसु ।
स्वातन्त्र्यलेशदानेन जीवन् श्वसिति जृम्भते ॥'
'स्वतन्त्रोपि हरिः सृष्ट्वा स्वस्वातन्त्र्यमनेकधा ।
विभज्यादान्नृप इव सर्वकार्येषु लालया ।
तत्तत्स्वातन्त्र्ययोगेन फलभाक् स प्रजायते ॥'

It is no doubt difficult to analyse any act of ours and to say what percentage of its success is due to our efforts and what to the will of God. A mathematical estimate of the ratio of these is even attempted by Jagannātha Dasaru in his *Harikathāmṛtasāra* which is largely based on the authority of Viṣṇurahasya. In any case it is safe to assume that the Jīvātman has a limited degree of freedom to act and that even that amount of freedom is a gift of the supreme being to the subordinate soul to give scope for its evolution on lines natural to itself and at the same time subordinate to the higher power.

THE EMPIRICAL AND NOUMENAL TRUTHS IN ŚAṄKARA'S PHILOSOPHY.

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In the Advaita of Śaṅkara we come across two kinds or levels of truth, the empirical and the noumenal. The test of both these truths is however regarded as the same. The conception of truth in Advaita is not simple; and on it is not based the conception of untruth, though curiously enough truth is known directly and untruth indirectly [1]. The conception of untruth is *brahmapramātiriktābādhyatve sati satvena pratītyarham cidbhinnam pratipannopadhau traikālikaniṣedhapratiyogī* [2]. This is *mithyā*, and truth is what is not this. There is a shorter definition too of truth, *traikālikābādhyatvam eva sattvam* [3]. The above definition of *mithyā* is framed to cover only *prātibhāsikā sattā* or illusion we experience in this world [4]. But the second definition of *mithyā* given in *Advaitasiddhi*, *pratipannopadhau traikālikaniṣedhapratiyogitvam vā*, is common to both the empirical illusion and the world regarded as an illusion. One can easily see that the other three definitions of *mithyā* given in *Advaitasiddhi* are applicable to both the levels [5].

1. Cp. *Svataḥ prāmāṇyavāda* and *parataḥ aprāmāṇyavāda*.
2. *Advaitasiddhi*, p. 20.
3. Cp. *Ibid*, p. 50.
4. *Ibid*, p. 25.
5. *Mithyātvam* is *Jñānanivartyatvam*, *Sadvivikatvam*, *Sadvailakṣaṇyam* or *asadvailakṣaṇyam*. The last appears to be the simplest of the definitions, and to the superficial observation indicates that the idea of illusion is based upon that of truth. But if we try to understand *sattvam* this suggestion will have to be rejected. For *sattvam* is *prāmāṇasiddhatvam*; *prāmāṇyam* is *deśakālakriyājñānalakṣaṇatvam*. Further, *prāmāṇasiddhatvam* is *abādhyatvavyāpyam*. In Advaita the logical significance of both illusion and truth is relative. Truth is what is not *bādhita*, but what is *bādhita* is illusion. Not-*bādhita* can be understood only with reference to *bādhita*! On the other hand the untruth is *bādhita* ultimately by truth, which is *abādhita*. This fact we are not to interpret as conflicting with the Advaita theory of *svataḥ prāmāṇya*, for this theory is concerned with the actual knowing truth, whereas we are dealing at present with the definitions of truth. Consistently with its metaphysics Advaita gives only a negative definition of truth, and so the definition has reference to untruth. Thus for knowing untruth we must have reference to truth, and for *defining* truth we must have reference to untruth.

To one who wishes to understand the comparative merits of Indian and European philosophy, the question cannot but suggest itself, whether and how far is this criterion of truth based upon experience. The criterion of empirical truth, whatever that be, must certainly be based upon experience. When the judgment (in illusion) "This is a snake" is made, so long as the illusion lasts we take the snake as true. Afterwards when the true judgment, "This is a rope" is made, we realise that the first judgment was false. Thus we frame the criterion of empirical truth only on the basis of these two experiences. Supposing we did not have the second experience and its difference from the first, the question of truth would not have arisen, nothing to say of its criterion. Because we have both the experience of illusion and that of its underlying truth, we are able to formulate the criterion of truth.

The question naturally suggests itself whether we formulate the criterion of noumenal truth similarly; and where the same criterion is applied to both the empirical and the noumenal levels, whether we have justification for applying it to the noumenal level unless we have enough experience of it, which makes the application of the criterion possible and intelligible. Many of us will say that we do not have experience of the noumenal reality. Many varieties of realistic philosophy have their source in the conviction that we have no experience of the noumenal reality, and that it would be illogical to introduce the concept of the noumenon into our philosophy. Even the aesthetic and the moral experiences which are regarded as clues to the existence of the noumenon cannot be said to be adequate enough to base our criterion of truth on. The orthodox Advaitin may feel tempted to answer that the *Śruti* or the Upaniṣads may be taken as guaranteeing the existence of the noumenon, and on the account given of it in them we can base our criterion of noumenal truth. But this assertion implies that the whole Advaita structure has *Śruti* only as the foundation; and that for those who do not believe in the

infallibility of the *Sruti*, Advaita would be without foundation. In this century, apart from the historical and other interests we may have in it, one should not expect implicit and unquestioning faith in it. Whether it is all truth which we have not been able to re discover is one question; whether we know that it is all truth is another. The very fact that a science for the interpretation of the *Śruti* was found necessary even by our ancients shows that every thing said by the *Śruti* could not be accepted without modification. And the interpretations of the *Śruti* differ so widely that enough room is left for the doubt whether any interpretation is the only right one, and whether the modifications of the literal meanings it accepts are also right. And the chief interest of Advaita for the modern student of philosophy lies in the way Advaita tries to lead one up from the phenomenal existence to the noumenal through an argument which shows the necessity of the noumenal. It is here that we can find a clue to the culture which this philosophy represents. Every system is a coherent interpretation of a culture and is representative of the attitude which a people adopt to the world. The Advaitin's argument that gradually leads us from the phenomenal to the noumenal existence must therefore give us a right clue to an outlook.

So though we have to admit that the criterion of the empirical truth is formulated on the basis of the experience of the empirical truth and falsity, it cannot be said to have been so formulated so far as the noumenal truth is concerned. That is, the experience of the empirical truth and falsity is prior to the formulation of the criterion of the empirical truth but the formulation of the criterion of the noumenal truth is prior to an adequate experience of it, if at all one is fortunate enough to have it. So far as men who do not have that experience are concerned the existence of the noumenal truth is to be inferred from the nature of the criterion formulated. It is because we infer the existence of the truth from the nature of the criterion that it is often questioned by the followers of the realistic and the empirical schools whether the

formulation of a criterion implies an existence that answers to it. Such a question is answered in European philosophy by saying that we judge the imperfection of our empirical existence by applying that criterion, and that we could not have judged our empirical existence to be imperfect unless we had some kind of experience of perfection. Logically this is an instance of the relation between the negative and the positive. The judgment, "this world is not perfect", in order to have significance, presupposes something which is perfect, and its experience. The imperfection of this world is perceived logically, morally, and aesthetically. So in all these ways we must have glimpses of perfection on the basis of which we pronounce the world to be imperfect. This problem appears in Advaita also, and it is accepted that the *atyantābhāva* of this world is based upon Brahman and is even identical with it. The theory of *sadadhiṣṭhānabhrahma* as distinguished from that of *niradhiṣṭhānabhrahma* also implies the view.

After all these considerations, we can see that it is not experience of the noumenal truth that deliberately makes us formulate the criterion, rather we formulate the criterion and regard the experience as a presupposition of this formulation. We may admit that some experience of the noumenon is, without our knowing, at work in the formulation of the criterion but, unlike the empirical truth, it can never be made an object of our understanding, and always remains a presupposition for the understanding.

It may perhaps be contended that, though the Advaita theory of negation and illusion are in support of the view that the noumenal is a presupposition of the phenomenal, and that its existence is presupposed in the formulation of the noumenal truth, Śaṅkara himself never resorted to this method of proof. He accepted the existence of the noumenal truth on the ground of the *Śruti* which he regards as infallible. And comparing the account given of it in the *Śruti* with the empirical truth, he has formulated the criterion. The objection is certainly not without reason. It is certainly doubtful

whether Śaṅkara could have expounded his particular philosophy had he not understood the *Śruti* in the way he did. But it is equally doubtful whether he could have understood the *Śruti* in that way if his outlook on the world had not been what it was. Besides, our special interest in Advaita lies in its really philosophical positions, in the way it marshals the arguments to prove that Brahman is the only reality, and in the status it gives to the empirical existence. Advaita asserts that this world is unreal, not merely because the *śruti* says that the Brahman is the only reality; it gives arguments also to show the reality of Brahman and the unreality of this world. Because of the different interpretations of the *Śruti*, the Advaitin, like the other Vedāntins, not only wrestles with the interpretations of the *Śruti*, but also tries to demonstrate that the philpsophical interpretation obtained through every other interpretation is self-contradictory. And the modern student of philosophy is interested in the latter. Even Śaṅkara, for example, in criticising the Śaṅkhya view that Prakṛti is the cause of the world, not only quotes the *Śruti* against the view, but also advances arguments, which could have been advanced even by one who did not believe in the *Śruti*, but accepted Advaita. We may admit that Śaṅkara formulated the criterion of noumenal truth after accepting its existence from the *Śruti*, yet we cannot deny that his arguments to prove that Brahman only is the ultimate reality, when taken independently of the *Śruti* and they can be so taken—, are based on a criterion which presupposes the existence and *some* experience of Brahman. In his disputations with the Buddhists, who were no believers in the infallibility of the *Śruti*, we cannot imagine that Śaṅkara was quoting the *Śruti* and interpreting it in order to convince them. Again, in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtras* while refuting the Buddhistic and Jaina theories, Śaṅkara little relies on the *Śruti* 1. What then

1. See *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* I, I, 5. II, II, 28-36

is the standard of truth used by Śaṅkara here? And how is it formulated? Śaṅkara could not have answered the Buddhist, if he were to put the question, that the *Śruti* gave it to him -for such an answer could not have convinced the Buddhist. Then Śaṅkara would have to say either that he had experienced the noumenal truth and that his criterion was based upon that experience; or that the criterion was an ideal which only could satisfy us logically, morally, and aesthatically, and that we could condemn the phenomenal existence on the basis of that criterion, only if we had some experience of that ideal existence. In the former case too the Buddhist could not have been convinced, and could make the simple retort that he had no such experience. Then the latter alternative only remains. It is not my contention that Śaṅkara actually gave such an answer to the Buddhist, but if such an idea did not guide Śaṅkara's argument the Buddhist could not have been convinced. Besides, Śaṅkara did not discuss moral and aesthetic problems, but an ideal existence that can satisfy us logically must have guided his arguments. And the interest of the modern student of philosophy, as it is above said, lies in understanding this ideal and how it guides Śaṅkara's arguments.

After all these considerations, it strikes one that the criterion of noumenal truth is not based merely on epistemological grounds. It may of course be questioned whether the Advaitin has two criteria of truth, one for the empirical and the other for the noumenal. Often only one criterion of truth is given, namely, *traikālikābādhyatvam eva sattvam*. According to this definition only one reality is recognised, that is, Brahman. But here we have to say that when we attempt to apply this definition to both the empirical and the noumenal truths we find a difference. The empirical falsity, for example, the snake in the rope, is negated in time, that is the cognition of the snake is negated by the cognition of the

rope, which again is temporal. But the empirical truth that is, the rope, which is from the noumenal point of view a falsity, is displaced by Brahman which is non-temporal. Even the cognition of Brahman cannot be said to be temporal. Brahman is *abādhya*, and as it is beyond time the word *traikālika* is inapplicable to it. Yet it is useful in that it points, together with the other word, *abādhya*, to something that is beyond time. A similar difference with regard to the two *mithyas* is made by adding for the criterion of the empirical truth, *brahmapramātṛiriktatvābādhyātve sati*, as in the first definition *mithyā* given in *Advaitasiddhi*.

Even when the criterion is the same it cannot be applied to the noumenal truth simply on epistemological grounds. Epistomology is the theory of knowledge, and is limited to empirical knowledge. It becomes metaphysics the moment questions of the ideal are introduced into it, like the question "what is the ideal object of knowledge", which is ultimately resolvable into "what is ideal knowledge". Naturally the ideal is based on the actual. Otherwise, it would be a mere fiction without any element of truth. The empirical falsity for example, the snake in the rope, is *trikālabādhita*. That is, when the judgment "This is a rope" is made, we mean, and even say that there was no snake even when we saw the snake. But it is not because of such an experience that we regard the empirical truth which is false from the noumenal point of view, as *trikālabādhita*. We form the concept of the noumenal truth because of normative considerations. We find that everything empirical is logically unstable. This logical inconsistency of the finite world is best demonstrated in Indian philosophy by Śrī Harṣa in *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya*. In thus condemning the finite, we formulate the ideal, which is not logically unstable. The negation of the world which logical inconsistency makes is not of the same kind as that of the negation of the empirical falsity, which empirical truth performs. Empirical truth like empirical falsity is a brute fact directly given. But the noumenal truth is not given similarly. It is an ideal for which we

aspire. The purely logical consideration of non-contradiction makes us postulate it as a standard by which we judge the empirical world. When we accept it, though not through sense-perception, as existent, therein it is taken as negating the world in the past present and the future. For as an ideal it must be eternal, and as eternal it must negate the empirical world eternally. Thus though both the empirical and noumenal truths negate the empirical falsity and the empirical truths respectively, the negations have different histories. The empirical truth is negated, because it is imperfect and logically inconsistent. The empirical falsity is negated because in the later cognition the object is different.

This paper is not to be taken as a presentation of Śaṅkara's philosophy. It is rather an analysis undertaken to bring out some of the implications of his position. There is tendency to treat Advaita philosophy as nothing if not epistemological. The Advaitin himself is responsible for it because of his too frequent use of the examples *śuktirajata* and *rajjusarpa*. Yet we feel that he could not have avoided their use because of the aspect of the eternal negation that is to be performed by the true cognition or knowledge. However, when we see the difference between the empirical and the noumenal truths, though apparently the same criterion is used for both, we can understand how far considerations of the norm influenced the formulation of the idea of the noumenal truth. Brahman is ideal existence or being in terms of which we evaluate empirical existence. But the rope in the example is as much 'given' in perception as the snake; one just displaces the other in perception. The question of the noumenal truth is one of the pure logic of non-contradiction; the *bādha* that is to be performed by the noumenal truth is not experienced by us, and we use considerations of the norm to dispose of the empirical truth as ultimately unreal. But the question of the empirical truth is one of perception; the *bādha* that is performed by it is experienced by us. Of course, if we have *aparokṣānubhūti* of Brahman, then that perception negates the perception of the empirical

world, just as the perception of the rope nagates the perception of the snake. Yet even here there is a difference. During the state of *aparokṣānubhūti* nothing of the finite world can be remembered, for mind ceases to exist at that level. So naturally no actual negation of the world in the form "there is no world in the past, present, and the future", can be made, though the fact of *bādha* is accomplished. Hence it is *we* at the finite level who anticipate such a negation. At the noumenal level there is neither thought nor logic. But when we perceive the rope, besides the fact of *bādha* the experience of the snake is remembered and negated by our minds. It may be said that during *parokṣānubhūti* we can negate the empirical world. But this Brahman of *parokṣānubhūti* is logically little different from the ideal or norm by which we evaluate the empirical world. It is at this stage of *anubhūti* that there is possibility and use of logic and philosophy. At the noumenal level when we experience the Brahman, which is undivided and without a second, in which the distinctions of thought and reality, mind and its object, subject and predicate, cease, there is no scope at all for the mind to exist and make the negative judgment, "The world is unreal, and is eternally non-existent". This negative judgment can be made only so long as the mind exists, but the Brahman cannot be experienced so long as the mind exists. This negative judgment can be made only at the finite level, and that too by comparing the ideal with the actual.

SOME POST-VYĀSARĀYA POLEMICS IN DVAITA LITERATURE.

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1. *Satyanātha Yati* (1648-74).

Satyanātha was the sixth in succession from Raghūttama Tīrtha (1558-96) of the Uttarādi Mutt, and the immediate predecessor of Satyābhinava (1674-1706). The latter was the Guru of Chalāri Samkarṣaṇācārya, grandson of Chalāri Nṛsimha who wrote one of his works in 1661 A. D. The tutorial and chronological relation between Satyanātha and his successor to the Chalāri family may be exhibited as follows—

1. Chalāri Nārāyaṇa
2. Chalāri Nṛsimha (1661) = Satyanātha (1648-74)
3. Chalāri Śeṣācārya = Satyābhinava
 (Son) (disciple)
4. Chalāri Samkarṣaṇācārya.

The (newly discovered) *Koṅkaṇābhyudaya* also speaks of Satyanātha as a contemporary of the Keḷadi queen Channamāmbā (1672-98).

Life.

Satyanātha was a memorable personality in many ways. He was a fiery and prolific writer and very ambitious for the glory of Madhvaism and the secular ascendancy of his Mutt. His former name is given in the *S. K.* as Raghunāthācārya. He is reported to have been a contemporary of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Tīrtha of the Vyāsarāya Mutt. He seems also

to have been a contemporary of Aurangazeb. According to the account in the *Koṅkaṇābhyudaya*, he visited Benares at a time when the Moghul Emperor was harassing the Hindus there. Satyanātha himself seems to have suffered persecution and was helped out of a difficult situation by the High Priest of the Koṅkaṇī (Gauḍa-Sārasvat) Brahmins. It was presumably at this time that he visited Gayā and strengthened the hold of his Mutt over the Gayāpālas who had been converted to Madhvaism by his predecessor Vidyādhīśa. His victorious career formed the subject of eulogy by Chalāri Saṅkarṣaṇa, in his *Satyanātha-Māhātmyaratnākara*, of which two Mss. are noticed by Aufrecht. It is the same work from which the *Koṅkaṇābhyudaya* quotes passages relating to the incident at Benares. This biography of Satyanātha is not well-known in traditional circles. It deserves publication at an early date as a good deal of historical information can be gathered from it.

Satyanātha seems to have entertained an inward ambition to outshine the great Vyāsarāya by his literary output and its brilliance. The titles of at least three of his works are reminiscent of the Vyāsatraya [1]. His energy and determination to crush out the rivalry of Monism is reflected even in the choice of the titles for some of his works, four of which go by the name of "Paraśu" (the Axe) His *Abinavagadā* is a devastating criticism of the *Madhvamatamukhamardana* of Appayya Dīkṣita.

Works.

A dozen works are known to have been written by Satyanātha of which only eight have so far been attested by Mss. They include glosses on the Khaṇḍanatraya, the KN., and the Ṛgbhāṣya, a couple of original works and glosses again on the *Pramāṇa Paddhati* and the NS. and Stotras.

1. There is a particularly spicy anecdote about his *Abhinavacandrika* and how Subhanu Rao, the then Jahgirdar of Arni, refused to recognise it as equal to the famous *Candrika* of Vyhsarāya, when pressed to do so by the Svāmi, and how he managed to convince the Svāmi of his mistake.

Of these only the gloss on the *Māyāvādakhaṇḍana*, called *Paraśu*, is said to be available in Ms.[1] (4) A gloss on the KN-ṭīkā known as *Karma-Prakāśikā* is reported both from the T. P. L. and Mysore O. L. The number of granthas is 1500. (5) No trace of his c. on the NS. (also called *Paraśu*) is to be found.

(6) *Abhinava-Candrikā* (m)

This (T. P. L. 7842) is a super-commentary on the TP of Jayatīrtha on the same lines as the *Tātparya-candrikā* of Vyāsarāya. It runs to over 12600 granthas and is undoubtedly the author's *magnum opus*. It is not a continuation of the *Candrikā*, but an independent gloss, covering also the portions (*i. e.* Ch. I-II) commented upon by Vyāsarāya. The author refers in one of the introductory verses (no. 4) to the *Sattarkadīpāvalī* of Padmanābha Tīrtha.

The plan of the work is the same as that of the *Candrikā*. Satyanātha sets forth the Pūrvapakṣa and Siddhānta views under each adhikaraṇa, and offers criticisms on the former in accordance with the views of his teacher Satyanidhi (Tanjore, p. 10). He quotes from the *Tattvapradīpa and Cadrikā* as well as the *Bhāvabodha* (on TP) of Reghūttama. The passages of the TP are commented upon as in the *Candrikā*. Under B. S. iii. 2, adh. 8. p. 22, the author takes note of a series of 'interpolations' in the text of Jayatīrtha's commentary. He is fond of detecting such "interpolations" in his other commentaries also. The *adhikaraṇaśarīras* as made out as in the *Vivaraṇa* and *Bhāmatī* are systematically assailed.

(7) *Ṛg-bhāṣya-ṭippaṇī* (m)

Here (Mysore O. L. 1903) the author is frequently on his guard against what he terms "corruptions and interpolations" in the text of Jayatīrtha's commentary on the

1. G. B. Savanur reports a Ms. of this work in his possession.

Ṛgbhāṣya (Mys. pp. 7, 10, 24 etc). He carries on elaborate discussions on the grammatical form, etymology etc. of the various Vedic forms to be found in the text, and refutes certain criticisms against the Bhāṣya (p. 11).

(8) *Abhinavāmṛta* (p) D

This is a gloss on the *Pramāṇa-paddhati* of Jayatīrtha running to a little over 1400 granthas. The commentary is fairly lucid. It follows the c. of Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha, in the main which it nevertheless criticises on occasions: See P. 51, line 28 and ŚrT. P. 53, 26 (same Edn.) and P. 54, 1. 15 ŚrT. and P. 52, 4 of Satya.

(9) *Abhinava-gadā* (p)

We have seen Vijayīndra Tīrtha's reply to the *Madhvamatamukhamardana* of Appayya Dīkṣita. The *Abhinava-gadā* is another criticism of the Dīkṣita's work, but from a slightly different point of view. It runs to over 4750 granthas and is being published by H. H. Satyadhyāna Tīrtha Svāmi of the Uttarādi Mutt[1] ." There are five chapters in the work designated "Yuddhas" (battles) with an obvious allusion to the Gadā-yuddha between Bhīma and Suyodhana in the Mbh. The intensely bellicose attitude of the author is reflected even in the opening verse:

"सदापेये दीक्षितस्य मृधे दुरभिमानेन: ।
पातयामि शिरस्यद्य गुर्वीमभिनवां गदाम्" ॥

Unlike Vijayīndra, the author tries to silence the criticisms of Appayya, without reference as a rule, to the opinions expressed by Jayatīrtha and Vyāsarāya, in their works. In other words, he isolates Madhva from his commentators and so confounds the critic, suggesting sometimes that the Bhāṣyakāra is not to be blamed for the views of his commentators. Vijayīndra on the other hand, has

1. I have nearly 168 pages of the printed work with me.

throughout endeavoured to treat the works of the *bhāṣya-kāra* and those of the commentators as a homogeneous whole and make them withstand the criticisms of the *Dīkṣita*, as a united body of texts. Satyanātha's retort to the alleged flouting of Mīmāṁsaka rules in the works of Madhva is characteristic:

"श्रीमदाचार्यैः पूर्वमीमांसाया अनाश्रयणात् । टीकाकारैः पूर्वमीमांसाश्रितेति चेत् ; न । श्रीमदाचार्यदूषणाय प्रवृत्तेन त्वया दूष्यत्वेनान्यवाक्यस्यानुदाहर्तव्यत्वात् । वस्तुतस्तु, टीकाकारवचनेऽपि दोषो नास्तीति वक्ष्यामः" ॥

(Page 10

(10) *Abhinava-tarkatāṇḍava.* (m)

This (Tanjore P. L. 8098-101) is another voluminous original work of Satyanātha, which as the name indicates, is a dialectical classic expounding the nature and constitution of the logical and epistemological categories of the Dvaita system and refuting those of rival systems especially those of the *Nyāyavaiśeṣikas*, on the same lines as the original *Tarkatāṇḍava* of Vyāsarāya. The work runs to 11367 granthas.

The views of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi and Rucidatta, commentators on Gaṅgeśa, those of the Prābhākaras, Rāmānuja and the Vaiśeṣikas, are here quoted and refuted in detail.

Like the original *Tarkatāṇḍava*, this work is also divided into three Pariccheḍas. Maṅgaḷa-vāda, the self-validity of knowledge, *Sannikarṣa-samavāya*, the relation between a subject and its attributes, the invisibility of Vāyu, the पार्थिवत्व of gold, and Udayana's view of it, the validity of Smṛti (recollection), the definition of Inference, Vyāpti and the criticism of the second *Vyāpti-lakṣaṇa* formulated by the *Maṇi*, the definition of *Upādhi*, *Pakṣatā*, *Avayavalakṣaṇa* (P. 103), *Hetvābhāsa*, the subsumption of

other *Pramāṇas* like *Upamāna* within the three, the validity of *Śabda*, its fitness to be recognised as an independent *Pramāṇa*, the definitions of *Ākāṅkṣā*, *Yogyatā* and *āsatti*, and the examination of Gangeśa's views on these, the *Apauruṣeyatva* of the Vedas, the eternity of sound, criticism of the *Mīmāṁsaka* view that some Vedic texts are *Nityānumeya*, (P.45), the import of Injunctions (P. 47) the refutation of the Prābhākara view of "*Kāryatā-jñāna* as the pivot of activity, *Apūrva*, the physical existence of the gods, (p. 76) *Śaktivada*, *Samāsa-śakti*, the import of the negative (126-28 etc.) are some of the topics raised and discussed in the course of the work. Besides Gaṅgeśa [1], the author refers also to the views of Śiromaṇi (*i. e.* Raghunātha) [2] and Rucidatta.[3]

(11) *Vijaya-Mālā* (m)

This (Mysore O. L. C. 2042) discusses various topics of metaphysical, etymological and exegetical interest such as *Pramāṇa-lakṣaṇa*, *Tārkikokta-vidhyarthaparīkṣā*, *Śyenāgnīṣomīyavaiṣamyabhaṅga etc.* The doctrine of the unreality of the world is severely condemned. Certain objections to the statement of the issues (Vipratipattyākāra) in the *Nyāyāmṛta* are answered. Quotations are made from the *Mbh. T. N.* and the *MK.* of Madhva. (12) The *Vāyubhāratīstotra* of the author is, as the name implies, in praise of Vāyu and his consort Bhāratī.

2. VANAMĀLI MIŚRA.

(c. 1650-1700).

Vanamāli Miśra takes his place among the participators in the great Dvaita-Advaita polemics of the 16th-17th centuries. From the very beginning, the issue raised by Vyāsarāya was destined to become an all-India one to which were attracted the best brains of all parts of India.

1. i, 27; 103; ii. 37; iii. 2; 9; 80. (pp)
2. ii, 54; 63; 103; iii, 130.
3. iii. 3.

ii.

Vanamāli Miśra was not a South Indian [1]. He tells us both in his *Śrutisiddhāntaprakāśa* [2] and his *Madhvamukhālaṅkāra*, that he was descended from a family of Brahmins belonging to the Bhārgava-gotra, and settled at the village of Triyugapura in the vicinity of Bṛndāvana (Muttra). With the westward expansion of the Bhakti movement of Caitanya in the days of the Gosvāmis, Bṛndāvana became the centre of attraction and the home of a number of Bengalis. Vanamāli Miśra was probably descended from one such family [3]. He was a life-celibate. Beyond these meagre details, we know nothing more about his life or career. A Ms. of his *Māruta-Maṇḍana* (Deccan College Coll. XV of 1882-83) is found dated 1741 Saṁvat (1685 A. D.). This gives us the *terminus a quem* of his date. We may venture to place him roughly between 1650-1700 and his literary activities between 1650-1700.

Works.

Over ten works are known and extant in the name of Vanamāli Miśra, of which only three have been printed.

(1) *Brahmasūtravṛtti* (*Marīcikā*) (m)

Aufrecht (II, 130) mentions a Ms. of this work.

(2) *Gītānigūḍhārthacandrikā* (m)

Stein 193 and Peters vi, 292, are said (Aufrecht ii, 89) to refer to a commentary on the *Gītā* by Vanamāli, called *Gītānigūḍhārthacandrikā*.

1 The *Nyāyaratnākara* (Madras, R. No. 1615) of unknown authorship however, makes him a descendant of the family of Tarāṅgiṇī Rāmāchārya, which is obviously mistaken as the latter's gotra was that of उपमन्यु ।

2. "श्रीगोविन्दविहारभूषितभुवो वृन्दावनात् प्राग्दिशि
क्रोशान्तात्त्रियुगे पुरे मुनिनरव्राजीयवंशोद्भवाः ।
श्रीसम्राहमुचो भवन्ति विबुधो वर्णी श्रभूत्तत्कुल
सम्पूर्णः श्रुतिसङ्ग्रहो विरचितोऽयं तेन कृष्णेच्छया ॥"

3. Another tradition makes him a Hindi-speaking Brāhmin of U. P. (presumably of Gayā where the Surname Miśra is common.

His (3) *Madhvamukhālaṅkāra* (p) [4] is a defence of the Pañcādhikaraṇī-interpretation of the B. S., by Madhva, as against the criticisms of the *Madhvamatavidhvaṁsana* of Appayya Dīkṣita. It is divided into the following seven sections: Sadasat-śāstrapravartakanirṇaya (Introductory); *Jijñāsādhikaraṇa*; *Janmādhikaraṇa*, *Śāstrayonitvādhikaraṇa*, *Samanvayādhikaraṇa*, *Īkṣatyadhikaraṇa* and a general survey of the rest of the *Sūtras* (*Śeṣabrahmamīmāṁsātātparyavarṇanam*). The author is indebted very much to the *Madhvatantramukhabhūṣaṇa* or *Kaṇṭakoddhāra* of *Vijayīndra Tīrtha* and most of the arguments are taken over from *Vijaīndra* but without acknowledgment. But of the two works Vanamāli's is the more readable one.

(4) *Taraṅgiṇī Saurabha* (m)

This is the *magnum opus* of Vanamāli (Mysore OL. 522) criticising the *Gurucandrikā* of Brahmānanda Sarasvatī, and forming the last treatise in the series of Dvaitādvaita polemics, yet to be surpassed in keenness and subtlety of arguments.

(5) *Caṇḍamāruta* (m)

Yet another controversial classic of the author is reported under the above title by Dr. Nagaraja Śarma, in his *Reign of Realism* (1951 p. 25). It is said to be a criticism of some unknown Advaitic work: —

मायावाद्यङ्घ्रिपध्वंस्युत्थापितो वनमालिना ।
यश्चण्डमारुतस्तस्य परिच्छेदोऽयमादिमः ॥

(6) *The Nyāyāmṛta-saugandhya* (p)

Is a further criticism of the *Advaitasiddhi* and the *Brahmānandīya*, which has recently been published in the Calcutta Skt. Series No. IX, by Mm. Anantakrishna Sastri.

4. Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts, No. 68, 1936. (Benares).

His (7) *Vedāntasiddhāntamuktāvali* is preserved at the Mysore O. L. (A 447) and so too his (8) *Śrutisiddhāntaprakāśa* (Mysore C 346) containing two chapters. (9) His *Viṣṇutattvaprakāśa* (Mysore O. L. C 350) is a short prose tract in 600 granthas establishing Viṣṇu as the supreme Brahman on the basis of Śrutis and Smṛtis. The claims of Śiva are repudiated (10) His *Bhaktiratnākara* (m) is preserved with a commentary by an unknown hand in the Deccan College Collections (No. 710 of XV, of 1882-3). It is divided into 9 *Prakaraṇas* and runs to about 650 *granthas*. His *Mārutamaṇḍana* (m) also formed part of the Deccan College Collection. It has a total of 2079 *granthas*, and the Ms. itself is dated 1741 Samvat. It is referred to in the closing verse of the *Madhvamukhālaṅkāra* and from the manner of the reference it would appear that the *Mārutamaṇḍana* and *Madhvamukhālaṅkāra* are not in reality two different works, but one and the same:

श्रीगोविन्दविहारभूषितभुवः श्रीगोकुलात्प्राग्दिशि
क्रोशान्तं त्रियुगे पुरे द्विजवरा वंशे भरद्वाजतः।
श्रीसन्नाहमुचो भवन्ति विबुधा वर्णी कुलेऽभूत्ततः
ग्रन्थो मारुतमण्डनोऽस्ति परितः पूर्णः कृतोऽविघ्नतः॥

Four more works of Vanamālī are mentioned by name by Gopinath Kaviraj, in his preface to the *Madhvamukhālaṅkāra*; (11) *Jīveśvarābhedadhikkāra*[1] (presumably a reply to the *Bhedadhikkāra*; (12) Pramāṇasaṁgraha (Benares Skt. Coll. Lib.) (13) *Abhinava parimala* (Benares S. Coll.) and (14) *Vedāntadīpikā* (Benares S. Coll.). The *Advaitasiddhikhaṇḍana* (Bh. 1882 p. 102) mentioned by Kavirāj, is evidently the same as the *Taraṅgiṇīsaurabha*.

1. Benares Skt. Coll. Library, Mahidhara Collection.

3. GAUḌA PURṆĀNANDACAKRAVARTIN.

(circa 18th cen.)

Pūrṇānanda Cakravarti was a native of Bengal (Gauḍa).[2] Nothing is known about his date or life. He describes himself as a disciple of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa.[3] He may without difficulty be placed in the 18th century or later, when the influence of Mādhva philosophy was strongest in Bengal.

His most famous work is the *Tattvamuktāvalī*, otherwise known as *Māyāvādaśatadūṣaṇī* a metrical piece in 120 verses vigorously attacking the cherished views of the Advaitins. It is quoted by Śrīnivāsa Sūri in his c. on the *Bhāgavata* (X, 87, 31)[4]. It was edited and translated by Cowell in the J. R. A. S. (New Series) XV, pp. 137-173 of 1883.

The *Tattvamuktāvalī* is a very elegant performance, almost unique of its kind in the history of Dvaita literature. There are of course some earlier works of the same kind such as the *Nyāyaratnāvalī* of Vādirāja (which is a more erudite work). The burden of the song in the *Tattvamuktāvalī* is that the identity of Jīva and Brahman claimed by the Advaitin is a metaphysical impossibility. It is fraught with serious and terrible consequences on the moral and religious life of man (verses 88-89; 91-4). Pūrṇānanda pleads that "Aham Brahmāsmi" should be interpreted only figuratively:

"अग्निं माणवकं वदन्ति कवयः पूर्णेन्दुबिम्बं मुखं
नीलेन्दीवरमीक्षणं कुचतटीं मेरुं करं पल्लवम् ।"

He draws a very telling picture *a la* Vādirāja, of the limitations of Man and the infinitude of God and queries

2. He is called "Gauḍa" Pūrṇānanda in the colophon to his work.
3. Verse 117 of his *Tattvamuktāvalī*.
4. Bṛndāvana Edition, P. 1105.

with mystic naivetè how two beings which are so widely different in essence can ever be equated with each other? (12–17). He observes that there are insurmountable difficulties in the way of offering a monistic interpretation of the *Tattvam asi* text as the Brahman in the *Advaitavedānta* is avowedly beyond the sphere of utterance, and no lakṣaṇā can operate in such a case. (20-22). He therefore thinks that texts like "Aham Brahmāsmi" should be viewed as having been prescribed for purposes of meditation (*upāsanārtha*, 65), and that *Tattvam asi* should be interpreted as implying the elision of the genitive case termination: Thou Art His (6) Servant. In the illustration of the several fruit-juices, there is no case for the disappearance of individuality: for the very fact that the essence resulting from their mixture is able to cure one's bodily disorders arising on account of the disturbance of the three humours, is proof of their persistence in honey (81-83).

Among his other works mentioned by Aufrecht are:

(1) Yoga Vāsiṣṭha—Sāraṭīkā, and

(2) Śatadūṣaṇī—Yāmuna (Catalogus, p. 344)

"THE BIRTH-DATE OF VALLABHĀCĀRYA, THE ADVOCATE OF THE ŚUDDHĀDVAITA VEDĀNTA"

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Vallabhācārya, the founder of the Śuddhādvaita School of Vedānta, had two sons, Gopīnāthaji and Viṭṭhalanāthaji. The eldest son had one son, Puruṣottamaji and two daughters who died without any issue. The second son, Viṭṭhalanāthaji, had six sons and four daughters by his first wife, and one son by his second wife. He gave the different forms of Lord Kṛṣṇa to these seven sons for the purpose of worship and this tradition is maintained even in modern times by the descendants of these seven sons. Out of the seven sons, Gokulanāthaji, the fourth son, happened to be a man of exceptional powers and commanded great respect from the Mughal Emperor, Jahangir, and other persons, with the result that the other six brothers were more or less thrown in the background. Gokulanāthaji found a very good following that included even scholars of the type of Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa, the author of Rasikarañjanī, an unpublished Commentary in Sanskrit on the Gītā. The followers of Gokulanāthaji tried their best to imbibe the spirit of the teachings of Gokulanāthaji who himself was most loyal to the doctrines of his grand-father, Vallabhācārya. The result was that the followers of the other six sons of Viṭṭhalanāthji differed in thought and action from those of Gokulanāthaji, thus giving rise to two sections in the School with different traditions. The followers of Gokulanāthaji are of the opinion that Vallabhācārya was born in Vikrama Saṁvat 1529 (=1473 A. D.) while those of the other six sons hold the view that the Ācārya was born in Vikrama Saṁvat, 1535 (=1479 A. D.) It is very interesting to examine the available literature and to see which of the two views is probable.

There are several works, in Sanskrit, Vraja and Gujarati, giving information about the life of Vallabhācārya. Some of them are silent with regard to the birth-date of the Ācārya, while the others differ in recording the birth-date. These works may be linguistically arranged as under—

(*A*) *Sanskrt works.*

1. Saṁpradāya Pradīpa of Gadādhara Dvivedī who flourished in the 16th century of the Christian era.
2. Vallabhācārya-Carita of Muralīdharadāsa' of the 16th century.
3. Kallola of Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa of the 16th century.
4. Caritra-cintāmaṇi assigned, without any justification, to Devakīnandana who flourished in the last quarter of the 16th century.
5. Vaiṣṇava-vārtāmālā of Śrīnātha Deveśā of the latter half of the 18th century.
6. Mula-Puruṣa of Dvārikeśaji of the early part of the 19th century.
7. Vallabha-digvijaya, an apparently recent work, but wrongly attributed to Yadunāthaji of the sixteenth century.
8. Vallabha-digvijaya of Kanaiyālal Śāstri of the twentieth century.
9. The horoscope of Vallabhācārya, which is anonymous.

(*B*) *Vraja works.*

1. Nija-Vārtā, traditionally attributed to Gokulanāthaji of the 16th century.
2. Gharu-Vārtā ——————— as above.
3. The Kīrtana literature of the different periods.

(*C*) *Gujarātī works.*

1. Vallabhākhyāna of Gopāladāsa of Godhra who flourished in the sixteenth century.

2. Prākaṭya-Siddhānta of Gopāladāsa of Vyara of the 17th century.
3. Vallabha-Vela of Keśavadāsa of 16th century.
4. Mūla-Puruṣa of Dvārikeśāji of the early part of the 19th century.

Of the authorities mentioned above, the works like Sampradāya-Pradīpa, Vallabhācārya Carita, Caritra-Cintāmaṇi, Vaiṣṇava Vārtāmālā, Vallabhākhyāna and Gharuvārtā, although they furnish the other important details of the life of the Ācārya, are unfortunately silent on the point of the date of Ācārya's birth. They cannot, therefore, throw any light on the present problem.

The other works wonderfully agree at least in one point that the Ācārya was born on the eleventh day of the dark half of the month of Caitra which corresponds to the month of Vaiśākha according to the convention of the people living in the territory of Vraja round about Mathurā in the north. But these authorities differ with regard to the day, some[1] mentioning Sunday, some[2] mentioning

1. The horoscope (cf. Bṛhatstotra Saritsāgara, p. 143 Gujarāti Trans Edition, 1927 A. D., Bombay), Nija-Vārtā, p. 3, edited by Mr Gordhandas Laxmidās, 1894, Bombay, and some Kīrtanas [cf. Puṣṭimārgīya Padasaṅgraha (P P.), Vol. I, pp 413, 439, 444, 446. Edition of 1895.]

The horoscope is as follows :—

संवत् १५३५ शके १४०० वैशाखकृष्णे ११ रवौ धनिष्ठानक्षत्रे शुभयोगे बवकरणे एवं पञ्चाङ्गे श्रीविजयतसमस्तरात्रिगतघटी ६ / ४४ समये वृश्चिकलग्ने श्रीवल्लभाचार्यप्राकट्यम् .



2. Vallabhadigvijaya of Yadunāthaji, p. 17, 1918, Nathadwar. P P. p. 425.

Thursday and some others[3] mentioning Saturday. There is also the difference as regards the actual time on the day of Ācārya's birth, morning according to some[4], and night according to others[5]. As regards the year also the opinions differ. The other works such as Kallola[6], Prākaṭya-Siddhānta[7] and Vallabha-Vela[8] clearly mention the Vikrama Saṁvat 1529 (= 1473 A. D.) as the year of Ācārya's

3. Kallola, Vallabha-Vela and Prākaṭya-Siddhānta.

Kallola and Prākaṭya-Siddhānta are not published as yet. I have used my mss. which were based on the very old mss. at Baroda and Devagadh Baria.

Vallabha-Vela was partly published some years ago in a Sanskrit-Gujarātī monthly, now defunct, Vaiṣṇavadharma-patākā (V. P) VIII th year, p. 37.

4 माधवमास कृष्णपक्षशुभलग्न उदित एकादशी दूसरो याम.

(P P. p. 487.)

The author of this kirtana is Māṇikyacandra.

5. The horoscope and Vallabhadigvijaya of Yadunāthjī p. 7.

6. आगच्छतो लक्ष्मणस्य भार्या पुत्रमसूत सा ।
चम्पाह्वयाभिधे देशे भीमरथ्यास्तटे शुभे ॥ ४ ॥
ग्रामे चौडाभिधे हन्त विक्रमार्कस्य भूपतेः ।
9 2 5 1
राज्यकालान्विते वर्षे निधिरन्ध्राणभूमिभिः ॥ ५ ॥
वैशाखे मासि बहुलपक्षे हरिदिने शनौ ।
सप्तमे मासि महल्ये वल्लभाचार्यनीश्वरम् ॥ ६ ॥

(Ist Kallola, IVth Taranga.)

7. विक्रमार्कसंवच्छर कहीदेते तेहने धन्य ,
संवत् पन्द्रह ओगणत्रीस वैसाख वदीनो दिन ॥ ५० ॥
सातमे मासे स्व इच्छाए एकादसी शनिवार ।
श्रीपुरुषोत्तममुपुत्री प्रगट्या तेणी वार ॥ ५१ ॥

(Ist Taranga, IIIrd Mangalya.)

8. चौडा गाम नदी भीमरथी आवी उतर्यो छाहे ।
संवत् पन्दरसें ओगणत्रीस भर वैशाख ते माह ॥
कृष्णपक्ष एकादशी शुभ वार शनि थत मास ।
लोक रीत निरुपाधित प्रकट्या श्रीआचार्य गुजराश ॥

(As printed in V. P. VIII, p. 37.)

birth[9] while the Mūla-Puruṣa[9] (both Sanskrit and Gujarātī). Vallabhadigvijaya[10] attributed to Yadunāthaji, the anonymous horoscope,[1] one Kīrtana[11] and the [Nija Vārtā[12] state that the Ācārya was born in the Vikrāma Saṁvat 1935 (= 1479 A. D.).

All the biographical works that record the year 1473 A. D. are written by the contemporaries of Gokulanāthaji, the fourth grand-son of Vallabhācārya, who flourished in the sixteenth Century of the Christian era and who had the unique privilege of hearing the account from Gokulanāthaji himself. They were, therefore, likely to maintain the tradition correctly and this is clearly borne out by the fact that these three authorities agree even with regard to the day also. All of them mention

9. In Sanskrit :—

5 3 5 1

अब्दे बाणाग्निपक्षेन्दुमिते मासे च माधवे ।
एकादश्यां कृष्णपक्षे प्रादुर्भूतः प्रभुः स्वयम् ॥ १८ ॥

as printed in a Sanskrit-Gujarātī monthly, now defunct Vegunāda, IInd year, p. 188.

In Gujarātī :—

धन्य संवत पंद्रहा पैंतीस माधव मास हे ।
कृष्ण एकादशी श्रीवल्लभ प्रकट वदन विलास हे॥ १२ ॥

as printed on p. 23 of the edition of Vallabhākhyāna published by Mr. Trikamdas chakubhai, Bombay, 1932.

5 3 5 1

10. अथ सा महिला शरवह्निबाणेन्दुमिते विक्रमशके etc (p. 7)

5 3 5 1

11. तत्त्वगुणबाणभुवि माधवासिततरणि प्रथम भगवद्दिवस प्रकट लक्ष्मण सुवन etc. P P. p. 489.

The remaining lines supply the detailed information about the position of the planets at the time of the birth of the Ācārya, and can be favourably compared with the horoscope. That the author of the Kīrtana is Dvārikeśaj is clear from the mention of the name in the last line.

12. जन्म संवत् १५३५ अज वैशाख वदि ११ ने रविवार

(pp 3, 76.)

The Nija Vārtā (p. 77), however, refers to Vikrama Saṁvat 1529 as the birth-date of the Ācārya according to Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa, the author of Kallola.

Saturday. Moreover, these are the earliest works in the whole of the available biographical literature in the Śuddhādvaita School.

The evidence in support of the year 1479 A. D. is furnished by later writers who were far removed from the Ācārya. The earliest authority mentioning the year 1479 A. D. is Mūla-Puruṣa,[9] both in Sanskrit and Gujarātī, which was written by Dvārikeśaji who flourished in the early part of the nineteenth Century. The Vallabhadigvijaya, otherwise known as Yadunātha-digvijaya, attributed to Yadunāthaji, the sixth grandson of Vallabhācārya, who flourished in the sixteenth Century, no doubt, appears to be a modern work, not only from the consideration of style but also from the fact that the Mss. of this work are very rare and are found in the place of its publication where the devout followers of the School desired to give to the world an ancient and, therefore, authoritative, account of the life of the Ācārya. This supposition is further confirmed by the fact that we do not find any reference to this work in the whole literature of the school; and this is very strange, if the work giving so many details about the life of the Ācārya, happens to be the composition of such an old authority like Yadunāthaji. It seems that some modern scholar of the School wrote the work and passed it off in the name of Yadunāthaji simply with a view to giving it the air of antiquity. The horoscope[1] is an anonymous work, but when compared with one Kīrtana[11] of Dvārikeśaji it creates an impression that Dvārikeśaji himself might have been responsible for it. I think Dvārikeśaji, who composed the kīrtana and the horoscope also, is identical, vith Dvārikeśaji, the author of Mūla Puruṣa. Moreover competent astronomers[12] have shown that the horoscope, as it stands, is impossible both in 1473 A. D. and 1479 A. D. and is, therefore, incorrect.

13. I consulted the best astronomers in Baroda on this point. Mr. N. N Gandhi, M. A., LL. B, also, came to the same conclusion some years ago Cf. Puṣṭi-Bhakti-Sudhā, VI year :— No. 2, pp. 41—54, No. 10, pp 280- 210, No. 11, pp. 243—251.

The Nija—Vārtā, mentioning 1479 A. D., and also referring to 1473 A. D., is traditionally attributed to Gokulanāthaji, the fourth grandson of Vallabhācārya. The work seems to have gone through many editions and revisions at the hands of many people and cannot, therefore, be accepted as representing faithfully the views of Gokulanāthaji, if at all he was concerned with it. Moreover, it is improbable that Gokulanāthaji should mention the year 1479 A. D. when his contemporaries and disciples make a clear mention of 1473 A. D. The work in short, is full of interpolations and shows the lack of historical sense.

The Kīrtana (= song) literature of the school is fairly extensive and shows the mark of poetic beauty. There are about hundred Kīrtanas[14] composed in honour of the Ācārya and these are sung in modern times when the birth-date of the Ācārya is nearing. We find a reference to the birth-day of the Ācārya in about twenty-one Kīrtanas[15], all of which unanimously accept the eleventh day of the dark half of the month of Caitra (= Vaiśakha according to Vraja convention). Sixteenth Kīrtanas[16] mention only the eleventh day of the dark half of Caitra without referring to the year or the day, three[17] add Sunday, one adds[18] Tuesday and another[11] adds Sunday, the year 1479 A. D. (= 1535 V. S.) and all the planets in several houses in the horoscope. This last Kīrtana is composed by Dvārikeśaji and supplies all the information that we get from the horoscope. Thus there is agreement on the eleventh day of the dark-half of the month of Caitra, while there are two opinions as regards the actual day *viz.*, Sunday and

14. All these are found in PP. Vol. I.

15. P P. pp. 413, 414, 417, 418, 421, 426, 427, 428, 429, 433, 436, 437, 438, 439, 444, 446, 449, 450.

16. P P. pp. 414, 417, 418, 421, 427—429, 433, 436—438, 449, 450.

17. P. P. pp. 413, 444, 446.

18. P P. p. 426

Thursday. There is only one Kīrtana of Dvārikeśaji which mentions the year 1479 A. D. over and above the other details.

A comparison of the above data will show that the evidence in support of the year 1473 A. D, is earlier and strong, and can easily outweigh the evidence in support of 1479 A. D., which is decidedly later and weak. Moreover, the year 1473 A. D. is more suitable to the achievements of Ācārya in places like Vijayanagara and Benares when he is expected to be a grown—up man showing maturity of thought which is absolutely necessary for his wonderful success. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that out of the two dates, the year 1473 A. D. stands the chance of being accepted as the correct date of the Ācārya's birth.

ŚAIVA THEORY OF RELATION.

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Importance of relation in experience.

Philosophy primarily aims at explaining different types of experiences. Every experience involves some kind of relation among the experienced and of the experienced with the experiencer. In fact, experience entirely depends upon the latter type of relation. No philosophy is, therefore, complete unless it explains the essential nature of the thing on which all experiences depend.

If we take just the following experiences into consideration, we find that each of them involves a relation.

(1) Father's son (पितुः पुत्रः)
(2) The branch of a tree (वृक्षस्य शाखा)
(3) The king's servant (राज्ञः पुरुषः)
(4) Man and horse (पुरुषश्चाश्वश्च)
(5) A blue lotus (नीलमुत्पलम्)
(6) Devadatta cooks rice in a pot with wood (देवदत्तः काष्ठैः स्थाल्यामोदनं पचति)
(7) The jar does not exist (घटस्याभावः)
(8) This is different from that (इदमस्मादन्यत्)

The experiences often assume a form quite opposite to those stated above, as follows:

The son's father etc.

The following are the relations involved:

(1) Parental (पितृपुत्रभावः)
(2) Part and whole (अवयवावयविभावः)
(3) Dependance (स्वस्वामिभावः)

(4) Co-ordination (इतरेतरयोगः)

(5) Substantive and adjective (विशेषणविशेष्यभावः)

(6) Action and its accessories (क्रियाकारकसम्बन्धः)

(7) Non-being (अभावः)

(8) Difference (भेदः)

The difference of these relations from one another is fairly obvious, but in order to find out the essential nature of relation, it is necessary to understand the common point in all which distinguishes relation from all other things.

Taking all the above instances into consideration, we find that relation is ultimately based on two external realities. We cannot, however, define relation as that which is based on two co-existing external realities, because, then, we cannot talk of any relation between the seed and the sprout that is yet to be. In actual life, we talk of relation as in 'The sprout requires the seed for its being.' This statement is made before the sprout actually comes into being. Requirement, (अपेक्षा) therefore, is obviously a relation that exists between a thing that is to come into being with its material cause. If relation is conceived as something that depends on two co-existing external realities, the conception would be too narrow to apply to this instance.

The Essential nature of relation.

Relation has no separate external reality. It is merely a concept. It is based on certain constructs. The analysis of the construct reveals the following to be its constituents. The process involved in the rise of this construct is as follows:

2. When a person hears the word राज्ञः the image that arises in his consciousness is that of the king. This image, however does not satisfy the hearer, because it is associated with the feeling of incompleteness aroused by the genitive case-ending. At the next moment he hears the word पुरुषः and the image of a man arises in the consciousness. At this

moment the image of the king has retired to the subconscious. A similar feeling of incompleteness, as was associated with the king, arises associated with the man now present in the consciousness. This consciousness of incompleteness brings the consciousness of the king from subconsciousness to consciousness. The two images stand together. The two are looked upon as a whole, because there is no more incompleteness. In this conception of the whole the two are not merged in the subject. They stand apart from it. They are not conceived as merged in each other, nor standing absolutely apart from each other. They represent unity in difference, both of which appear and disappear at the same time, and not one after another.

ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS OF THE CONCEPT OF RELATION.

3. Relation is admittedly a concept in which the ideas both of unity and multiplicity are involved. These two ideas are associated with either different objects or with the so-called different states of the same object on which the concept is based. Multiplicity is associated with the objects as they exist outside the consciousness, independently of each other. Unity, however, is associated with them as they figure in the consciousness joined together as one. This unity is due to the independent unifying activity of the subject. Of the two ideas of unity and plurality, unity is predominant, plurality being only in the subconscious state, because of its having arisen in consequence of the separate cognition of two things. The relation between the two related, as they figure unified in the consciousness, is similar to that of an object and its attributes.

ESSENTIAL CONSTITUENTS OF THE CONCEPT OF RELATION.

4. Unity and plurality both are equally necessary for the concept of relation. Neither of the two by itself is sufficient. For, if plurality by itself were enough, the concept of relation should arise (or things should appear related)

independently of the unifying activity of the subject. Similarly if unity by itself were enough, even a single independent object should be sufficient to arouse the consciousness of relation.

Other Similar concepts.

Not only relation is based on a mental construct which is unity and multiplicity, but there are others, such as action, universal, object, space and time, though they are admitted to be external realities by the realists.

5. The conceptual realities are all based on unity in difference. While in some cases both are without, in others either the element of unity or that of difference is only within. In the case of relation, for instance, the unity is only within the subject, whereas plurality is both within and without. In the case of the universal and the individual, both the unity and multiplicity are without as well as within.

The following is the manner in which the concept of action is formed. The analysis of the Psychological process involved reveals that, it is also, like relation, based on a mental construct which is unity and multiplicity:

6. When an object is seen for a certain duration of time, at any moment of that duration, difference in its association is visualised. Such knowledge of an object gives rise to two ideas associated with it the idea of multiplicity because of multiplicity in associations at different moments and the idea of unity or sameness because of the consciousness of a persisting element in all the different associations. Thus a set of successive cognitions gives rise to two ideas, unity and multiplicity. When these two ideas are unified in consciousness, they give rise to a construct on which the concept of action is based. Thus the basis of the concept of action is the construct which is derived from an external reality which has unity and multiplicity both, though from different angles of vision.

Universal.

7. It is a matter of common experience that when a number of cows are perceived, we perceive two things :

(1) the difference of one individual cow from another which is responsible for our referring to them in the plural number.

(2) a non-varying and recurring element which is responsible for our use of the word 'cow' for all of them. Both of them have an external reality, because we use a pronoun 'these' in reference to them.

Individual object.

8. In our experience of any physical object, we perceive two things : (1) theparts of which that object is made up (2) the object as a whole, apart from the parts, which is referred to by one name. For example 'jar'. (1) stands for multiplicity and (2) stands for unity, both of which are also outside.

Position (Space.)

9. Two external objects are seen at successive moments. But the human mind, as we know from experience, never stops at seeing things as such only. It relates them in such a manner that they form one object of apprehension. These objects are often conceived as occupying different relative positions. For instance, we talk of one object being in front of another, or to the right or to the left of another. Both the objects appear simultaneously in the consciousness. In this case, one as having different sides to it, and the other as existing on one of its sides. Accordingly, we talk of one as occupying a position relative to the other

Often, however, we talk of one object being near another or far from it. In this case, not only there is perception of two distinct external objects, but also of the

things that come between them. When all these objects figure simultaneously in the consciousness, consequent on successive perceptions, we talk of distance or proximity of the two in question, according as the number or size or both are small or great.

Time.

10. Time is also a concept which is based on a construct that is unity in multiplicity. We observe certain phenomena happening in a regular order. We accept them as standards of measure. There are other things which happen without any regularity. The latter we measure in term of the former. The judgment consequently reached is "A is six years old". Taking a concrete instance to make the point clear, we would put the proposition as follows:—X sees the sun rising at a particular spot and setting at another. This happens with absolute regularity. He sees other events which lack this regularity, for instance, he sees a student going to college. It means his seeing the student as associated with different places. This lacks regularity. But he wants to get a correct idea of the irregular succession involved in going. He, therefore, puts it before his mind's eye by the side of the regular succession involved in the movement of the sun, measures it in terms of the latter and says; he takes two hours to reach college. Thus we find that the concept of time is based upon a construction which is unity and multiplicity, the latter inasmuch as it is made up of the successive manifestations of the sun, as associated with different spots, and those of X as appearing at different points of space, and the former because the whole forms one object of apprehension. Thus we find that in the case of time only multiplicity exists outside, the unity only within.

We talk of time in a number of ways. We talk of hours, days, weeks etc. We also talk of quickness and slowness, priority and posteriority, and present, past and future.

These sub-concepts are also like the general concept of time based on a mental construct of the same nature. For instance, when a person says : X studies for 2 hours, he is calculating the activity of X in terms of that of the sun. The only thing to be remembered in this connection is that because of long established convention, the movement of the latter over a fixed distance is called 'hour'. Similarly, when one says, " X will go ", one relates the possible activity of one's own vital airs with that of the possible movement of X. Thus in all experiences of time, it is found that the activities of two things are related.

10. (*a*) The concepts of number, measure, separateness, conjunction and disjunction are all based on similar mental constructs.

The conclusion might be stated as follows—The human mind is so constituted that it is not satisfied till it sees what is presented to it in a certain manner.....

11. When an object is presented to it such as does not satisfy it, it is its nature to connect it with something else and thus seek satisfaction. These constructs, because of the difference in their constituents, give rise to different concepts, such as object etc. as stated above. Whatever the difference in the constituents and whatever the difference in the names by which the concepts based on them are called, there is one most essential common factor present in all and that is ' relation'.

The Buddhist objection against relation.

Against its being.

12. ' Saṁbandha ' or relation, as represented by the Saivas is unity in multiplicity. This means the co-existence of unity and multiplicity. As unity is a negation of multiplicity and vice versa, it is unreasonable to talk of

their co-existence. It is against the fact of experience, because they are contradictory by nature. Being and not being, for instance, cannot co-exist in the same thing.

Against its experience.

We have seen that for the Śaiva, relation is based on a mental construct, *i. e.* an object which is essentially unity in difference. To this the Bauddha objects. The objection is based on two fundamental assumptions of the Bauddha ; (1) that everything is momentary and, therefore, cannot be the object of more than one experience (2) that which figures in the determinate consciousness has no reality (वस्तुत्व). Analysing the process psychologically, we find that unity and diversity are experienced at different moments. As everything is momentary, the two experiences cannot refer to the same object. How can then unity and diversity be experienced as co-existing in the same object ? Therefore, the conception of an object as identity in difference is against a psychological fact.

13. Secondly, reality (वस्तुत्व) not being attributable to that which merely figures in the determinate consciousness, how can the object, even if it be admitted to have identity in difference, be experienced ? For, indeterminate knowledge is incapable of knowing the attributes, unity and diversity. As for determinate knowledge, it does not come in direct touch with the external object and, therefore, knowing any such attribute as unity or difference, as associated with external reality is out of the question. Thus even if for the sake of argument, it be admitted that such an object exists, it is psychologically impossible to know it.

BUDDHIST POSITION.

14. The Buddhist view, therefore, of relation is that it is a mere concept of unity which is based on real plurality existing outside. Thus according to this theory, unity and

multiplicity are not co-existing in the concept of relation but they are associated with two distinct things, one outside and the other within.

15. They draw a distinction between this concept and error. It is represented to be error in as much as what figures in it is opposite in nature to that which occasions it. But it is not identical with ordinary erroneous perception because, in this case, the cause that is responsible for the rise of this concept has more correspondance with it than the mother-of-pearl, which is responsible for the consciousness of silver, has with what it occasions.

Śaiva answer.

16. The Śaiva answers: The theory of momentariness is perfectly alright as far as the object is concerned. But the subject is permanent. Further, the subject retains the residual traces of previous experiences and has the capacity of unifying a number of experiences and presenting them in a new form at a subsequent time. This new presentation is no less real (वस्तु) than what exists outside consciousness. Because, according to Śaivas, it is not casual efficiency which constitutes the essential nature of a thing, but the mere fact of shining in the consciousness without being contradicted. Thus, according to the Śaivas, the experience of an object as identity in difference is not psychologically impossible. This experience is not immediate experience (it is not a point, it is not atomic). It is a synthesis of past experiences, it is a mental construct made of the revived residual traces of past experiences.

The existence of unity and multiplicity in the same explained:

17 (1) Unity and multiplicity in the same thing are not inexplicable—the universe itself is unity and multiplicity.

18 (2) Difference in relation is due to the difference in the relation.

19 (3) Relation is important for worldly transactions. Only one thing is apprehended at a time. Worldly transactions depend upon the knowledge of relation that one thing has with another. Hence, in the absence of the consciousness of relation, they would cease.

20 (4) Relation is always between two things. Even when many things are involved in a relation, they are grouped into two groups and each is looked upon as one thing because of its being the object of one act of comprehension. For instance (राज्ञः पुरुषः and राज्ञो हस्त्यश्वरथपदातयः). This is very closely connected with the Śaiva theory that oneness or plurality depends not on things themselves, but on the cognitive activity of the subject. Thus even when a number of things form the object of one act of comprehension they are looked upon as one.

THE OBJECTION AGAINST THE SAIVA CONCEPT OF ACTION.

According to the Bauddhas, all objects are momentary. At any given moment, the object is either the same as or different from that of the preceding moment, but certainly it cannot be both. The concept of action, according to the Śaivas, is based upon an external reality which possesses both unity and multiplicity at the same time. Further these concepts of unity and multiplicity arise, according to the Śaivas own statement, when an object is seen for a certain duration of time. The position is defective in two ways. (1) Because, everything being momentary, it cannot serve as the stimulus of an experience for more than a moment. The same thing, therefore, cannot be seen for a duration of time. (2) Even if the principle of momentariness be discarded, unity and multiplicity being contradictory things, how can they constitute the essential nature of an object?

Śaiva answer

21. The Saivas also believe in the momentariness of objects and yet they believe in the validity of mental constructs. Momentariness, however, they associate only with the objective world. The perceiving subject is persisting and is capable of retaining the residual traces of all experiences as also of uniting them with the immediate experience at any given moment and in any form. When the Śaiva talks of the concept of the action being based on one object, oneness he associates with the mental construct which is made up of the revived residual traces of the past experiences of the constituents of the series and the last immediate experience. This construct is represented to be one because oneness and plurality are associated with an object according as it is responsible for one or many experiences. As the mental construct in question gives rise to one experience only *i. e.* action, it is said to be one.

22. This construct cannot be classified with others which serve as the basis of the concepts like 'error'. The reason is obvious. While the experiences based on the latter type of constructs are contradicted at a subsequent moment, that associated with the former remains uncontradicted. The real psychological difference between the two constructs is that while in the case of the latter the material taken from the stock of memory in the form of revived residual traces is associated with the external reality, though in reality it is not; in the former, the association is a fact.

23. As regards the second objection, the Śaiva puts a counter question to the Bauddha. How are casuality and non-casuality found in the same object? For instance, a seed is the cause of the sprout when it is sown on fertile soil and not so when sown on barren soil. If the Bauddha answers that it is because of a difference in circumstances, well, the Śaiva retorts: why is it that differences in circumstances removes contradiction? If it be said that it is a

matter of experience, how can the Bauddha reject an appeal to the same experience by the Śaiva in the case of action also ? As stated above, the cognition of unity and diversity in the case of action is a matter of our own experience.

24. As for the difference in reference (विषयभेद) it is not difficult to point it out in the case of action also. The element of unity in action refers to the concept of personality of Devadatta with whom the action is associated: personality, which is recognised to be the same in the midst of varying circumstances of time, place etc. which remains intact inspite of all associations, which is the central fact in all associations, which is cognised only through the inner sense and is never the object of outer sense contact. Multiplicity refers to the multiplicity of circumstances in which this personality is found. As such, it is the object of sense perception.

25. Speaking from another point of view, there is unity when the Universe exists within the Universal self, very much like the mass of undifferentiated ideas in the mind of the individual. This very universe, when manifested without and made perceptible to the senses, is many because of the association of different manifestations of time and place.

The Bauddha and the Śaiva views of relation compared.

Points of similarity.

(1) According to both, there does take place consciousness of unity in difference.

(2) Both have taken this consciousness as the basis for explaining the concept of relation.

(3) According to both, it is Kalpanā, *i.e.* concept.

(4) According to both, it is based on things which are unrelated.

(5) According to both, there is correspondance of this concept with what figures in the indeterminate knowledge (अर्थावभाससंलग्नत्वम्).

POINTS OF DIFFERENCE.

While the Bauddha maintains that there is difference between a 'Kalpanā' like 'This is jar' and the one which is called relation, because there is not that amount of correspondance with अर्थावभास in the latter case as there is in the former, the Śaiva maintains that there is the same correspondence. This difference of Śaiva is based on his difference from the Bauddha in fundamentals. The Bauddha, as a 'Vijñānavādin' does not admit the existence of the external world. Everything, therefore, is ultimately essentially consciousness, which appears in its real form only in the indeterminate knowledge. The Śaiva, on the other hand, maintains the existence of the external world which is reflected in consciousness. (2) Further, while according to Bauddha, there is essential difference between two forms of consciousness, indeterminate and determinate, according to Śaiva, there is no essential difference between the two. There is only difference in degree. Thus according to Bauddha, things figuring in the indeterminate knowledge are as unrelated to one another as the external objects are according to the Śaiva. Hence, there being no external reality for the Bauddha, his statement regarding the dependence of the concept of relation on two things that are independent of each other and related in no way, refers to the objects as they figure in the indeterminate knowledge; while, a similar statement of the Śaiva refers to the external reality. (3) According to the Śaiva, there is nothing like indeterminate knowledge in the sense of the Bauddha in-as-much as in indeterminate knowledge also the objects, in a less manifested form, figure exactly in the manner in which they are clearly apprehended in determinate knowledge. There is therefore no difference in

correspondance of what figures in the determinate with the indeterminate in the case of the two determinate cognitions namely 1 Kalpanā ('this is jar') and 2 concepts like relation.

The Naiyāyika categories in the eyes of the Śaivas

Naiyāyikas are realists. According to them, therefore, only those things which exist independently of the subject can be said to be real. Śaivas, therefore, have criticised the Nyāya categories, pointing out that most of the things brought under one head or another have no external reality. Amongst the seven primary categories, as many as five namely, कर्म, सामान्य, समवाय, विशेष and अभाव have no such existence. Amongst those that are put under 'dravya,' time, direction; and amongst those brought under गुण number, measurement, distinction, conjunction, disjunction, priority and posteriority, heaviness, fluidity, viscosity, pleasure, pain, desire, effort, animosity, merit, and demerit and residual trace do not have any independent existence. Hence it is that the Śaivas have not included any one of these things in their categories. According to them, these are more concepts based primarily on relation between two things having independent existence and sometimes between two concepts themselves.

Relation and the fundamental doctrine of the Śaivas.

According to the Śaivas, the entire manifestation, whether subjective or objective, is due to the will of the Universal Self. Relation is nothing but a concept based on a mental construct which in itself is built out of the material got from outside. Because both the material and the subject that works on it are the manifestations of the ultimate, the relation, therefore, naturally does not end with the individual self, but ultimately depends upon the Universal Self.

The basic assumption of Śaiva philosophy.

The basic assumption of Śaiva Philosophy is that the ultimate reality in the Universe is an All Inclusive universal Consciousness. The demonstration of this doctrine is the subject matter of the whole of the 'Īśvarapratyabhijñā-Vimarśinī'. In the first six Āhnikas of the jñānādhikāras this truth is sought to be proved by means of an analysis of all our cognitions. It is shown there that the subject, object relation in all cognitions cannot be explained except on this assumption.

But that is only one kind of relation. There remain the various relations between the objects themselves. These relations are analysed in the seventh Āhnika and it is shown that that they are also impossible except on the basis of the Universal Consciousness. This basis, alone, according to this system, can account not only for right knowledge, as shown in the first 6 Āhnikas, but also for 'error'.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE SAUTRĀNTIKA PHILOSOPHY.

N. AIYĀSVĀMI ŚĀSTRI.

Sautrāntikas are generally believed to be a sub-sect of the Sarvāstivādins, one of the 18 sects of the early Buddhism. A detailed account of the School of the Sarvāstivādins is found in Vasubandhu's Kośa and Bhāṣya. And a systematic exposition in English of the subject is presented by Prof. Th. Stcherbatsky in his *'Conception of Buddhism'*. But there appears to be no book available either in Sanskrit or English specially devoted to a systematic treatment of the Sautrāntika school of Buddhism. Prof. Louis de La Vallee Poussin has made an attempt in his article on 'Sautrāntikas' in *Hastings' Encyclopeadia* to collect some of the main tenets of the school and has given full references to the Sanskrit and other sources, *Saḍdarśana Samuccaya* and *Sarvadarśana Saṁgraha*, etc. But nowhere do we find a complete survey of the subject.

Fortunately for us this need is supplied by an unexpected source, namely Śivajñānasiddhiyār, a Tamil treatise on Śaiva Philosophy. It is written by Arunandi Śivācāriyar, a Śaiva philosopher probably of the 13th century A. D. The treatise is divided into two parts, *svapakṣa* and *parapakṣa*. In the first part the author sets out to formulate his own tenets of the Śaiva philosophy and in the second part all other systems of Indian philosophy, such as Lokāyatikas, Bauddhas, Nirgranthas, Ājīvakas, Bhāṭṭas, Prābhākaras Śabdabrhmavādins, Māyāvādins, Bhāskaras, Nirīśvara Sāṅkhyas, and Pāñcarātras are reviewed and criticised. In dealing with Buddhism the author criticises all the four schools of the system under 4 separate heads. Their order adopted by the author is this: (1) Sautrāntika (2) Yogācāra, (3) Mādhyamika and (4) Vaibhāṣika an order which is not

found generally in the non-Buddhist Literature. Major portion of the Buddhist section of the book is dealing with the Sautrāntika School, namely 71 verses on the whole (31 for *anuvāda* and 40 for refutation) are devoted to it; whereas only two or three verses are employed in the case of other schools each. It seems, therefore, in the opinion of the author that the Sautrāntika school was more important than any other school. This may be corroborated by the statement found in the commentary that the other Schools, Yogācāras, etc. accept all the main principles of the Sautrāntikas, but differ in respect of some other details. From this we may infer that though the fact was otherwise, that impression was entertained by writers of the time, and it might be, I think, due to the influence gained by the Sautrāntikas in Tamil Land in latter periods. Whatever may be its justification, the author has in all probability accurately recorded in this section almost all the main tenets of the School and thus filled up a gap long felt in the history of the Buddhist philosophy.

Now I propose to present in the following pages the brief contents of the first part (31 verses) of the Chapter on the Sautrāntika Philosophy. This part may also be put into two: (1) the formulation of the Sautrāntikas' own thesis, and (2) the refutation of the opponents' thesis. The first topic is dealt with in the first 11 verses and the last 3 ones; and the second topic treated of in the remaining 16 verses (12-28).

(*1*) *Formulation of the Sautrāntikas' own thesis.*

The author commences this section with the enumeration of the 5 items common to all 4 schools of Buddhism: (1) They do not accept the validity of the Vedas combined with *aṅgas* and (2) recite instead the Scriptures called *Piṭakas* daily. (3) They practice 5 morals (śīla) (4) wear the dress of a hermit and (5) worship Bodhi tree as

God. In addition to these 5 items, Sautrāntikas say the following: Jāti is not valid. The Buddha becoming omniscent of all things (*sarvajña*), disliking all bad acts such as killing, etc. (practiced daily) in the world and through the faultless commiseration being grieved by the grievances of others (*paraduḥkhaduḥkhīn*) composed the ancient *Piṭakas* which have been praised by all gods.

There are only two pramāṇas, Viz. *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*. The momentary knowledge and knowable are their objects. These objects get divided into 4, Viz. *rūpa*, *arūpa*, *nirvāṇa* and *vyavahāra*. Each one of these 4 is again divided into two and therefore they become 8 in number in all.

Two kinds of *rūpa* are *upādānarūpa* and *upādeyarūpa*.

Two kinds of arūpa are: *citta* and *karman*.

Two kinds of *nirvāṇa* are: *sopādhiśeṣanirvāṇa* and *nirupādhiśeṣanirvāṇa*.

Two kinds of *vyavahāra* are: *sad-vyavahāra* and *asadvyavahāra*.

Upādānarūpas are four: earth, water, fire and air.

Upādeyarūpas are four: hardness, attraction, motion, and heat (*vaṁna*). *Rūpa* is what is produced from the combination of the above 8 elements.

Citta is that which cognises a thing cognisable through the sense-organs.

Karman is to discriminate what is good and what is bad.

Here commentator supplies us with some further details in regard to the classification of the elements. It is well known that the Vaibhāṣikas classify the elements of existence into 75 *dharmas* which may be put into 2 main groups: 72

saṁskṛta and 3 *asaṁskṛtadharmas*. The 72 *saṁskṛta-dharmas* are distributed into 5 groups of elements thus : rūpaskandha includes 11 elements, *vedanā*. 1, *saṁjñā*. 1, *saṁskāra*. 58 and *vijñāna*. 1. But the Sautrāntikas on the other hand, who deny the reality of the 3 *asaṁskṛta* elements, reduce the *saṁskṛta* elements to 43. They are distributed into 5 groups as follows : *rūpaskandha* includes 8 elements, 4 *upādānarūpas* and 4 *upādeyarūpas*, *vedanā* 3, *kuśalā*, *akuśalā* and *kuśalākuśalā* *saṁjñā* 6, 5, sense-organs and 1 *citta*, *vijñāna* 6 *vijñānas* corresponding to the 6 above and *saṁskāra* 20, 10 meritorious acts and 10 non-meritorious acts. Thus they work out 43 in number in all.

Then the author describes the nature of the *sopadhiśeṣanirvāṇa* and *nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa* as conceived by the Sautrāntikas.

Turning to the two kinds of *vyavahāra*, we find the *sadvyavahāra* and *asadvyavahāra* classified into 3 each as under :

(1) *Saṁghāta* (*togai*) *sadvyavahāra*
(2) Santāna (*toḍarci*) ,,
(3) *Utpannanāśā* (*mikutturai*) ,,
(4) *Saṁghāta* (*asadvyavahāra*)
(5) Santāna ,,
(6) Utpannanāśa ,,

After defining these 6 types of vyavahāra, the author again divides it into 6 thus :

(1) *Sadvyavahāra*.
(2) *Asadvyavahāra*.
(3) *Sadvyavahāra* pertaining to what exists.
(4) *Asad*..... ,, ...
(5) *Sadvyavahāra* pertaining to what does not exist.
(6) *Asad*..... ,, ...

The author closes this section with the explanation of the above six. All these types of *vyavahāra* and two kinds of *nirvāṇa* find no place amongst dharmas 43 above described and therefore they are not real dharmas but only namil.

II. Refutation of the opponents' thesis.

Apart from the categories above described, the Sautrāntikas, says the author, do not accept other categories such as *Ākāśa*, *ātman*, *kāla*, *dik*, and an Agent, the knower of the past. The Naiyāyikas and others postulate these categories. But the Sautrāntikas deny them. The arguments employed by them to refute the same are beautifully summed up in this section.

WHAT IS AVIJÑAPTIRŪPA (CONCEALED FORM OF ACTIVITY.)

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The Buddhists classify the elements of existence—and this is no doubt one of the oldest classifications—into five groups (*skandha*), among which the first group, *viz* the *Rūpaskandha*, may be said to correspond roughly to the modern conception of matter and the remaining four groups, *viz. vedanā* (feelings), *Saṃjñā* (conceptions), *Saṁskāra* (volitional forces) and *Vijñāna* (consciousness) to what we call mind. The *Rūpaskandha* or "matter" is further analysed into eleven physical elements, *viz.* the five senses (*Cakṣus, Śrotra, Ghrāṇa, Jihvā* and *Kāya*), their five kinds of objects, and *Avijñaptirūpa* as the eleventh.

The designation *Avijñapti* implies, that this particular kind of physical element cannot be revealed to others; unlike the other ten elements of the *Rūpaskandha*, it is unmanifested and undiscoverable. When we promise to do something and then fulfil the promise after some time, the interval between the promise and the overt action of its fulfilment represents the period, when the physical action remains unexpressed as *Avijñaptirūpa*. It must not, however, be confounded with the *idea* of doing something, because it owes its existence to some material form, like the one implied in making a promise Thus, the folding of one's hands in prayer and an accidental, unintentional folding of the hands are two different kinds of action, the former being accompanied by a concealed form of moral activity. Obviously, the *Avijñaptirūpa* has a twofold character. It is not merely a *rūpa*, like the visible, the audible etc, because unmanifested as it is, it always implies some kind of activity (*kriyā*); nor is it mere activity, because it is essentially a product of the material elements and therefore partakes of

the nature of *rūpa*. It lies in the very nature of a manifestation or expression, howsoever concealed, to be both, physical as well as active.

All physical actions are either expressed or unexpressed, both being in their turn either corporal or vocal. Supposing a man orders another man to commit an assassination, the man, who instigates the murder, commits a vocal declaration (*vāgvijñapti*) when he gives the order, and the assassin commits a corporal act (*kāya-vijñapti*) when he executes the order. Now, however, at the time of the assassination, the instigator has also committed a certain crime, not vocal but corporal, not overt but latent, inasmuch as he has exercised a corporal '*avijñapti*'. While the murder was being committed, the instigator might have even forgotten the order given by him, he might be sleeping or thinking of something else. Yet, he was unwittingly doing an act, for which he had made himself responsible by his former '*vijñapti*', which, howsoever hidden from the public gaze, is none the less real. There is a corporal '*avijñapti*' born of a former vocal '*vijñapti*', *viz.* the act of giving the order. We shall see later on, that such latent acts are also born in a state of deep concentration or passionlessness of the mind, in which case they are always of the right type (*kuśala*).

This, in short, is the general view of the *Sarvāstivādin*, formulated at length by Vasubandhu in his *Abhidharmakośa*. There are some schools, which regard *Avijñapti*, not as a physical, but as a mental phenomenon, like the *Dharmalakṣaṇa* school. There are others, like the *Sautrāntika*, who do not admit the real existence of any such element as the *Avijñaptirūpa*. However, it will be interesting to pass under review the definitions, given by Vasubandhu, debated by his contemporary, Saṅghabhadra, and commented later on by Sthiramati.

In the *Kośa*, the *Avijñaptirūpa* has been defined as:

"Acittakasyāpi yonubandhaḥ śubhāśubhaḥ|
Mahābhūtāny upādāya sā hy avijñaptir ucyate||" (I, 11).

(*Avijñapti* is that stream of action, which, being morally either good or bad, is present even in the mind of a distracted or unconscious person, and which is essentially the product of the material elements.)

We do not propose to go here into the detailed manner, in which Vasubandhu's great contemporary, Saṅghabhadra, tried to domolish, piece by piece, this formulation, which, according to him, was the most unsatisfactory way of representing the *Vaibhāṣika* view of *Avijñapti*. Yeśomitra has quoted in his famous commentary Saṅghabhadra's arguments and very cleverly tried to meet them. But Saṅghabhadra's criticism could not have gone altogether unheeded. He objected to the word 'stream' which seemed to deny the universally accepted momentariness of things He objected to reference being made only of the 'distracted or unconscious person', to the exclusion of one, who is immersed in deep meditation. And then, if the last mentioned person was to be understood to have been included in the definition by implication, his *avijñapti* ought to have been specially characterised as being only 'of the right type (*śubha*)'. In fact, Saṅgha. finds faults with almost every word of Vasubandhu's formulation, which he brands as being "highly defective, unfounded, full of overstatements and superfluities."

If we give any credence to the tradition, as related by the Tibetan historian, Bu-ston, in his *Chos-ḥByung* (II, p. 144), Vasubandhu had first published only the metrical part of his *Kośa* for ascertaining the general criticisms of the then known authorities of the *Vaibhāṣika* school. (Also cf. Paramārthas Life of Vasubandhu, trans. by Takākusu, Toung Pao (1904) pp. 287 ff.) He must, therefore, have had an inkling of the general nature of the objections, which would be raised against the views represented in it, before he wrote his own commentary (*Bhāṣya*) in its final form and published it. Because, in the *Bhāṣya*,

Vasubandhu appears to have tried to forestall some of those objections by offering, as an explanation of the versified text, a more direct and simple prose definition of the *Avijñapti-rūpa*. It runs:

Vijñaptisamādhisambhūtaḥ kuśalākuśalam rūpam

(*Avijnapti* is that physical element, which, being morally either good or bad, is born of either an overt action or deep concentration.)

The critics, who had remained hesitant, so long as they had before them only the pithy versified text, which could admit of various interpretations, if all the implications were brought out, seem to have become vocal, as soon as Vasubandhu published his *Bhāṣya*, giving his own definite explanations. Saṅghabhadra, who had formerly approved of the *Kośa* compilation in general terms, now led the attack, and we have indicated above, how trenchantly he deals with Vasubandhu's formulation of the definition of *Avijñapti*.

He had now one more weapon in his armoury, inasmuch as he could now reproach Vasubandhu for not having given some necessary explanations *even* in his own commentary. Thus he points out, among other things, that it was necessary, at least in the *Bhāṣya*, to qualify the *Avijñapti-rūpa* as being unimpeded and susceptible to penetration (*apratigha*). Saṅgha. does not satisfy himself merely by criticising Vasubandhu's definition, but he offers his own definition in the following terms, in his *Samayapradīpikā*, quoted by Yaśomitra:

Kṛte'pi viśabhāge'pi citte cittātyaye ca yat|

Vyākṛtāpratigham rūpam sā hy avijñaptir iṣyate||

(*Avijñapti* ought to be defined as that physical element, which, being either good or bad, knows no impediment and

which is found in either the wakeful, or the concentrated or the absent mind.)

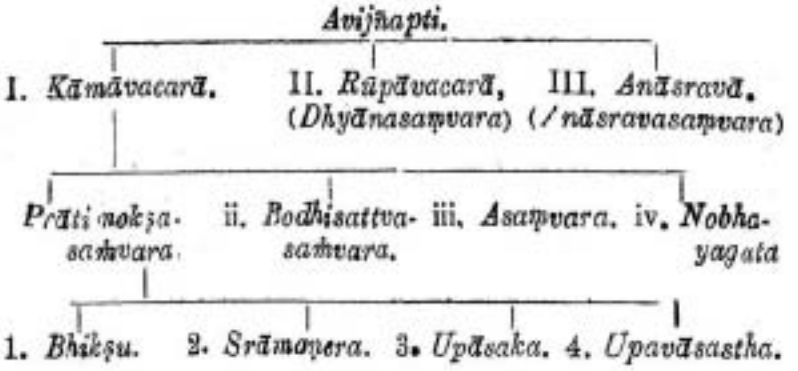
Yaśomitra has tried his best to defend Vasubandhu's definition against Saṅgha's attacks and in his turn, to find fault with the new definition, offered by the latter. But Vasubandhu himself, as we have indicated above, seems to be somewhat concerned about his own formulation being exposed to such criticisms. Because, later on, when he wrote his *Pañcaskandhaka* (see my article in ABORI, Vol. XVIII, pt. iii), he again emends his former definition by dropping altogether the qualifying words: "good or bad", and adding two more adjectives, *viz.* 'unimpeded (*apratigha*)', as suggested by Saṅghabhadra, and 'undemonstrable (*anidarśana*)'—this latter addition containing an altogether new thought, which might have been inspired by some other criticisms, unknown to us. Thus, in the *Pañcaskandhaka* the definition runs as:

Vijñaptisamādhisaṁbhūtam rūpam anidarśanam apratigham ca|

(*Avijñapti* is that physical element, which is born either of overt action or in the state of deep concentration of the mind and which is neither impeded nor capable of being demonstrated.)

The fourth chapter of the *Abhidharmakośa*, dealing with the whole problem of Karma, in detail, also treats the *Avijñapti*, giving minute and technical interpretations of the various terms, like 'good' and 'bad', involved in its definition. We shall here content ourselves with a brief reference to Sthiramati's commentary on the *Pañcaskandhaka*, which, with a smaller exposition, covers the same ground, though with a certain slight emendation, representing his own view

of the analysis. Sthiramati's exposition of the *Avijñapti* may be briefly explained by the following tabular form :—



Thus, *Avijñapti* has three spheres of activity. In the first one *i. e.* (I) the sensuous world, *Avijñapti* is born of either a bodily or vocal action, each of which may be either good or bad, but never indifferent. Further, it can be either of the nature of (i) binding oneself to the observance of the laws of spiritual discipline, on the part of any of the four kinds of monks, male or female, or (ii) binding oneself to the observance of the discipline of a *Bodhisattva*, or (iii) avowing oneself to the path of indiscipline, or (iv) owning oneself to a way of life, that implies neither discipline nor indiscipline. It will be observed, that the second kind of *avijñapti*, *viz. Bodhisattvasaṃvara*, is an innovation of Sthiramati, who shows himself here a true disciple of the school, founded by the mystical personality of Maitreya. (In Chinese we have translations of treatises, attributed to Maitreya, like the *Bodhisattvaprātimokṣa*, Nanjo's Catalogue Nos. 1096, 1098 etc.) In the second sphere, *viz.* (II). the higher ethereal world, *Avijñapti* takes the form of a moral resolution, formed in the state of a trance. In the third sphere, *viz.* (III) the Path of Salvation, where pure matter exists the moral resolution is formed in a state of passionlessness.

Thus, the Buddhists, who were from the very beginning far more deeply interested than any other school of Indian philosophy in analysing the problem of Karma in all

its implications and varieties, have tried to explain here one aspect of it, viz. that which passed under the name of "*adṛṣṭa*" among the Brahmanic circles. The virtue, involved in giving charities, visiting holy places and such other acts, could not be satisfactorily explained or logically derived from merely the manifest acts (*vijñapti*) of such religious discipline. Any outside agency being strictly inadmissible in the Buddhist view of the universal becoming, this concealed activity, called the *Avijñaptirūpa*, was bound to receive a place in the scheme of the dharma-complexes, which go to make up the stream of worldly existence.

(REFERENCES:—*Rosenberg*, Die Probleme der buddhistischen Philosophie, Heidelberg 1924; *Stcherbatsky*. The central conception of Buddhism, London 1923; *Louis de la Vallée Poussin*, L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu, Paris 1923-25; La morale bouddhique, Paris 1927; *U. Wojihara*, Sphutārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā by Yaśomitra, Tokyo 1932-36.

INDIAN ESCHATOLOGIES.

Fr. Zacharias, O. C. D.

The destiny of individual man after death has ever been a question of vital importance in the history of human race. That solemn profession of mankind "Non omnis moriar." I shall not wholly die, has been echoed by ancient Egyptians, Chaldeans, Persians, Greeks and other ancient tribes of Europe (1). We hope, therefore, a short review of what ancient India thought on this point may be of interest to our readers.

Vedic Eschatology (2000 to 1200 B. C.). A few Orientalists have asserted that the Vedic poets, while profusely dealing with the origin and nature of things, have kept a solemn silence on the transcendental question of man's ultimate end. Such an assertion, we make bold to say, does not square with the Vedic texts, where frequently references are made to the "Kingdom of death" Yama (2). We are told in the Vedas that Yama's country is the place whereto the departed souls go to enjoy everlasting happiness. Any thoughtful reader of ancient Hindu literature will certainly be struck by the abundance of passages stating that "when the body is thrown off, the soul becomes endowed with a shining spiritual form and goes to the abode of gods where Yama and the fathers live immortal" (3). We read in the *Ṛg Veda*: "At the death of a man his breath goes to the wind, his eyes to the sun, and his unborn part is carried to the world of the righteous among the gods" (4). There are passages in the *Ṛg Veda* describing the departed souls in their long journey to the region of eternal light, guided by Agni (5) and Pūṣan (6). The journey of the departed to heaven is said to be a bit risky, since they have to pass by the two monstrous dogs which keep the unworthy

(1) Cf. Grotius "De Vivit. Relig., Chr. Vol. I. Ch. 5.22—(2) *Ṛg Veda*. I 35—(3) *Yama* is honoured in the Vedas as God. But he is also described as the first man of the world and as the one who first discovered the path by which the righteous persons go to heaven after death (4) X. 16; (5) VIII, 19; —(6) *Pūṣan*, as a solar deity, is a guide on roads and journeys both in this and in the next world (*Ṛg. Veda* 1, 23).

souls out of paradise [1]. Once the souls reach the abode of the gods they are clothed in a glorious body and made to drink the celestial Soma, which renders them immortal [2]. If we examine the funeral hymns of the *Ṛg-veda* (which even now are used by the Brāhmins) we shall see how the officiating priest bids the soul go without fear and follow Yama, who has found the path to the home of the righteous fathers, where he will enjoy a blessed immortality in the company of those of his loved ones, who have gone before him [3].

In the *Ṛg-veda* we find also some glimpses of the *nature* of heaven and the *condition* of the souls that dwell therein. The departed keep their individuality and dwell in heaven revelling with Yama in a kind of unalloyed bliss. Here are the very words of the text: "O Pavamāna, place me in the deathless undecaying world wherein the light of heaven is set and everlasting lustre shines Make me immortal in that realm where dwells the king, Vivasvān's son; in third heaven where lucid worlds are full of light..... Make me immortal in that realm of eager wish and strong desire; the region of radiant moon where food and full delight are found Make me immortal in that realm where happiness transports, where joys and felicities combine, and longing wishes are fulfilled [4]". Though some Orientalists are of opinion that the Vedic picture of the future life is of a purely *sensuous* character, yet, we think it would be more correct to say that the joys of heaven, described in the *Ṛg-veda*, are those of earth, but *perfected* and *elevated*. So, Roth, with many others, thinks that the *Ṛg-veda's* heaven is one that can be best described in Dr. Watt's hymns:

> "There is a land of pure light
> Where saints immortal reign
> Eternal day excludes the night
> And pleasures banish pain" [5]

(1) *Ṛg-veda*, IX, 106. (2) *Ṛg-veda*, II, 14 15, 16; (4) *Ṛg-veda* IX, 113; (5) Roth ZDMG, II, 216; IV, 417; JAOS, III. 335.

From the fact that in the *Ṛg-veda* heaven is likened to a banquet no cogent argument can be brought in favour of a sensuous heaven, for it is a figurative speech, and consequently it must not be taken literally. Did not our Lord Jesus represent the kingdom of heaven as a festive-gathering where people sit down at table? And who will dare say that our Lord meant a gluttonous revelry?

Besides the heaven of the righteous, the Vedic hymns speak of a "deep and dismal pits" where the departed souls of the wicked and evil-minded are detained. We see, for example, Varuṇa thrusting the evil doer down into a dark abyss from which he will not return [1]. Mention is also made occasionally in the Vedas of abysmal and dark stations" where the evil spirits, sinful people, and unfaithful men" are sent by gods after their death [2]. No mention, however, is made either of the nature of torture or the period of time the souls had to remain in such "abysmal" places. Some Orientalists are of opinion that *eternity* of punishment is never mentioned in the Vedas. They think that the hell of the Vedic hymn is rather purgatory, and not the hell in the proper sense of the word.

Brāhmanic Eschatology (1300—1100 B. C.). The Brāhmaṇas form the second phase of the Hindo-Aryan religious literature. The Vedic hymns are the works of poets, but the Brāhmaṇas bear the print of the priestly class. They are emphatic in upholding the survival of man after death [3]; but we find quite a diverse view as regards the place, the condition and the nature of their rewards and punishments. The common belief, however, is that the departed souls, on leaving this world, pass between two fires [4] (*Agniśikhe*) raging on either side of their path. Those fires, we are told, burn the wicked and let the good ones pass by

(1) Ṛg-veda, II, 29, 6; VII, 104, 3, 17; IX, 73, 9; (2) Ṛg-veda V, 5, 5; (3) Cf. Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, III, 10, 11, 1; Śat. P. Brāhmaṇa XI, 2, 1—1 (4) Śat. Brāhmaṇa, 1-9-3.

and take their abode either in the stars, moon or sun. But ordinarily it is said that they go beyond the regions of the moon and sun to enjoy in the paradise of the gods [1]. We are assured that even the body of men will have its reward in heaven. Hence the care taken by some Hindu sects in collecting the bones of the dead after the burial [2]

It is worth noticing that in the Brāhmaṇic period the doctrine connected with life beyond the grave assumes a realistic and sacrificial colouring. We read in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* that immortality or longivity of life is intimately connected with the right understanding and frequent performance of sacrificial rites [3]. The more sacrifices one offers the more ethereal his body will become after his death [4]. It is also clearly stated at this period that immortality is the patrimony of both the pious and the wicked men. Professor A. Weber is of opinion that some of the ancient hymns of the *Ṛg-veda* held the view that immortality is the exclusive privilege of the virtuous; sinners after death are doomed to the annihilation of their personal existence. In the Brāhmaṇas, however, immortality is common both to the good and wicked people; all will be recompensed according to their deeds; the good rewarded and the wicked punished [5]. The following quotation from *Śat. Brāhmaṇa* is sufficiently clear; "In the next world they place his (man's) good and evil deeds in a balance. Whichever of the two shall outweigh the other, that shall follow, whether it be good or evil. Now, whosoever knows this, places himself in the balance of of this world, and is freed from being weighed in the next world; it is by good deeds and not by bad that his scale outweighs" [6].

(1) Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, III, 10, 11; Śat. P. Brāhmaṇa, XI 4, 4, 8; (2) Śat. P. Brāhmaṇa, IV, 6, 1, 1: XI, 1, 6, 3, 3: X. 1, 5, 4; (3) Śat. Brāhmaṇa, IV, 6, 1, 1: XI, 1, 6, 6: XII, 8, 3, 31: X, 1, 5, 4: XI, 2, 7, 33; (4) Ṛg-veda X. 1, 5, 4. VI 2, 2, 27: X. 6, 3, 1: XI. 7 2, 23; (5) Śat. Brāhmaṇa, VI 2, 2, 27: X. 4, 4, 15; (6) XI. 2, 7, 33

As to the character of the Brāhmanic heaven we read in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* [1] that the dead, after passing between two fires reach the region of the blessed where they enjoy unrestrained happiness [2]. But this happiness is to be of a natural order, because we are told that the pleasures and enjoyments of the forefathers are " a hundred times greater than those of a man who lives in perfect prosperity [3]. It is also worth mentioning that the happiness of heaven is *individual* and *personal*; that is to say, the departed souls are not absorbed into Brahma as the Vedantic philosophy of later ages teaches us. The souls keep their own individuality in the realm of gods, thus we read : " There are six doors to Brahma, *viz*., Agni, Vāyu, the water, the moon, Lightning and the Sun. He who sacrifices with a burnt-offering arrives by Agni as the door to Brahma ; and having arrived, he attains to a union with Brahma, and abides in the same sphere with him " [4]. In the Brāhmaṇas there are expressions that seem to suggest that there is but only one life after the present ; and that its nature is determined by our present life here. " A man is born into the world which he has made " [5]. " Whatever food a man eats in this world, by that food he is eaten in the next world " [6]. These and many other similar expressions we find in the Brāhmaṇas. They are concrete and absolute in character. All the same, we do not deny that these expressions might have given room to the later doctrine of metem-Psychosis, and they might have been interpreted in the line of transmigration theory.

Upaniṣadic Eschatology (1200-700 B. C.). There is a general belief that the Upaniṣads are of purely metaphysical character. Nothing is more contrary to the real facts The main thesis of the Upaniṣads is to teach men the way of salvation or emancipation. They lay down as their basic principle that the soul of man is spirtual, immortal [7],

(1) 1, 9. 3 ; (2) Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, X. 4, 4, 4 ; (3) Śat. P. Brāhmaṇa, XIV. 7, 1, 32 ; (4) Śat. P. Brāhmaṇa, XIV, 7, 1. 1, 32 ; (5) VI. 2, 2, 27 ; (6) XII. 9, 11 ; (7) *Kaṭhaka Up*., IV. 2. 6, 2, 14 ; *Muṇḍaka Up* II. 2, *Bṛhad-araṇyaka Up*. IV. 4. 17 ;

indestructible, eternal; nay more, it is of the same nature of Brāhman, hence the chief aim of the soul must be to get rid of this *saṁsāras* (or the round of deaths and births) and regain the eternal freedom from the miseries of this world. It is therefore, a well established fact that the thinkers of the Upaniṣads were strong upholders of the survival of souls after death. In the *Chandogya Upaniṣad* we read that the soul of man is "free from sin, free from old age, free from death and grief" [1]; permanence, continuity and eternal activity are its characteristics. The Upaniṣads absolutely refuse to identify the soul either with the body or with the series of mental operations: or with the mental states; and the reason given is because a mere flux of states cannot be sustained by itself, it needs as its back-ground either a permanent being, or an eternal being called Ātman or soul [2]. "This body", the Upaniṣads say, "is mortal and subject to death, but the soul is immortal and is never subject to any decay" [3]. Some of the Upaniṣads go a step further and state that the absolute being Brahman is Ātman, that is to say, that the absolute cosmic and the psychical principles are one and the same; that they are identical; that the Brahman is Ātman and the Ātman is Brahman [4]. The individual soul by nature is Brahman, the infinite being: but owing to its temporary ignorance it thinks itself to be lower than Brahman and attaches itself to unworthy objects, hence it envelopes itself in physical and mental imperfection: in this state, therefore, the individual soul is both deity and dust, god and brute [5]. Such being the case, the chief concern of individual souls must be to realise their identity with Brahman, either through prayer, sacrifice, tapas, or knowledge. The chief object of the Upaniṣads is to help souls in realising their identity with Brahman.

(1) VIII. 7, 1; (2) *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. III. 7, 3; IV. 422; VIII. 12, 1; (3) *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* VIII. 2. 13; (4) *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*. 1, 5; II, 8, *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*. IV. 4. 11; (5) *Īśa Upaniṣad* 7

The *condition* of the future life is described in the Upaniṣads as a state "far above hunger and thirst, above sorrow and confusion, above old age and death". The Upaniṣads are, therefore, emphatic in holding that the bliss of those who attained full emancipation, is complete, absolute and infinite. The *Ānanda*, or the heaven of the Upaniṣads, is the highest fruition where the knower, the known and the knowledge become one. The ānanda consists in active enjoyment, it is not a mere nothingness [1]. The sages of the Upaniṣads, however, are not sufficiently clear or precise in describing the particular state or condition of liberated souls. We come across two conflicting accounts that run throughout Upaniṣadic literature. In some places the state is said to consist in the likeness of God, while in others it is described as consisting in oneness with God. There are passages where the individual is said to keep his individuality and individual activity [2]. *Self* is not absorbed by God or annihilated, he becomes like God. There are, however, many more passages where absolute identity is affirmed between the soul of man and God or Brahman. Self becomes merged in the supreme Absolute Being [3]. The orthodox Upaniṣadic view seems to be that there is disintegration of individuality in the highest condition of human life. The metaphors used in the Upaniṣads seem to indicate this view, for instance, we read "as a lump of salt which is thrown into water dissolves and cannot be gathered up again, wherever water is drawn, it is salty, so truly it is with this great being, the endless, the unlimited, the fullness of knowledge arising from these beings it comes into view and with them it vanishes. There is no consciousness after death..... for there is no duality of existence [4]. As the flowing of the rivers disappear in the sea, losing their name and form, thus a wise man, freed from, name and form goes to the

(1) *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* II, 8, (2) *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* II: 22, *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, 3: 3; (3) *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* IV, 9: II, 2, *Praśna*. (4) *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, II, 4, 12.

divine person who is above all" [1]. From the vagueness with which the Upaniṣads speak about this matter the Buddhists seem to have concluded that self is annihilated after death, the Vedāntists that self is immersed in Brahman, and others that self is absorbed in the thought, love, and enjoyment of the Supreme Being.

Jainist Eschatology (520 B. C.). Jains form an important sect of dissenters from Hinduism. Though founded in 520 B. C. they did not rise in importance till 8th and 9th centuries A. D. The Jains bring the whole of the Universe under two main categories, *viz.*, the living (jīva) and the non-living (ajīva), spiritual and non-spiritual. The Jīvas or the principles of life are entirely and essentially distinct and different from matter and material bodies. There are three kinds of Jīvas, *viz.*, the *nityasiddha* or the ever perfect; the *mukta* or the liberated; and the *buddhajīva*, who have been a prey to ignorance or illusion and have been condemned to submit to the yoke of the material body. The souls of men are of the last mentioned category: the great endeavour of man, therfore, must be to set free his soul or his jīva from the bondage of matter and material thing. The best methods to disentangle the soul from Karma [2] are right knowledge and self-discipline. By these means all Karma is worked out and the soul or jīva realises her full and complete consciousness, and this consciousness after death raises the soul to the summit of *lokākāśa*, where it enjoys the everlasting bliss [3].

Heaven or the mokṣa of the Jains is said to consist in the exclusion of pain and the attainment of perfect happiness. The state of perfection is passively described as a state of utter and absolute quiescence, a rest that knows no danger [4]. In this state, however, there is omniscience

(1) Praśna Upaniṣad, 6, 5. (2) In Jaina philosophy Karma is said to be a very subtle matter which permeates the jivas or souls through and through and weighs them down to mundane level. (3) *Sarva-darśana-Saṁgraha*, p. 40: (4) Umasvati's *Tattvartha Sūtra*, X, 8.

(*kevalin-jīvana*) and all things are simultaneously known to the perfect—*kevalin*. The Nirvāṇa of the Jains, therefore, is not annihilation of the soul after death, but a state where souls live in everlasting blessedness.

Buddhistic Eschatology (500 B. C.). Buddha rejected the authority of the Vedas and expounded an independent system of ethics and morality which bears the name of Buddhism. The so called "Ethical teachings" of Buddha have been transmitted to us under two forms, which go by the name of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna [1]. The philosophical, ethical and religious outlook of these two Buddhistic schools is not only different but often contradictory. We are concerned here only with the eschatological doctrine of the Buddhism of the Mahāyāna type, because it is more widely spread than Hīnayāna Buddhism [2]. The word Nirvāṇa [3] expresses the eschatology of Buddhism. Now what is the real meaning of Nirvāṇa? In *Sankavarta-Sūtra*, a standard work of Mahāyānists, we read that no less than 20 different meanings have been given to it by different Buddhistic schools: all these schools, however, hold unanimously that

(1) The terms respectively mean the "small way" and "the great way". The Mahāyānists believe that they represent the whole doctrine of Buddha. According to eminent Oriental critics neither of them can boast of representing the pure original doctrine of Buddha, for it is well known that, just after the death of Buddha, many innovations were introduced in Buddha's doctrine (2) The Hīnayāna Buddhism exists to-day only in Ceylon, Burma and Siam, while Mahāyāna Buddhism prevails in China, Japan and Tibet. The former Buddhism is a materialistic system, a soulless and Godless pluralism, while the latter is a kind of monistic spiritualism, or theism of 'sui generis'. (3) The word Nirvāṇa etymologically means motionless. It is a Sanskrit word composed of *nir* "without" and *vāṇa*, "desire": it means therefore extinction of desire. Nirvāṇa is often compared to the extinction of a lamp. Mr. Bigandet says that while talking one evening with one well-informed Burma Buddhist on Neiban (Nirvāṇa) the light of a lamp that was burning on the writer's table happened to die away for want of oil: The Buddhist, with an exulting tone of voice, exclaimed: "do not ask any more what Neiban is: that lamp is extinct because there is no more oil in the glass. A man is in Neibana at the very moment that the principle or cause of existence is at an end or entirely destroyed" – (Legend of the Burmese Buddha, p. 321.)

Nirvāṇa is not annihilation but a relaity which defies all definition and description. The Mahāyānists assert that Nirvāṇa is the total annihilation of all relative existence, of all motion, of all activity, of all life. Nirvāṇa is the gate which introduces our souls "into the rythm of the eternally expanding stream of Infinite Existence; where every thing is one without any relativity, without any plurality." In one word, Buddhist Nirvāṇa is the same as the Absolute Indefinite Reality of the Hindus, where there is no real plurality or real activity. Buddha expressed this idea when he said: "The paramount reality, oh brethren is Nirvāṇa. It is the clandestine Reality behind all the combined forces of Phenomenal life which is nothing but *facta morgana*. In this world there is neither reality nor illusion. It is a surreptitious reality. It is a concealed reality. It is a life, a childish bubble, a watery bubble, an illusion. All matter is a mass of foam." From this it is clear the Nirvāṇa conception of the Mahāyāna Buddhism is not negative but positive. Nirvāṇa means something Absolute and Real that defies definition, and where individual souls will be merged and absorbed, losing thereby their apparent and illusory individuality and activity.

THE MEANING OF DHARMA.

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One of the most elusive words in Hindu Philosophy and Religion is *Dharma*. A glance at the meanings of the word in the monumental *St. Petersberg Dictionary* will show that there is a good deal of justification for this vagueness in connotation. We shall try in this paper to trace the transition from meaning to meaning and bring out the influence of philosophical and theological speculations on the significance of the word. The word has a variant, *dharman*, now less used than in earlier literature though not totally out of use yet.

The etymological meaning of the word is that which holds together, or, in other words, that which prevents deviation from typical or orderly action. The implication, therefore, is that each type of being has a characteristic mode of behaviour which it cannot discard without ceasing to belong to the type. Each being is possessed of a number of qualities or modes of reaction—these are its *dharmas*. Being possessed of qualities, a thing or a person is a *dharmin*, possessor of qualities. Things possessing the same quality or assemblage of qualities (*samānadharma* or *sadharma*) belong to the same *jāti* and things possessing different qualities (*vidharma*) are alien to one another in kind. As a representative of its group—each thing has a *svadharma*, an essential quality by virtue of which it belongs to that class. The qualities of other things constitute *paradharma*. The obvious implication is that the *dharma* of a thing is not a mere accidental quality—it must not be a casual or rare mode of behaviour for the thing concerned.

We must distinguish, therefore, between the essential and the accidental qualities of a thing and reserve the title *dharma* for the group of essential qualities which serve as

differentia or distinctive characteristics. There may be similarity (*sādharmya*), just as there may be dissimilarity (*vaidharmya*), between one thing and another; but unless similarity amounts to essential identity (*tādātmya*) two things cannot be said to belong to the same class (*jāti*) —the *dharma* must be identical in the two cases whatever might be the accidental differences between them. Participation in a common genus is essential for similarity of behaviour. To use scholastic terminology, similarity of behaviour is the *ratio cognoscendi* of sameness of class while sameness of class is the *ratio essendi* of similarity of behaviour. If all things were unique in all ways (*svalakṣaṇa*), the distinction between essential and accidental would have been unmeaning and the basis of confident conclusion (*anumāna*) would have been shaky. We should recognise, therefore, that all qualities are not acquired but that the essential ones belong to things by nature, as Gauḍapāda says (*sarve dharmāḥ svabhāvataḥ*). To exist (*bhāva*) is to exist with a definite character (*svabhāva* or *prakṛti*), and this applies not only to the world of living beings but to all beings, whether inorganic or organic or conscious. When water seeks the lowest level or fire mounts up, we must see in each phenomenon the characteristic *dharma* of the thing concerned. Similarly, the *dharma* of all living things is at first to grow and then to decay, and of all sentient things to feel pleasure and pain, and then to move towards the former and away from the latter. The uniformity of occurrence or behaviour amounts to a law of nature in each case. Essential quality thus becomes synonymous with the law of a thing's being.

How then is the nature of a thing determined? We cannot explain the origin of uniformity by the help of accident or chance coincidence (*akasmāt*). If then we invoke the aid of divine dispensation, we must assume that the nature of a thing is divinely ordained or prescribed. Things behave in their characteristic ways because of a divine decree

or because without fixed laws a cosmos would have been an impossibility. There is a compelling force somewhere, preventing deviation from the type. In the case of the natural forces we believe that obedience to law is absolute and the things of nature are governed mechanically without an iota of freedom to disobey the rule of action laid down for them. But can the same thing be said of living beings? Regarding the different orders of life it may be admitted that they too obey some fundamantal laws of behaviour. A cat and a lion and a man do not have the same inclinations (*vāsanā*)—each type of embodiment has its characteristic mode of life. A cow would eat grass but not so a cat or a man, and while an oviparous animal would lay eggs, a viviparous animal would bring forth its young as a full-fledged animal. While the kittens would play together, the snake and the ichneumon would fight to the bitterest end, and each animal would be attracted by a mate of the opposite sex but belonging to the same species. These are the ordinations of nature and no species can transgress the law of its inborn nature. For the eight types of supernatural (*daiva*) beings, namely, *brāhma, prājāpatya, aindra, paitra, gāndharva, yakṣa, rākṣasa* and *paiśāca*, for the five types of lower sentients (*tairyagyona*), namely, quadrupeds (other than deer), deer, birds, creeping things and sessile types (including the vegetable kingdom), and for mankind (*mānuja*) which forms a single species, different laws hold and even the different sub-species are ruled by different ordinances of nature and the realms which they tenant are also governed by different laws. Through similarity and diversity, love and hate, co-operation and conflict the equilibrium and harmony of the phenomenal world are maintained. If things did not have fixed *dharmas*, no regular attitude could be taken up towards any type of being and conduct would have been impossible. But we know exactly how a tiger or a serpent would behave, for each has its own *dharma* or characteristic way of action and we take steps accordingly when we happen to meet either.

Limiting ourselves to the human species, can we make any distinction between man and man and man and woman? If biologically men form a single species, do they not have the same *dharma* just as all lions or tigers are said to have the same type of conduct? It is necessary to admit that constitutionally men and women are different, and this is true of the male and the female of any animal kind. But while we are not practically interested in the behaviour of the females of the animals, we are vitally interested in the psychology of our women folk (*strīdharma*). Similarly, we are also required to be careful if among us there are men with sinful animal propensities (*paśudharmin*). Admitting that the three *guṇas* (*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*) enter unequally into the composition of men, can we still classify men into certain broad divisions? *The Ṛgveda* speaks of the Brāhmaṇas as coming out of the mouth, the Kṣatriyas out of the arm, the Vaiśyas out of the thigh and the Śūdras out of the feet of the Primal Being. It is claimed that this descent from the different parts of the Puruṣa gives to each *varṇa* its characteristic *dharma*. We may understand *varṇa-dharma* as innate modes of action due to constitutional make-up or we may understand it as differential prescription for different castes. If we set aside the scriptural description of the origin of the four castes, we must accept the view that qualities and actions (*guṇakarma*) alone determine the right to belong to any caste. If we accept the view that the descendants of each caste belong to that caste (or, in the case of mixed marriages, to an inter-caste), we must believe in a rigid inheritance of ancestral traits. We must uphold the theory, that is, that while it is not impossible for each caste to beget children with qualities proper to some other caste, this is a rare phenomenon, amounting almost to a biological freak, and that the normal method is the transmission of ancestral characters through heredity in each caste. We may make this theory more palatable to the lower castes by the supposition that in unending time no

one need be more fortunate than others; for castes are determined by heredity, no doubt, but this heredity is fixed by one's *karma* of past lives. So if *guṇa* determines the caste, the *guṇa* is itself determined by *karma*, and there is nothing to prevent any individual from acquiring sufficient merit to deserve birth in a higher caste, or from losing his status in the next birth through the acquisition of demerit in this life. But whether God creates the caste or men devise the classification, once the *varṇas* are there they are supposed to have different *dharmas*, whether because of constitutional proficiency or because of social need. The characteristic action of a Brāhmaṇa is instruction, that of a Kṣatriya is protection, that of a Vaiśya is production, and that of a Śūdra is service—to each caste comes easy its characteristic mode of action in the socio-political organisation, and this division of labour not only prevents class conflict but also makes each kind of social task better done. But unless heredity supplies the necessary ingredients of capacity the caste duties will not come easy, and then what ought to come naturally will have to be done with effort and with indifferent success. The economy of nature is maintained when contrary instincts cancel one another and complementary instincts operate together. If there are demons to disturb the sacrifices of Brāhmaṇas, there are Kṣatriyas to kill them off; if there is greed in one quarter, there is open-handed generosity in another. Similarly, the combined activities of the different sections of the people make for the organic development of society as a whole.

Now, if we accept the position that the laws of being are laid down for each type by God although they appear as native endowments, we come to prescription as the meaning of *dharma*. Dharma is that which is prescribed and birth in each caste is at the same time subjection to a particular set of prescriptions. The truth of a thing is its *dharma*—it is the law that governs its behaviour by divine prescription. Higher than the different castes is the law

hat governs them—*dharma* or Law is the *kṣatra* of the Kṣatriya class and hence there is nothing higher or greater than Law (*tad etat kṣatrasya kṣatram yad dharmas tasmāt dharmāt param nāsti*). Laws embody, as it were, the permanent lines of divine volition, to use the apt terminology of Martineau—we act as we do because God so willed it at the beginning. The impressive reply of Yājñavalkya to Gārgī Vācaknavī about the ultimate warp and woof of creation brings out this aspect clearly: "Verily, O Gārgi, at the command (*prasāsana*) of that Imperishable the sun and the moon stand apart. Verily, O Gārgi, at the command of that Imperishable the earth and the sky stand apart. Verily, O Gārgi, at the command of that Imperishable the moments, the hours, the days, the nights, the fortnights, the months, the seasons and the years stand apart." Creation would have been confounded, had not each type kept within the bounds set for it by God. Those who do not possess spirituality, intellectual keenness and spirit of detachment are not fit to be Brāhmaṇas; those who are without strength and valour should not aspire after Kṣatriyahood; those without business instinct and proficiency in nature-lore should not turn to trade or agriculture; and those without manual dexterity and capacity of hard work should not undertake service. Students of Plato's *Republic* will easily recall a similar warning uttered there.

Where then are to be found the prescriptions that have been laid down for the different classes of men? How are we to determine the duties of our caste, station and stage of life? The answer given is that the Veda is the ultimate source of all Dharmas; but for easy reference we may also turn to the various Smṛtis (Law books) which ultimately rest upon the Veda, or to the conduct and custom of good men versed in the Vedic lore, or even to our own conscience if it does not go against the Vedic rules in any way (*vedaḥ smṛtiḥ sadācāraḥ svasya ca priyam ātmanaḥ / Etac caturvidham*

prāhuḥ sākṣāt dharmasya lakṣaṇam‖or *vedo'khilo dharma. mūlaṁ smṛtiśīle ca tadvidāṁ*‖*Ācāraś caiva sādhūnām ātma. nas tuṣṭir eva ca*). These roughly correspond to the Qur'ān (the scripture), the *ḥadīth* or the *sunnat al-nabī* (the sacred tradition concerning the sayings and doings of the Prophet or his immediate followers), the *ijmā* (the general agreement of orthodox scholars) and the *qiyā* '(analogical principles) of the Islamic *uṣūl al-fiqh* (roots of the sacred regulations) respectively. It so happened that in later times the Smṛtis practically usurped the title of *Dharmaśāstra*; but the theory that they derived their value and validity from the Vedas was never abandoned and they were never allowed to override any express Vedic injunction. If the Vedas were silent on any point, then the Smṛti could function as a source of *dharma* on the supposition that while the actual Vedic text had been lost the memory of sages had retained the substance of the Vedic injunction in the Smṛti text. Similarly, the usage of the good must be presumed to be ultimately based upon some Vedic text, extant or lost, if it is to be used for guidance in *dharma*—no usage that goes against a Vedic injunction can be justified. As a matter of fact, the Mīmāṁsists or the interpreters of the sacred lore could easily point to many prescriptions in the Smṛtis and many acts of the so-called good that could by no means be defended as patterns of *dharma* and they had no hesitation in rejecting all prescriptions and acts which were prompted by motives of pleasure and gain or by anger, hatred, etc., as having no binding authority. But while agreement with Vedic prescriptions would confer on a Smṛti or a usage the validity of *dharma*, mere agreement will not suffice; teachers of heterodox beliefs may enjoin many acts of which Vedic parallels are known and yet their injunctions are not to be obeyed, because as they teach many wrong things (of which the principal one is the denial of the authority of the Vedas) the few true things that they teach are unacceptable. Dharma must be ultimately based upon the Vedas, and the words and usages only of those who are versed in them are worthy of

being followed. There is no bar, however, against accepting even the words and usages of Mlecchas as guides where there are neither any Vedic injunctions nor any usages of the Ārya to serve in the same capacity. Similarly, it goes without saying that while failing everything individual conscience is to act as guide, that conscience must be purified by belief and training in the orthodox sacred lore. Individual inclination prompted by base motives has no place in *dharma*. In fact, nothing that is personal or local can be treated as the basis of conduct. As Kant pointed out later on, the truly good act must be capable of universal acceptance—"I am never to act otherwise than so that I could also will that my maxim should become a universal law". Here then is similarity between natural and moral law—just as all natural objects of the same kind obey the same law and are incapable of deviating therefrom, so also a law of conduct is binding upon all persons of the same kind and no exception is permissible in favour of any one individual or group. The gods are the guardians of these fixed ordinances (*dharmasya goptṛ*) of the natural and the moral world and never deviate from rule (*dhṛtavrata* or *ṛtavat*).

But if Dharma is the rule of being, why should it be necessary to lay down injunctions for obedience thereto? Each being manifests its essential characteristic spontaneously and naturally, and no necessity or opportunity can arise for inculcating the duty of doing the same. We must assume, therefore, that what essentially belongs to one's nature can be prevented from expressing itself. Now, this contingency arises only in the case of beings possessing freedom of the will or capacity for alternative modes of behaviour. Such beings do not act regardless of what they consider to be their essential nature; in other words, the basis of conduct is not the self but the belief about the nature of the self. Naturally, therefore, if there is anywhere any misconception about the nature of that self, the expression of the characteristic *dharma* would be hindered. It is not contended that in all cases knowledge

leads to virtue, for the will may deliberately set aside the verdict of the intellect and persist in *adharma* after knowing what the *dharma* is: but the theory is advanced that ignorance of the nature of the self is bound to affect conduct and hence the primary duty of all is the attainment of the true knowledge of self. The effect of ignorance has been well summed up by the *Yogasūtra*, *viz.*, that it leads one to mistake the not-self for the self, the impure for the pure, the painful for the pleasurable, and the evanescent for the eternal. Through a false sense of self, attachment and antipathy, and a neglect of the eternal verities man forsakes the path of knowledge (*prajnā*) and adopts the way of ignorance (*avidyā*). *Adharma* can be mainly traced to this mistake on the part of the self about its true nature and vocation.

If this be so, then the natural man is not fitted to find out his *dharma* by the unaided operation of unerring instincts. His past life has left its traces on his present tendencies and his entire existence in the universe has left him with a load of *vāsanās* from which he cannot free himself. To aggravate matters he wilfully chooses avoidable errors through the imperfect exercise of the faculty of judgment with which he is endowed and his reliance upon social traditions is not always to the best interest of his self. Then there are acts about the spiritual benefit of which there may be legitimate doubts. How is the soul to guide itself in these circumstances? The Pūrva Mīmāmsā admits the validity of these contentions and lays down that where the real and the ideal are likely to diverge, *dharma* has to be prescribed by those who are in the know regarding the real nature, function and destiny of the soul. In a definition which has become famous it lays down that Dharma is that desirable something which is indicated by Vedic injunctions (*Codnālakṣaṇo'rtho dharmaḥ*). The definition makes it clear that the Vedas enjoin what is desirable spiritually in the interest of the soul. Ignorant men as most of us are, we do not

know the significance or supersensuous results of our acts. Here then is room for faith in the unerring wisdom of the Vedas which do not suffer from the lapses incidental to all human thought and which embody eternal verities unaffected by changes of creation and dissolution of the world. The Vedic prescription is *sanātana* (eternal) and binding upon the inhabitants of all worlds that might be created in successive aeons of time. Whether by prescription (*vidhi*) or by prohibition (*niṣedha*), the Vedas lay down the rules of life, and even when the reasons are not evident to our ordinary intellect the injunctions have got to be obeyed because transcendental matters cannot be left to be determined by the weak understanding of man and are the proper objects of revelation (*śruti*). All lesser sources of action in the spiritual field borrow their authority from the Vedas—whether the traditional literature (*smṛti*) or the conduct of the good (*sadācāra*) or personal preference in cases of optional prescriptions (*svasya ātmanaḥ priyam*) or religious vows (*smayaksaṅkalpajaḥ kāmaḥ*). All lesser sources of spiritual knowledge too are ultimately based upon the Vedas and are valid only so long and in so far as they are supported by the latter —whether the Purāṇas, the logistics, the literature of interpretation, the Dharmaśāstras, grammar, the science of pronunciation, ritualistics, the science of definition, metrics or astrology (*purāṇanyāyamīmāmsādharmaśāstrāṅgamiśritāḥ vedāḥ sthānāni vidyānām dharmasya ca caturdaśa*!!). But no scriptural injunction has any meaning unless it is admitted that man does not belong to the empirical plane wholly, for it directs him to do or forbear from doing certain acts of which the results are not patent to the actor (*adṛṣṭārthaka*), whether these acts are *nitya* (daily duties of unconditional validity), *naimittika* (contingent acts of unconditional obligation) or *kāmya* (conditional acts of subjective desire).

But why should men perform acts of *dharma*? The *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra* defines *dharma* as that which brings about the *ne plus ultra* (*niḥśreyasa*) of human existence and the

traditional interpreter says that that ultimate condition is brought into being through spiritual exaltation (*abhyudaya*) or illumination (*tattvajñāna*) about the ultimate principle of existence. It is permissible to hold, however, that *abhyudaya* and *niḥśreyasa*—exaltation and emancipation—refer to two different results of spiritual living and that the latter is not the end of the former. We may very well suppose that here we have a double motive for leading a spiritual life, the one being advancement in embodiment and the other final liberation. An early specualtion laid it down that heaven is the reward of virtue but only as a temporary abode of the righteous. Persons performing sacrifices might aspire after such exalted existence (*svargakāmo yajeta*), but they must at the same time remember that even heavenly joys have an end and that as soon as the fruits of virtue have been enjoyed they have to come down here below in one of the many forms of mundane existence according to the merits acquired in previous lives and to be involved once more in the round of rebirths (*kṣīṇe punye martyalokam viśanti*). The only way to escape this entanglement in temporal existence is to know the nature of all things with a view to discriminating the self from other objects and realising its proper destiny, namely, liberation. This is *niḥśreyasa*—that better than which nothing can be achieved by the soul. True *dharma* is the means to this consummation. The Vedic way is the means to the lower good—the way of heavenly enjoyment; but the way of knowledge is the only method of obtaining the highest good—the attainment of release. This distinction is indicated in the Upaniṣads by passages which lay down that the condition attained by *karma* and that attained by knowledge are not identical and which distinguish higher (*parā*) and lower (*aparā*) knowledge, relegating to the latter the Vedas with their limbs (*aṅga*) and identifying the former with the apprehension of the Imperishable (*akṣara*). Gradually, *dharma* and *mokṣa* came to be dissociated, and although without *dharma* release (*mokṣa*) could not be obtained, *dharma* was looked upon as propaedeutic to

knowledge that liberates. In fact, *dharma* in the sense of sacrifices was not always regarded as indispensable for cleansing the mind for the reception of spiritual illumination, although *dharma* in the sense of moral conduct came to be increasingly associated with spiritual life. To this stage possibly belongs the view that the human objectives are not three (*trivarga*) but four (*caturvarga*), namely, *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*, and that to be a votary of *dharma* is not exactly to be a pursuer of liberation. Possibly, the addition to the three modes of life—*brahmacarya*, *gārhasthya*, *vānaprastha*—of the fourth, namely, *bhikṣu* or *yati*, was prompted by the same idea and was necessitated by the rise of the heretical schools of Buddhism and Jainism in which asceticism occupied an important position and knowledge usurped the place of sacrifice. The *caturaiśvarya mantra* also prescribed the invocation of *dharma*, *aiśvarya*, *vairāgya* and *jñāna*—here the practical attitude of dispassion and the theoretical aspect of knowledge both received recognition. Apparently, the implication here is that *dharma* is only positive injuction for customary religion and morality, while ascesis and illumination form a higher order of practice and knowledge. Hence even in the Dharmaśāstras we have the view that the ultimate *dharma* of sacrifice, daily conduct, non-injury, gift and Vedic study is self-knowledge through *yoga* (*yogenaimadarśanam*)—they are incomplete without that consummation. (Of this yoga, again, the five *dharmas* are *prāṇāyāma* (regulation of breath), *dhyāna* (meditation), *pratyāhāra* (withdrawal of the senses), *dhāraṇa* (fixed attention) and *smaraṇa* (retention or capacity to call up the ideal repeatedly before the mind's eye)—in other words, a complete subjugation of the body with its sense-organs, its vital principle and its organ of consciousness in the interest of spiritual mindfulness and meditation).

Coming now to a detailed analysis of the contents of *dharma* as conduct, we find that the cardinal *dharmas* are, according to one classification, *satya* (truthfulness), *śauca*

(cleanliness of body and mind), (*dayā*) (kindness) and *dāna* (charity)—in short, the purity of body and mind, the purity of the cognitive (*satya*), the affective *dayā* and the conative (*dāna*) life. According to another classification, these four are *vidyā* (knowledge), *dāna* (charity), *tapas* (austerities) and *satya* (truthfulness). These form the four legs of *dharma*, which is compared to a bull; but there is some doubt whether all of them were intended to be practised by all. The general view is that all four must be adopted in conduct; but it appears also that one of them is the dharma *par excellence* for each age of the world—*tapas* for the kṛtayuga (possibly also *satya*, as the first age is called the *satyayuga*), *jñāna* for the *tretāyuga*, *yajña* (sacrifice) for the *dvāparayuga* and *dāna* for the *kaliyuga*. Austerities, knowlege, devotion and social service—not a bad summary of the evolution of the ideal of conduct in the human race! The only difficulty is that it is sometimes difficult to make out whether the historical sequence is intended to be taken as a description of the actual facts of moral life of the different ages or a succession of ideals placed before them. If the latter supposition be correct, we may either suppose that this is one more instance of Brāhmaṇic greed (for gifts would come mostly to the Brāhmaṇas) or regard the prescription as due to the unequal distribution of wealth in the Iron Age which necessitates acts of charity to save the starving millions from sure death or at least dire distress. This prescription can be traced back to the Upaniṣads where Prajāpati asks his threefold offspring—gods, men and demons—by the single sound '*da*' to be self-restrained (*damyata*), to be charitable (*datta*) and to be compassionate (*dayadhvam*) respectively, and even back to the Vedas where the *dānastuti* is not unknown.

It is possible to trace the influence of the doctrine of cardinal virtues in later literature. If cleanliness is a *dharma* we can understand why *ācāra* should be called *prathamo dharmaḥ* (the first virtue). The many rituals of cleanliness

owe their origin to this theory and a person to manner born (*kulīna*) must possess among nine qualities *ācāra* as the first. The don't-touchism of modern Hinduism and the various food-taboos are directly traceable to *śauca* being one of the major limbs of *dharma*. A religious man is expected at the same time to observe the rules of cleanliness as laid down by society and the law books. Similarly, *dayā* was taken in an extended sense to include kindness to the dumb creation—possibly by the heretical sects first in order to combat the Brāhmaṇic indulgence towards *vaidhahiṃsā* or cruelty permitted in the carrying out of prescribed acts. The sacrifice of animals in a *yajña* was ordained by the Vedas, and although the Sāṃkhya system argued that if the fulfilment of prescribed acts brings merit the cruelty involved therein must bring demerit in its train and affect the resultant destiny, it was the heretical systems that were responsible for the great dictum that non-injury is the supreme virtue (*ahiṃsā paramo dharmaḥ*)—a dictum that was echoed in the *Yogasūtra* that the first *yama* (restraint) is *ahiṃsā*. In fact, no one had a right to misuse even his own body even if he were so minded, for the body is the primary means of performing one's duties (*śarīram ādyam khalu dharmasādhanam*). This dictum might have been aimed at those who thought that *tapas* was the primary duty of a virtuous man. Here Buddhism with its doctrine of the middle path found an ally in Hinduism with its doctrine of mederation against the extreme asceticism of Jainism.

We must suppose that the next great step was taken when a transition was made from ritualism to rectitude. Dharma is not what is prescribed by the scriptures but is the ideal in conduct towards which we must move in order to perfect ourselves spiritually, specially as social units. The moral law is the law of our being from which we can deviate only at our peril. The moral has unconditional validity and is the final standard of conduct for all types of beings—gods, men and demons. By our daily conduct we

build up a moral destiny for ourselves, and our survival and succeeding embodiment are fully determined by it. What we knew or felt would not matter in the least at the end but how we acted would determine our fate. If we have been virtuous, then we go to heaven—our merit follows us like a faithful dog or a constant friend when death overtakes us (*eka eva suhṛd dharmo nidhane' py anuyāti yaḥ*). Or we may vary the imagery and say that Dharma judges us at the end and saves us if we have followed the path of rectitude (*dharmo rakṣati dhārmikam*). Dharma is therefore the king of justice (*dharmarāja*); and latterly when this function of judging the merits of men was assigned to Yama he came to be called by that name. The idea that the gods were the protectors of rectitude (*dharmasya goptāraḥ*) naturally led to the identification of many of the major gods with Dharma and sometimes Dharma was supposed to be their progenitor. Because the earthly king adjudges between individuals he is the incarnation of Dharma (*dharmāvatāra*), his court is the court of justice (*dharmādhikaraṇa*) and his punishment (*daṇḍa*) is the symbol of divine justice to the delinquent. Men mount up on the wings of their virtue (*dharmeṇa gamanam ūrdhvam*) and sink down with the weight of their iniquity (*gamanam adhastād bhavaty-aby adharmeṇa*); and although salvation (*apavarga*) is achieved by insight alone (*jñānena*) and not by getting into the realm of heaven, still heaven is a reward of good acts alone.

It appears that at first *dharma* was generally understood in the sense of performance of prescribed ordinances, whether their moral implications were or were not understood; but latterly, specially after the Buddhistic use of the term in the moral sense, the ethical aspect came more and more into view. The source of *dharma* might be limited to the Vedas and the rest but the contents thereof are fortitude (*dhṛti*), forgiveness (*kṣamā*), self-restraint (*dama*) greedlessness or non-stealing (*asteya*), cleanliness of body and mind (*śauca*), control of the senses (*indriyanigraha*),

meditative insight (*dhī*), acquisition of knowledge (*vidyā*) truthfulness (*satya*), and placidity of temper (*akrodha*) Here the main elements of moral life are constituted by checks on the impulsive and unsocial tendencies of our nature although the necessity of positively cultivating the good feelings and the intellectual faculties is not lost sight of. These are universal duties, irrespective of the castes and orders to which people might belong. The list varies from author to author. For instance, the list above, taken from Manu, coincides with the list of Praśastapāda partially as the latter omits the intellectual virtues practically as a whole but includes a number of ethical and religious duties proper. Thus perseverance, steadfastness or fortitude (*dhṛti*), forgiveness (*kṣamā*), wisdom or insight (*dhī*) and learning (*vidyā*) as also restraint of the sense (*indriyanigraha*) are dropped as being more conditions of virtue than virtues themselves, and in their place are added *dharme śraddhā* (faith in the triumph of goodness which begets moral earnestness), *bhūtahitatva* (doing positive good to creatures), *brahmacarya* (continence), *anupadhā* (purity of motives), *śucidravyasevana* (taking pure food in ceremonials), *viśiṣṭa-devatābhakti* (devotion to deities recognised by the Vedas), *upavāsa* (fasting or mortification of the flesh) and *apramāda* (mindfulness or avoidance of lapses). The attempt to effect a rapprochement with the heretical schools, on the one hand, and the theistic schools, on the other, is plainly evident in Praśastapāda's classification. We are fast approaching, in fact, the modern meaning of *dharma* as a system of religious beliefs based upon devotion to a particular god. The climax in this direction is reached in the *Bhagavadgītā* where in Chapters 12 (13-20), 13 (7-10) and 16 (1-3) we have lists of fundamental virtues in increasing numbers in the successive lists and we are told that only those that are wise follow these virtues which belong properly to the gods (*daivī sampat*). The special, as opposed to the general, virtues are prescriptions for special classes;

but even among them there might be some common virtues, as, for example, among the three twice-born classes (Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya). Long lists of virtues are to be found in Buddhism and Jainism also; and there too the monks were subjected to greater discipline than the lay men just as in Hinduism the Brāhmaṇas were expected to possess nobler virtues than the other castes and the mendicants than the house-holders. The training of a *yogin* according to the *Yogasūtra* is a training in ethicality through body, speech and mind alike. It was freely recognised that the control over one's thoughts and emotions depended upon all the factors and therefore the body as well as the mind was to be kept fit or the first step towards the performance of duties could not be taken. One who is swelled with pride (or drunk) (*matta*), violent(*pramatta*),or mad (*unmatta*),one who is tired (*śrānta*), angry (*kruddha*) or hungry (*bubhukṣita*), one who is restless or impulsive (*tvaramāṇa*) or timid (*bhīru*), avaricious (*lubdha*) or lascivious or a victim of inordinate desire (*kāmī*)—these persons are the least prepared for the path of virtue.

What the *dharmas* and *adharmas* of body, speech and mind are can be gathered from Vātsyāyana's treatment in his *Nyāyabhāṣya*. We are interested in the information that *nāstikya* (irreverence, impiety) is a vice of the mind of which the converse is *śraddhā* (reverence, piety). *Īśvarapraṇidhāna* (meditation on God) appears as one of the *niyamas* (rules of spiritual discipline) in the *Yogasūtra* and so also does study of sacred books (*svādhyāya*). We have already referred to *bhakti* as one of the *dharmas* in some classifications. It is out of all these elements that devotion to God in the Western sense of the term came to be identical with *dharma*. The Vaiṣṇavas were probably the first to call their system of religious beliefs a *dharma*—the *Sātvatadharma* or the *Viṣṇudharma* started with devotion to a deity and based its morals on the prescriptions and likings of that deity.

Dharma is the body of devotional and practical duties characterising the adherents of a particular religious sect. But this meaning was rather late in Indian thought and the present-day use of expressions like Vaiṣṇavadharma, Śaivadharma, etc., is probably modelled on foreign usage, as, for example, *Brāhmadharma* (Brāhmaism) is, although the words Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Saura, Gāṇapatya, Śākta, etc., are regularly used in the sense of persons devoted to those deities. The word "*dhārmika*" is similarly being used increasingly in the sense of one who is religious and not merely moral. Possibly the rise of the theistic schools was responsible for the accentuation of this religious significance and the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophers who based Vedic prescriptions on the will of God (they were Saivites in religion) materially assisted the Vaiṣṇavas in fixing this meaning in the language more and more.

In this paper we have not made much reference to the Buddhistic philosophy and religion where the word 'dharma' plays such a conspicuous part. Buddha discovered and taught the *dharma* that was caused (*hetuprabhava*), turned the wheel of the law (*dharmacakrapravartana*) and left the body of law (*dharmakāya*) or the good law (*saddharma*) for the instruction of his disciples after his death—a body which was religiously and metaphysically conceived in Mahāyāna Budddism. We have not also referred here to the philosophical discussions about the real nature of *dharma*—whether it is objective or subjective, personal or impersonal. We have not also discussed the rather curious meaning ascribed to the term by the Jainas—probably in imitation of the Sāṃkhya idea about the function of dharma. We have tried to show that Dharma as Law dominated the speculation of India to such an extent that the wide-spread belief in the Law of Karma was almost a logical corollary and should cause no surprise.

SECTION VI.

PRĀKṚTS, JAINISM AND BUDDHISM:

Presidential Address.

Dr. N. P. Chakravarti M. A., Ph. D.

At the very outset I must thank the Executive Committee of the All India Oriental Conference for asking me to preside over the section of Prākṛts, Buddhism and Jainism—an honour which I have accepted very diffidently. The range of subjects comprised in this section is too wide, and the time too limited, to enable me to consider all the relevant problems. I shall, therefore, confine myself in giving a brief outline of the progress that we have made since the last two years and in offering a few suggestions which I hope will commend themselves to you.

Before proceeding any further, I would like you to join me in paying our humble tributes to the memory of the scholars by whose death during the last two years the Oriental scholarship, particularly the study of Jainism and Buddhism, has suffered a great loss. It is very unfortunate that so many well known scholars should have passed away within such a short period. The first to mention in this connection is Prof. Hermann Jacobi, who for a long time held the Chair of Sanskrit in the University of Bonn and died at the ripe old age of 88 after rendering yeoman's service to the study of Jainism. He was, as you are aware, not only one of the pioneers in the study of Jaina Prākṛts but was also one of the earliest scholars to show us the way in the preparation of the critical editions of Jaina texts. The work of Prof. Maurice Winternitz of the German University of Prague in Czechoslovakia, on ancient Indian literature in general, and Buddhism and Jainism in particular, is well known to all Indologists of today. His History of Indian Literature in three volumes, of which the second is devoted to Buddhism and Jainism is a monumental work of reference.

The first two volumes of the revised and enlarged version in English of the original work in German have already been published by the Calcutta University. It is a matter of great regret that the author did not live to see the issue of the third and last volume of his work, the publication of which has also been undertaken by the same learned institution. I have also to mention my venerable teacher Prof. E. J. Rapson, till recently the Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Cambridge. Apart from his earlier works on Indian coins, his achievement in connection with the first volume of the Cambridge History of India, dealing with ancient India, and his work in the decipherment of Kharoṣṭhī documents which are written in a variety of Prākṛt and which were recovered by Sir Aurel Stein during his several expeditions to Central Asia, have earned for him a lasting reputation. Another scholar of Buddhism whom we have lost in the prime of his life, is Dr. E. E. Obermiller of the Russian Academy. Taking into consideration the amount of scientific research he had done within the short period of eight years, in spite of a health none too robust, one could expect him to be in the course of time, the foremost authority on Mahāyāna Buddhism.

At home we have lost a profound scholar in Mr. K. P. Jayaswal. To him the study of Indology was a labour of love. Most of you know the part he played in the foundation of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society and also in enriching the Patna Museum with antiquities for the collection of many of which he was directly or indirectly responsible. His edition of the most difficult inscription of Khāravela found at Hāthigumphā in Udayagiri near Bhuvaneśvar, jointly with the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, contains some marked improvement in reading and interpretation. This inscription dating from the second century B. C., is important not only from the historical and linguistic points of view but it also throws interesting light on the history of early Jainism and the Jaina Canon. In his latest works on

Indian History he has tackled some intricate problems and has, no doubt, to introduce several speculative elements but it cannot be denied that he has drawn attention to many new and interesting points hitherto overlooked.

Coming to the exploration and research in Jainism and Buddhism, it is noticed with gratification that considerable progress has been made in this direction during the last two years. It is stated in the Reports of the Bhandarkar Institute at Poona, that fair progress has been made in the preparation and printing of the further pages of the Descriptive Catalogue of Jaina literature and philosophy prepared by Prof. H. R. Kapadia and that a Catalogus Catalogorum for Jaina literature is being compiled by Prof. H. D. Velankar. As regards the publications of texts, Ludwig Alsdorf has brought out an excellent edition of the *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*, a section of the *Tisaṭṭhi-mahāpurisa-gaṇ-ālaṁkāra* in Apabhraṁśa by Puṣpadanta, a Jaina poet of the 10th century. This edition is enriched by an exhaustive introduction and copious notes. We are also looking forward to the edition of the whole of this immense work by Prof. P. L. Vaidya, the first volume of which comprising the Ādi Purāṇa has just come out in the Manikchand Digaṁbara Jaina-granthamālā. Another Apabhraṁśa work, the *Karakaṇḍa-chariu* of Muni Kanakāmara has appeared in the Karañja Jain series under the editorship of Prof. Hiralal Jain. Prof. A. N. Upadhye with whose excellent edition of the *Pravacanasāra* of Kundakundācārya we are already acquainted, has just published in the Rāyachandra-Jaina-śāstramālā series, a revised and enlarged edition of the *Paramātmaprakāśa* of Yogīndudeva which will be useful not only for the study of Jaina philosophy but also for that of the Apabhraṁśa dialect. Jain-ācārya Vijaya Indra Sūri also has edited the *Nalāyanam* a Sanskrit work by Māṇikyadevasūri in the Śrī-Yaśovijaya-Jaina-grantha-mālā series. Among other valuable works on Jainism which have recently been published mention may also be made of *Mahavira—His Life*

and Teachings by Dr. B. C. Law, *Traditional Chronology of the Jainas* by Mr. Shah and a study on the *Daśavaikālikasūtra* by Mr. Patwardhan.

I hope I shall be forgiven if I take this opportunity of saying a few words about the publication of Jaina texts in India. It was only little over half a century ago that the rich treasures contained in the Jaina *Bhāṇḍāras* were brought to the notice of outside scholars when George Buehler acquired, between the years 1873 and 1878, a large collection of manuscripts for the Royal Library at Berlin. Since then through the labours of Weber, R. G. and S. R. Bhandarkar, Peterson, Jacobi, Klatt, Leumann, Pullé, Keith, Hiralal, Velankar, Kapadia and others our knowledge of the wealth of Jaina literature has advanced tremendously. A glance at the reports published by these scholars show how little work in Jainism has been done till now and how much more yet remains to be done. Much impetus in this direction has indeed been given by the different Jaina Societies and valuable works have been published in the Śrī-yaśovijaya-Jaina-grantha-mālā inaugurated by the great Jainācārya Vijaya-Dharmasūri and also by other learned societies like the Āgamodaya Samiti, the Jaina Dharma-prasāraka-sabhā and such others. But still I can not help strongly endorsing the suggestion already put forward by Prof. P. L. Vaidya in his Presidential Address of the last session of this conference for this section, that there should be a society formed on the lines of the Pāli Text Society which should undertake a critical and uniformly fashioned edition of the important Jaina works. The work that can be done in this direction is extensive. Such an edition of many of the canonical texts is still a desideratum not to speak of the numerous non-canonical works that are yet to be critically studied. Even the few that have been published in India, are either of little value as critical editions or are difficult of access. It is far easier to come to know of works published in Europe and America than many of the publications issued by some of the societies in India. Moreover, the

same work is found published several times without any improvement on its previous edition or editions. Our aim should be not only to produce what is best methodically, but also to stop reduplication of labour and waste of energy and money. As far back as 1903 Pischel had already thought of a Jaina Text Society the materialisation of which appeared to him only to be a question of time. But what do we find today nearly 35 years later? No doubt critical editions of a few original texts and their translations have appeared in different parts of Europe but their selection, I am sorry to say, has so far been haphazard. Considering the restless condition through which Europe is passing today, one cannot help feeling doubtful if such a society will ever come into existence in the West. In any case it is certain that it cannot be an accomplished fact for many years to come. It is therefore only reasonable that steps should be taken in the formation of such a society in India. The Jaina communities in this country are neither poor nor lacking in generosity. I would earnestly appeal to them to give the matter a serious thought and give all possible co-operation for its realization. Once we have organised, it will be possible for us to get all the necessary co-operation from scholars both Western and Indian and once the interest has been created we are sure to get more and more genuine workers in this field of research and our success is certain as it has been in the case of the publition of a critical edition of the Mahābhārata undertaken by the Bhandarkar Institute. Our aim should be not to stop with the publication of critical texts alone in a uniform series, but also to enlarge our knowledge in every possible direction. As I have mentioned before the study of Jainism has made rapid progress during the last few generations and we are now in a better position to know the wealth of literature that it contains. But still we do not know all that is worth knowing. Many of the manuscript collections are still inaccessible or unknown. I consider it to be the duty of every body, whether he is a layman or a follower of the faith, not only to preserve ancient manuscripts. if he is possession of

any, but also to make their existence known to the scholarly world. Any negligence on our part may lead to the irrevocable loss of very valuable manuscripts as has been very often the case in the past. It is known to you that Jaina scholars of the past did not confine their activities to religious literature alone. They have to their credit, besides works in scholasticism and philosophy, those in grammar, lexicography, moral tales, poetics, mathematics and astronomy and other branches of learning. These works are written not only in Prākṛt and Sanskrit but also in vernaculars to which their contribution, particularly to those prevalent in the South, is not a mean one. There are also certain other aspects of the study to which little attention has so far been paid. One of these is the study of Jaina inscriptions. It is true that the early inscriptions and many of the important later inscriptions have been properly studied. The late Mr. Puran Chand Nahar and Muni Jinavijayaji also have published some of the later Jaina inscriptions. But still there are numerous inscriptions on stones and images preserved in Museums and out of them many require to be studied. These may not be very useful for the study of Ancient Indian history, but are important for the study of Jaina heirarchy in that they contain information about the Jaina teachers and their disciples of both the Śvetāmbara and Digambara schools. Another branch which has been neglected is the study of Jaina iconography. No doubt the Jaina temples are decorated with the images of gods and goddesses many of which also belong to the Brahmanical pantheon but there are also others which pertain to Jaina mythology and I feel that there is still a necessity for the study of these icons with special reference to Jaina religion and mythology.

In the sphere of Buddhism, however, we have been more fortunate. The study of its vast literature and philosophy attracted the early attention of scholars, and as a result perhaps more work has been done in this branch during the last few generations than in any other individual

branch of Indian research. To the study of the Pāli canon of the Theravāda school, the Pāli Text Society has contributed to a very large extent by its publication of the critical edition of texts and their translations and also of many of the commentaries. It is gratifying to note that the Society has of late enlisted the co-operation of Indian scholars in editing some of these texts. Unfortunately, our study of the other schools of Buddhism, including that of the Mahāyāna and other systems developed out of it, has been hampered for want of original texts, many of which are lost and for which we have to depend on their translations in Tibetan and Chinese languages, a thorough knowledge of which very few scholars have the good fortune to possess. Our knowledge of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, which we first possessed from the original texts obtained from Nepal, was supplemented by the discovery of manuscripts in Central Asia through the efforts of British, French, German, Russian and Japanese scholars. As you are aware, some of the manuscripts found there are written in original Sanskrit while others contain translations of Sanskrit works in one or other of the languages prevalent in Central Asia about the 7th century of the Christian era. But unfortunately, most of them have been discovered only in fragments. A few manuscripts have been found in other parts of India also besides Nepal—but their number is almost negligible. A few years ago, however, an interesting discovery was made near Gilgit in the Hindu Kush region where a mass of ancient manuscripts was found in a Buddhist *stūpa*. Many of these texts are written on birch bark in the Gupta and what is known as the Central Asian type of the Brāhmī script. Five of these which were brought to Srīnagar have been examined by Dr. Nalinaksha Datta of Calcutta University, who has published short notes on them in the issues of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*. We are still hoping that the Kashmir Durbar will publish a detailed note on this valuable find and take early steps to entrust their edition to competent scholars. The most

recent discovery, which we may term even sensational, has, however, been made by the Tripiṭakācārya Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana in several monasteries in Tibet. It is well known that palm-leaf manuscripts began to be imported from this country into Tibet from the middle of the seventh century in the reign of the emperor Srong-btasantsgampo of Tibet and during the period from the middle of the ninth to the middle of the 13th century was witnessed a great activity in Tibet in the translation of the Indian manuscripts into Tibetan. Many Indian scholars were during this period invited to Tibet for the propagation of the doctrine of the Buddha and there were others who took shelter in Tibet after the destruction of the Buddhists Universities in India by the Muslims. All this presupposes an introduction into Tibet of numerous manuscripts from India. Thus, though there has been a natural surmise about the existence of original manuscripts in Tibet, a search for their discovery had all along proved futile. It was only at the beginning of this century that the Rev. Kawaguchi recovered the first of such texts, a copy of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* which has now found its way to Japan. The next was a palm leaf manuscript of *Vajraḍāka-tantra* recovered by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana himself in 1930 which is now preserved in the Patna Museum. Both these works, however, were already known from the Nepal manuscripts. It was therefore extremely fortunate when the last named scholar during his second visit to Tibet in 1934 came across a number of original manuscripts. His third and latest visit in 1936 was even better rewarded by the discovery of many more manuscripts, some of which are of outstanding importance for the study of Buddhist philosophy and theology. From the brief notices that have appeared in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, we find that they contain works, among others, of the eminent Buddhist teachers like Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, Asaṅga and Dharmakīrti and in many cases these are the only Sanskrit originals so far known. Some of the texts are being published in the Society's Journal but it is proposed to edit

about 30 of these in an Oriental Series under the auspices of the Society. Let us hope that financial obstacle will not come in the way of this laudable enterprise and it will soon be possible to undertake the publication of these works which have been brought to light through the untiring energy of the Tripiṭakācārya Rahula Sāṅkṛtyāyana.

Of the latest publications in Buddhism it is pleasing to find that three interesting Mahāyāna works have been published in Japan—one of them is the *Sphuṭārtha of Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā* by Wogihara, the other two being the *Daśabhūmīśvara-mahāyānasūtra* (Tokyo) and the translation of *Bhaiṣajya-Tathāgata-sūtra* (Peiping). The Pāli Text Society has issued two commentaries, the *Manorathapūraṇī* the commentary on the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* by Buddhaghosha, and the *Itivuttakakathā*. Of the Russian scholars two works of the late Dr. Obermiller, *viz.*, the two fascimiles of the Analysis of Abhisamayālaṅkāra of Maitreya and the *Prajñāpāramitaguṇa-samuccaya* (Sanskrit and Tibetan) have appeared of late and Prof. Stcherbatsky, also has just published his translation of *Madhyāntavibhaṅga*. Dr. E. H. Johnston with whose edition of the *Buddhacarita* we are already familiar, has now published a translation of Cantos i-xiv supplying the lacunae of the Sanskrit text from the Tibetan translation and adding an exhaustive introduction. Prof. Przyluski of the Collége de France has issued the Vol. VII of his *Bibliographie Bouddhique* which completes the list of publications appearing till 1936. The first volume of the Dictionary of Pāli proper names by Dr. Malalasekara of the Ceylon University College, has just appeared, and this work when completely issued will be a valuable supplement to the Word Dictionary already published by the Pāli Text Society. Of the general works on Buddhism that have appeared of late, I have to mention *Der Buddhismus in Indien und in fernen Osten* by Prof. Glassenap and the *Buddist Conception of Spirits*, by Dr. B. C. Law. In conclusion my congratulations are also due to the last named scholar for endowing a Trust with the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and

Ireland for publishing original Monographs on Buddhism, Jainism and the History and Geography of Ancient India up to the end of the 13th century A. D. But I earnestly hope that he will, in addition to this, create a similar Trust with the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal or any other similar organisation in Inida, for the encouragement of the study of Buddhism and Jainism in this country by Indian Scholars more and more of whom are coming forward every year to do the work and many of whom, after devoting years of labour in the fulfilment of their task, often find themselves faced with the problem of finding the necessary finance or a suitable publisher.

REFERENCES TO SYĀDVĀDA IN THE ARDHA-MĀGADHĪ CANON.

PROF. A. N. UPADHYE, M. A.

The approach to reality adopted by Anekānta-vāda strikes an original note in the history of Indian logic. If rightly grasped, Anekānta-vāda prepares a percipient for an all-sided apprehension of reality. The object of knowledge has to be realised as itself and as related with all others: the Anekānta-vāda aims to achieve this purpose in a successful manner. Unfortunately it has been a neglected branch of study; it is often either misunderstood or half-understood: that is why it is often adversely criticised. Many points connected with Anekānta-vāda require to be cleared by studying the original texts.

It has been usual with us nowadays that an idea, an institution or a doctrine should be studied historically detecting its various stages of development as gleaned from the available tracts of literature. Many religious institutions and philosophical doctrines are subjected to this method of study, and Syādvāda cannot be excepted. It is really an useful line of study but very often its value is overstated. It is remarked [1] that "Syād-vāda or Saptabhaṅgīnaya may be a later development in Jainism but the doctrine of Anekānta-vāda, the first and the most fundamental teaching of Mahāvīra, seems to have been at the root Syādvāda. The references in the Jain canons of the Śvetāmbaras are in favour of this view." The statement appears to mean much, but it is not so clear. Syādvāda and Saptabhaṅgī are accepted as synonyms, and Anekānta-vāda is said to precede Syādvāda in time. The last remark possibly means that the Jaina canon of the Śvetāmbaras does not refer to Syādvāda or Saptabhaṅgī.

1. *Review of Philosophy and Religion*, Vol. 5, No. 2, p. 181.

So far as the pro-canonical texts of the Digaṁbaras are concerned, Kundakunda, who is one of the earlier author-saints, mentions, as I have shown elsewhere,[2] full-fledged Syādvāda in *Pañcāstikāya* and *Pravacanasāra*; and the former work gives the name Saptabhaṅgī. Turning to the Śvetāṁbara canon, it has been already pointed out[3] that the three primary predications are mentioned in *Bhagavatī-sūtra* or *Viyāhapaṇṇatti*. As yet the Ardhamāgadhī canon of the Śvetāṁbaras is not extensively and exhaustively studied in all its details. Quite recently, however, that great German orientalist, Dr. WALTHER SCHUBRING of the Hamburg University, has given to us an authentic resume of the entire Ardhamāgadhī canon in his '*Die Lehre der Jainas.*'[4] He states that the basic material for Syād-vāda is already there, but the complete structure, which is later on known as Anekānta, is not explicitly found there.

The Sanskrit commentators do help us in interpreting the texts of the Ardhamāgadhī canon, but at times we have to ignore their explanations, when they are not satisfactory, and try to construe and interpret certain passages on comparative and philological lines of study. I propose to draw the attention of scholars to a couple of passages, which, I think, refer to Saptabhaṅgī and Syādvāda by these names.

(i) The Vācaka family of religious teachers, to which Nāgahastin and many other famous personages belonged, is thus glorified in *Nandisūtra*, verse No. 30 :

"वड्ढउ वायगवंसो जसवंसो अज्जनागहत्थीणं ।
वागरणकरणभंगियकम्मपयडीपहाणाणं ॥"

The second line is explained by Malayagiri in this manner :

"कर्मभूतानामित्याह — व्याकरणकरणभङ्गिकर्मप्रकृतिप्रधानानाम्, तत्र व्याकरण्यं संस्कृतशब्दव्याकरणं प्राकृतशब्दव्याकरणं च प्रश्नव्याकरणं वा, करणं पिण्डविशुद्ध्यादि, उक्तं च — 'पिंडाधिसोही समिई भावण पडिमा य इंदियनिरोहो । पडिलेहण-गुत्तीओ अभिग्गहा चेव करणं तु ॥' भङ्गी भङ्गश्रुतं श्रुतम्, कर्मप्रकृतिः प्रतीता, एतेषु प्रस्तुतामधिकृत्य प्रधानानाम्" ॥

2. My Introduction to *Pravacanasāra* p. 87.
3. Ibid.
4. *Die Lehre der Jainas* nach den alten quellen Dargestellt (Berlin and Leipzig 1935) p. 107 et seq.

The term *bhamgiya* or *bhaṅgī* in the above passage, I think, refers to Saptabhaṅgī; and Malayagiri's interpretation '*bhaṅgabahulaṁ śrutam*' possibly means the same. The second line mentions various branches of study rather than the names of particular texts. This excludes the possibility of interpreting *bhaṅgī* as the name of a text, now obsolete and lost.

(ii) In the 14th chapter of *Sāyagaḍam* we have the following warning to the pious monk :

"नो छायए नो वि य लूसएज्जा माणं न सेवेज्ज पगासणं च ।
न यावि पन्ने परिहास कुज्जा न यासियावाय वियागरेज्जा ॥ १९ ॥"

We are concerned with the phrase '*na yāsiyāvāya viyāgarejjā*' which Śīlāṅka explains in this manner :

"तथा नापि चाशीर्वादं बहुपुत्रो बहुधनो [बहुधर्मो] दीर्घायुस्त्वं भूया इत्यादि व्यागृणीयात् "।

So far as Ardhamāgadhī and Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī are concerned, the normal equivalent of *āśis* is *āsī*, and another form *āsīsā*[5] is noted by Hemacandra. With Hemacandra's illustration that *siāvāo—syādvādaḥ*[6] in view, it is more reasonable to render that passage thus : *na ca asyādvādaṁ vyāgṛṇīyāt*, *i. e.*, he should not explain anything which is not (conforming to) Syādvāda. We know from many early Jaina stories that Jaina monks were not prohibited from giving blessings in the form of *dharmalābha*. Thus it is more consistent to interpret the phrase *yāsiyāvāyam* as *ca asyādvādam* than as *ca āśīrvādam*. Śīlāṅka would not object to author's mention of Syādvāda in this context, as it is clear from verse No. 22 which runs thus :

"संकेज्ज याससियभाव भिक्खू विभज्जवायं च वियागरेज्जा ।[7]
भासादुयं धम्मसमुट्ठितेहिं वियागरेज्जा समया सुपन्ने ॥"

The phrase *vibhajjavāyam* etc. is explained by Śīlaṅka in this manner :

"तथा विभज्यवादं पृथगर्थनिर्णयवादं व्यागृणीयात्, यदि वा विभज्यवादः स्याद्वादस्तं सर्वत्रास्खलितं लोकव्यवहाराविसंवादितया सर्वव्यापिनं स्वानुभवसिद्धं वदेत्, अथवा सम्यगर्थान्भिन्नभज्य पृथक् कृत्वा तद्वादं वदेत्, तथथा—नित्यवादं द्रव्यार्थतया पर्यायार्थतया चानित्यवादं वदेत्" etc.

5. *Prākṛtavyākaraṇa* VIII, ii, 174.
6. Ibid. VIII, ii, 107.
7. The predicate *vigāgarejjā* in both the verses, Nos. 14 and 22, I think, cannot be without some significance at least.

Even though it may be disputed whether Vibhajjavāda meant Syādvāda at the time when *Sūyagadam* was composed,[8] this much is certain that Śīlāṅka accepts the possibility of Syādvāda being mentioned in this context. So we may accept that verse No. **14** mentions Syādvāda according to which the monk is expected to explain the various topics.

In conclusion, I hope that a detailed study of the Ardhamāgadhī canon would help us to shed much light on the antecedents and history of Syādvāda.

8. Dr. Jacobi translates the phrase thus: 'he should expound the Syādvāda', and adds in a foot-note: The Saptabhaṅginaya or seven modes of assertion are intended by the expression in the text (SBE vol. 45, p. 327). We cannot, in this context, ignore another important significance of the word Vibhajjāvāya or Vibhajyavāda. Literally it means 'explanation (*vāda*, from *vad* to speak, to propound) by division or analysis (*vibhajya* from *bhaj* with *vi*); and in the Pāli canon an answerer in detail is called Vibhajjavādin (*Keith: Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon*, p. 152). In *Majjhima-nikāya* Buddha declares that he is a Vibhajyavādin and not an Ekāṃśavādin, indicating thereby 'that his method was analytic and not synthetic' (*N. Dutt: Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools* pp. 248-50). The term Vibhajyavādin means 'one who distinguishes or discriminates referring specially to a method of philosophical discussion (*E. J. Thomas: History of Buddhist Thought* p. 39) As reported, when Theravādins described Buddha as a Vibhajyavādin to Aśoka, it only means that the term was not a party designation as yet in the days of Aśoka but implied only the peculiar philosophical approach. According to the later Chronicles Vibhajyavāda is the name of a school, and it is identical with Theravāda; both following the same canon and the tenets (Kern: *Manual of Indian Buddhism* p. 111). Some of the lists of Buddhist schools have been drawn up in the 5th or 6th century A. D., though they contain older elements (*E. J. Thomas*: Ibid. p. 38).

When the passage from *Sūyagadam* or Sūtrakṛtāṅga asks a Nirgrantha monk (the title of the chapter being Granthajjhayane) to explain in conformity with Vibhajyavāda, in all probability this passage must have been composed at a time when Vibhajyavāda had not become a term of party designation. The ideas underlying Mahāvīras Anekāntavāda and Buddha's Vibhajyavāda appear to have been similar; and as contemporaries living in the same part of India their methods of explanation must have been similar though not identical. Even to-day Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī canons show many points of similarity so far as expressions and exposition are concerned. Buddha's differentiation of Vibhajyavāda from Ekāṃśavāda, noted above, reminds us of Jaina differentiation of Syādvāda from Ekāntavāda. So Śīlāṅka has sufficient justification in paraphrasing Vibhajyavāda as Syādvāda. Siddhasena uses two words *vibhajjamāṇā* and *vibhajjasāyam* in *Sanmatitarka* I. 14 and III. 57; both the terms are used with reference to Anekānta, though Abhayadeva's commentary on III. 57 is not so consistent.

MYSTIC ELEMENTS IN JAINISM.

PROF. A. N. UPADHYE, M. A.

It is not easy to define mysticism exactly in plain terms. First, to a great extent, it 'denotes an attitude of mind which involves a direct, immediate, first-hand, intuitive apprehension of God.'[1] It is the direct experience of the mutual response between the human and the divine indicating the identity of the human souls and the ultimate reality. Therein the individual experiences a type of consciousness of perfect personality. In the mystical experience the individual is 'liberated and exalted with a sense of having found what it has always sought and flooded with joy.' Secondly mysticism, if it is to be appreciated as a consistent whole, needs for its back-ground a metaphysical structure containing a spirit capable of enjoying itself as intelligence and bliss and identifying itself with or evolving into some higher personality, whether a personal or an impersonal Absolute. Thirdly, if mysticism forms a part of a metaphysico-religious system, then the religious system must chalk out a mystic course of attaining identity between the aspirer and the aspired. Fourthly, the mystic shows often a temperamental sickness about the world in general and its temptations in particular. Fifthly, mysticism takes for granted an epistemological apparatus which can immediately and directly apprehend the reality without the help of mind and senses which are the means of temporal knowledge. Sixthly, religious mysticism always prescribes a set of rules, a canon of morality, a code of virtues, which an aspirant must practise. And lastly, mysticism involves an amount of regard to the immediate teacher who alone can initiate the pupil in the mystical mysteries which cannot be grasped through indirect sources like scriptures, etc[2]

1. R. D. Ranade Mysticism in Maharashtra. Preface.

2. William James. The varieties of Religious Experience, especially the chapter on mysticism. Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, the article on mysticism etc, Belvalkar and Ranade, History of Indian Phil. vol. VII. Rudolf Otto Mysticism, East and West, etc., etc.

An academic question whether mysticism is possible or not in a heterodox system like Jainism is out of court for the simple reason that some of the earliest author-saints like Kundakunda and Pūjyapāda have described transcedental experiences and mystical visions. [3]

It would be more reasonable to collect data from earlier Jaina works and see what elements of Jainism have contributed to mysticism, and in what way it is akin to or differs from such a patent mysticism as that of monistic Vedānta. To take a practical view the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras like Ṛṣabhadeva, Nēminātha, Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra etc. have been some of the greatest mystics of the world; and rightly indeed Professor RANADE designates Ṛṣabhadeva, the first Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas, as 'yet a mystic of different kind, whose utter carelessness of his body is the supreme mark of his God-realization [4]' and gives details of his mystical life. It would be interesting to note that the details about Ṛṣabhadeva given in *Bhāgavata* practically and fundamentally agree with those recorded by Jaina tradition.

Monism and theism, rather than theistic monism, have been detected as the fundamental pillars of mysticism. In the transcendental experience the spirit realizes its unity or identity with something essentially divine. 'Mystical states of mind in every degree' WILLIAM JAMES says, 'are shown by history, usually though not always, to make for the monistic view.' Thus mysticism has a great fancy for monistic temperament; and in Vedānta it is seen at its best in the conception of All-in all Brahman, who represents an immanent divinity. Spiritual mysticism of Jñānadeva, however, reconciles both monism and pluralism by preserving 'both the oneness and manyness of experience.' [5] The Jaina mysticism turns round two concepts: Ātman and

3. Especially in his Samayasāra, see my remarks on it, Pravacanasāra p. 47 ff.

4. R. D. Ranade, Mysticism in Mahārāṣṭra p. 9.

5. Ibidem p. 179.

Paramātman. The Paramātman stands for God, though never a creator, etc. The creative aspect of the divinity, I think, is not the sine qua non of mysticism. Ātman and Paramātman are essentially the same, but in Saṁsāra the Ātman is under Karmic limitations, and therefore he is not as yet evolved into Paramātman. It is for the mystic to realize this identity or unity by destroying the Karmic encrustation of the spirit. In Jainism the conception of Paramātman is somewhat nearer that of a personal absolute. The Ātman himself becomes Paramātman, and not that he is submerged in the Universal as in Vedānta. In Jainism spiritual experience does not stand for a divided self achieving an absolute unification, but the bound individual expresses and exhibits its potential divinity. Early texts like *Kammapayadi*, *Kaṣāya*—and *Kamma pāhuda*, *Gommaṭasāra* etc. (with their commentaries) give elaborate tables with minute details how the soul, following the religious path; goes higher and higher on the rungs of the spiritual ladder called Guṇasthānas, and how from stage to stage the various Karmas are being destroyed. The space does not permit me to give the details here, but I might only note here that the whole course is minutely studied and recorded with marvellous calculations that often baffle our understanding. [6] Some of the Guṇasthānas are merely meditational stages, and the subject of meditation too is described in details. The aspirant is warned not to be misled by certain Siddhis, i. e., miraculous attainments, but go on pursuing the ideal till Ātman is realized. The pessimistic outlook of life, downright denunciation of the body and its pleasures and the hollowness of all the possessions, which are very common in Jainism, indicate the aspirant's sick-minded temperament which is said to anticipate mystical healthy-mindedness. In the Jaina theory of knowledge, three kinds of knowledge are recognised where the soul apprehends reality all by itself and without the aid

6. We can have some ideas bout the details from Glasenapps Die Lehre vom Karman in der Philosophie der Jainas nach den Karmagranthas dargestellt Leipzig 1915.

of the senses: first, Avadhi-jñāna is a sort of direct knowledge without spatial limitations and it is a knowledge of the clairvoyant type; secondly, Manahparyāya-jñāna is telepathic knowledge where the soul directly apprehends the thoughts of others; and lastly Keval-ajñāna is omniscience by the attainment of which the soul knows and sees everything without the limitations of time and space. The last one belongs only to the liberated souls or to the souls who are just on the point of attaining liberation with their Jñānāvaraṇīya-karman destroyed, and thus it is developed when Ātman is realized. Jainism is preeminently an ascetic system. Though the stage of laity is recognized, every one is expected to enter the order of monks as a necessary step towards liberation. Elaborate rules of conduct are noted and penancial courses prescribed for a monk ; [7] and it is these that contribute to the purity of spirit. A Jaina monk is asked not to wander alone lest he might be led astray by various temptations. A monk devotes major portion of his time to study and meditation; and day to day he approaches his teacher, confesses his errors and receives lessons in Ātmavidyā or Ātmajñāna directly from his teacher. The magnanimous saint, the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, who is at the pinnacle of the highest spiritual experience, is the greatest and ideal teacher: and his words are of the highest authority. Thus it is clear that Jainism contains all the essentials of mysticism.

To evaluate mystical visions rationally is not to value them at all. These visions carry a guarantee of truth undoubtedly with him who has experienced them; and their universality proves that they are facts of experience. The glimpses of the vision as recorded by Yogīndu in his *Paramātma-prakāśa*, are of the nature of light or white brilliance. Elsewhere too we find similar experiences. It may be noted in conclusion that the excessive rigidity of the code of morality prescribed for a Jaina monk gives no

7. In works like Achranga, Mulachara, Bhagavati Aradhana etc.

scope for Jaina mysticism to stoop to low levels of degraded Tantricism. [8] It is for this very reason that we do not find the sexual imagery, so patent in western mysticism, emphasized in Jainism, though similies like *mukti-kāntā*, etc. are used by authors like Padmaprabha. Sex-impulse is considered by Jaina moralists as the most dangerous impediment on the path of spiritual realization, so sensual consciousness has no place whatsoever in Jaina mysticism. The routine of life prescribed for a Jaina monk does not allow him to profess and practise miracles and magical feats for the benefit of house-holders with whom he is asked to keep very little company.*

8. R. D. Ranade, Ibid. p. 7.

*This forms a section of my Introduction to Paramātmaprakāśa which is in the Press.

SECTION VII.

HISTORY.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR.

Fellow-delegates and gentlemen,

I thank you sincerely for the great honour you have done me by electing me, for the second time, the President of the History Section of the Oriental Conference. While I deem it a great honour and naturally feel proud of it, I am also fully conscious of its heavy responsibilities. I hope that with your kind assistance and co-operation, the work of this section would be carried on successfully.

Before I proceed further I must mention the great loss that the study of Indian history has sustained by the death of Dr. K. P. Jayaswal. For more than a quarter of a century he was a dominant figure in the field of Indian history, and his learned contributions on a variety of topics have distinctly enriched the subject. This is not the proper occasion to assay the merits of his writings or to make a proper estimate of the value of his contributions, but there is no denying the fact that he supplied a dynamic force which quickened the progress of Indological studies and widened their scope. His untiring industry and passionate attachment to Indology are really remarkable. In spite of heavy professional duties of a lawyer, he found time not only to make a deep study of the diverse problems of Indology but also to manage with great success institutions like Bihar and Orissa Research Society which would ever remain a great monument to his scholarship and organising ability. He was intimately connected with the Oriental Conference, and was elected its President at the Baroda Session. The oriental scholarship is distinctly poorer to-day by his death, and it is but meet and proper that we should pay our tribute of respect to the great scholar, who was so suddenly cut off from his favourite field of activity.

The name of Dr. Jayaswal would remain indissolubly bound up with the foundation of what may be called an Indian School of Indology. It is difficult to define this term, or, perhaps, even to justify its use. But those who have been in intimate touch with the progress of Indological studies in this country would easily comprehend its meaning. Ever since the foundations of Indology were laid about one hundred years ago by a few pioneer European scholars like Prinsep, Cunningham and Max Müller, it has remained under the leading strings of European scholars. I do not belittle the erudition of eminent Indian scholars like Rajendra Lal Mitra, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Bhagavanlal Indraji and Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Sāstrī, but they worked more or less in isolation and there was no general interest displayed by Indian students in these studies. Even in the beginning of this century, few Indians, outside the official circle of the Archaeological Department, took seriously to these studies. The canons of this study and its range of activity were determined by the European scholars. Their authority prevailed in all disputed questions, as they were tacitly accepted as the final judge by Indian scholars. These were, generally speaking, mere apprentices under the great master-artisans of Europe.

Fortunately, this picture is no longer a true representation of Indian scholarship in the field of Indology. To-day signs are not wanting that ere long Indian scholars would play their legitimate part in this branch of study. There is a general awakening of interest in a critical study of the history of our past, and Indian students, in gradually increasing number, are taking seriously to the study of Indology in its different branches. While following the critical and scientific method they have developed an independent and broader outlook. What is more important they are beginning to cast off the feeling of inferiority-complex, and develop a consciousness of their own ability to cope with the great work without dependence on extraneous aids. A great revolution is silently taking place in Indological studies in India

and we are in the midst of the period of transition. This is what I understand by the term "Indian School of Indology" mentioned above. Among that small band of scholars whose clarion call led to the foundation of this new school of study in India Dr. Jayaswal must for ever have an honoured place.

The best and most proper way to show respect to the dead is to follow in their footsteps and continue the great work to which they dedicated their lives. Homage to the memory of Dr. Jayaswal, if it is sincere, must inspite of us and stimulate our activities to a more serious and co-ordinated study of Indian history and culture. The Indian school of Indology is now in the process of growth, and it should be our common endeavour to ensure that it develops on healthy lines and sound principles. Every new birth has its travails and the newly developed school of Indology is no exception. I should therefore place for your consideration a few points that have occurred to my mind on a review of the present state of Indologicial studies in India.

One of the greatest benefits that accrued to this study from European schooling or discipline was the introduction of scientific method in the pursuit of historical studies. This involved, above all, two great principles, the critical spirit in the analysis and examination of data, and a sincere quest for truth in a detached spirit, without prejudices, passions, or pre-conceived notions of any kind. In all our future studies these two broad principles must always be kept in the foreground. Unfortunately, with the growth of popularity of the subject, some amount of laxity is noticeable in this respect. In a craze for making great discoveries, and allured by the prospect of establishing new truths, some writers have developed a tendency of deducing facts from very insufficient data, and of suiting these facts to their novel theories, rather than building up a theory on the basis of facts ascertained in a scientific way from reliable data. Nor has the study of the history of ancient India remained unaffected by the passing currents of national movement.

Some have deliberately sought to use our ancient history as an element in our national fight, and reconstrued it with a view to maintain that everything in ancient India was beyond cavil or criticism, and that it contained almost all the elements of progress which we notice in the modern world.

These are disquieting signs, and perhaps inevitable in the first stage, being the legacy of that spirit and sentiment which helped to bring into being the Indian school of Indology. But it is time that we should denounce this uncritical method of study and check its further progress. Those who uphold the cause of scientific study of history must rigidly and scrupulously follow the scientific principles and make a determined effort to expose the hollowness of these uncritical studies, unswayed by any motive of personal considerations or pseudo-patriotic sentiment. By this means alone can we save the newly developed study of Indology from degenerating into Charlatanism. In the scientific study of history, or of any other subject, no name, however great is sacrosanct, and we must sedulously foster a spirit of healthy criticism, without personal rancour, undeterred by any consideration of the reputation or greatness of the scholar whose views are involved. This is a *sine qua non* for a real progress in our studies, and we must ruthlessly shake off the sentimental weakness or false ideal of decency which stand in the way of a free expression of our judgment. On the other hand criticism, to be healthy and useful, must avoid all acerbity of feelings and should not degenerate into an ill-concealed personals quabble. In this respect we can do no better than imitate the charity and courtesy which characterises European scholars in their dealings with fellow-workers.

The Indian School of Indology has one great task before it, *viz.*, to compile a critical history of India. Such a task has been rendered possible by the success of specialised studies into the different branches of Indology during the

past hundred years. Several attempts have been made in recent years to carry out this project, but unfortunately nothing came out of them. It is the clear duty of the Indian Oriental Conference to take the lead in this matter.

In addition to this co-operative project, there are several branches of Indology to which sufficient attention has not yet been paid by Indian scholars. I shall refer to two of them in detail, even at the risk of repeating what I said recently in another conference of this kind.

In the first place, the discoveries of Mohenjo-daro and other ancient sites in Sind and Baluchistan have opened up a new vista in Indological studies. It has thrown new light on at least three important aspects of Indian history, *viz.*, the antiquity of Hindu civilisation, its relation with Vedic civilisation, and its intercourse with the civilisations that grew up in early times on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, and perhaps also on the Nile. In short we have to study anew the beginnings of Indian history and civilisation. A proper treatment of this subject requires a critical knowledge of those allied civilisations of the west. Unfortunately there is not a single Indian scholar who is properly equipped for this task. This is a serious deficiency which must be removed. This can only be done if a big University like Calcutta makes provision for these studies either by opening up new departments with a properly equipped staff imported from abroad, or if that is not possible, by sending out competent young men to important centres of learning in Europe with an adequate scholarship. In any case India must have a centre of specialised study in these associated civilisations. Of all Indian Universities Calcutta has made the most elaborate provision for the study of Indology. I earnestly appeal to its authorities to introduce this new study even by curtailing or re-shuffling the existing organisation for Indology if financial considerations stand in the way.

Another important branch of Indian history in which little progress has been made by Indian students, is the history of the spread of Indian culture and civilisation in other parts of Asia. Nearly twenty years ago I realised the importance of this subject and since then I have devoted myself to it. The establishment of the Greater India Society in Calcutta has aroused a general interest in this glorious chapter of Indian history. But little real work has been done so far. The reason is not far to seek. Unlike European Universities, those in India do not attach sufficient importance to a knowledge of foreign languages, even in higher studies. The result has been that students in this country do not usually acquire the knowledge of any foreign language other than English, and their knowledge is limited to books written in that language. On the other hand, the materials for the history of Indian civilisation in Java, Sumatra, Annam, Cambodia, Siam and Malay Peninsula are available only in Dutch and French publications, and the same is true, to a large extent, in respect of China. Besides a knowledge of the language of these countries is also essential for a real and critical study of the subject. All these equipments are lacking in Indian scholars, and a strenuous endeavour must be made in providing for these studies in our Universities.

In short, time has come for co-ordinated efforts on the part of our Universities to make adequate provision for those studies which are essential for the furtherance of Indology but which are at present lacking in this country. Here again we can appeal only to the rich Universities for supplying the deficiency. For at present the Universities are the only seats of higher learning in India where provision can be made for these studies. The only other alternative is the establishment of an Indian Research Institute with adequate funds for development along these lines. Charitable endowments are not rare in this country, but few of these go to educational institutions. Even those few are generally

earmarked for the advancement of scientific or technical studies. I do not for a moment minimise the importance of these, but it would be well to bear in mind the old adage that man does not live by bread alone. Culture is as much necessary for a civilised society as physical wellbeing, and our philanthropic efforts should not be exclusively devoted to the one or to the other. The new national India cannot thrive without a proper cultural background. Those who have long and broad visions about the future of our motherland must be impressed with the paramount necessity of putting Indological studies on a proper basis. A demand for political independence has a greater chance of success if it is preceded by an intellectual independence. People seldom realise that to-day the intellectual dependence of India is no less marked than the political and economic dependence of India. It is time that we seek for an intellectual regeneration. One of the first steps in that direction must be to make India the great centre of Indological studies in all its ramifications. We ourselves should be in a position to explore and interpret every single phase of our own culture and civilisation. We shall ever gratefully acknowledge the great debt we owe to Europe for initiating us into these studies, but we should not be content any longer to remain in intellectual tutelage of any other country. Further, there are distinct signs that Indological studies will not flourish long in Europe. One by one, the great scholars of the last generation are passing away, leaving a void which is not likely to be filled up by younger generations. Time is not distant when researches in Europe and America will cease to count as appreciable factors in the progress of Indology. On our shoulders therefore, must, fall the legitimate task of keeping the torch burning—the torch that was lighted a hundred years ago to illumine the darkness that shrouded our ancient past. It is, therefore, our paramount duty to set about making preparations for that great and noble task that lies ahead. The success of a Conference like this is only to be measured by the extent to which it brings us nearer our to that goal.

KING ŚĀTAKARṆI OF THE SANCHI INSCRIPTION.

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The Nanaghat inscriptions appear to suggest that king Śātakarṇi Dakṣiṇāpatha-pati was the son of Simuka Sātavāhana and the husband of queen Nāganikā. This Śātakarṇi is generally identified with the third name of the Purāṇic list of Andhra kings and also with Śātakarṇi, lord of Pratiṣṭhāna, mentioned in India literature (Raychaudhuri, PHAI, 2nd ed: p. 263). The southern gateway in the balustrade of the great *stūpa* at Sanchi contains an inscription which mentions a king named Śātakarṇi. On the evidence of this inscription, it is now generally believed that at the time of the early Sātavāhanas, Sanchi which is situated near the ancient city of Vidiśā (modern Besnagar near Bhilsa), the capital of Ākara (eastern portion of modern Malwa), and therefore eastern Malwa itself, formed a part of the Sātavāhana dominions. Regarding the palaeography of the Sanchi inscription, Bühler says (EI, II, p. 88) that the characters "are almost identical with those of the Nanaghat inscriptions, and differ only slightly from the type of the characters of Aśoka's times." Bühler therefore proposed to identify king Śātakarṇi of the Sanchi inscription with the king of the same name mentioned in the Nanaghat and Hathigumpha inscriptions. Scholars like Marshall (*Guide to Sanchi*, p. 13) and Dubreuil (*AHD*, pp. 14-15) however object to this identification on the grounds that Śātakarṇi who is mentioned in the Nanaghat and Hathigumpha inscriptions reigned about the middle of

the second century B. C.* ; the Sanchi region in East Malwa which at that time was ruled by the Śuṅgas could not therefore have been included in the dominions of a Śātavāhana king. It has therefore been suggested that "Bühler is mistaken in assigning so early a date to this inscription and that this king is to be identified with one of the several Śātakarṇis who appear later in the Purāṇic lists" (Rapson, *Catalogue of Coins*, p. xxiv).

Dubreuil says (*loc, cit*). "It is not impossibe that a Sātavāhana helped Vāsudeva in his usurpation and so appropriated the country of Bhilsa to himself. It must have taken place about 72 B. C. Besides, it is very probable that the Śakas invaded northern India in the middle of the 1st century before our era ; it is possible that this great conquest took place about 58 B. C. ; at this epoch the Śātavāhanas would have been driven not only from Bhilsa but also out of Mahārāṣṭra. There is therefore room to think that the Śātakarṇi who is mentioned on the Sanchi gateway reigned at Bhilsa (? Besnagar) between 72 B. C. and 58 B. C. or in round figures from 70 to 60 B. C." The assumptions of Dubreuil thus place the Sanchi inscription a century after the date assigned to the epigraph by Bühler, simply because a Śātakarṇi who ruled over the Sanchi region cannot be placed in the middle of the 2nd century B. C. the time of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga who is known to have had his secondary capital at Vidiśā. I am not going to examine the palaeographical standard of the Sanchi record. All that I am going to point out in this paper is that the Sanchi inscription does not furnish definite proof as regards Sātavāhana occupation of the Sanchi region.

The Sanchi inscription (Lüders, *List of Inscriptions* No. 346) reads : *rāño siri-sātakanisa āvesaṇisa vāsiṭhi-putasa ānaṃdasa dānam* "gift of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Ānanda

* I am inclined to assign the Nanaghat inscription to about the third quarter of the first century B. C., and the Hathigumpha inscription to about the end of the first century B. C. or the beginning of the first century A. D. on palaeographic grounds

foreman of the artisans of king Śrī-Śātakarṇi". It must be noted that the remains of the Buddhist *stūpas* at Sanchi contain as many as 285 inscriptions which record donations made by pious men and women who evidently visited the sacred shrine on pilgrimage. The names of the donors and generally also of the place from which they came are recorded, and "we find among them fifty-four monks and forty-seven females, who probably were laymembers of the Buddhist sect" (EI, II, pp. 91-92). We further see that pilgrims flocked to this sacred place not only from Vidiśā and the neighbouring villages but also from such distant localities as Ujjayinī (Lüders op. cit., No. 172, etc.) Navagrāma in the Ujjayinī district (No. 68), Māhiṣmatī No. 87), Tumbavana, i. e., Tumain (Nos. 201, etc.) and Puṣkara Nos. 370, etc. Now, the distance between Sanchi near Bhilsa and Puṣkara near Ajmer is almost the same as that between Sanchi and Pratiṣṭhāna, modern Paithan in the Aurangabad district of the Nizam's dominions. If people came on pilgrimage to Sanchi from distant Puṣkara, it is not impossible that pilgrims of Pratiṣṭhāna also visited the sacred place for similar purposes. That pilgrims flocked to such Buddhist establishments as that of Sanchi Bairhut, Nagarjunikonda, etc., from distant places is also proved by a number of inscriptions on the remains of many *stūpas* in different parts of India. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Ānanda seems to me to have visited the *stūpas* at Sanchi like other pilgrims, and this fact alone is not sufficient to prove Sātavāhana occupation of the Sanchi region at that time simply because Ānanda happens to have been an officer of king Śātakarṇi of Pratiṣṭhāna. If the record of Ānanda proves the rule of Śātakarṇi over Sanchi, similar other records may as well prove the rule of the king or kings of Ujjayinī, Māhiṣmatī and Puṣkara over the same area at that time. The Sātavāhana occupation of Sanchi cannot therefore be accepted without further evidence.

In this connection, it is interesting to note another similar Sanchi inscription (No. 169) which records the

gift of Queen (*Devi*) Vākalā or Vākilā, the mother of Ahimitra ". Now, nobody would suggest that Ahimitra belonged to the Sātavāhana family. No name of the Sātavāhana princes so far known ends in *mitra*. It is however welknown that out of the ten names of Śuṅga kings found in the Purāṇas at least five (including Jyeṣṭha, identified with Jeṭhamitra of the coins) end in *mitra*. Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the Besnagar inscription of Bhāgavata (the ninth Śuṅga king according to the Purāṇas) appear to suggest that Vidiśā was in the possession of all the ten Śuṅga kings. Unless therefore it is proved that Ahimitra belonged to a local ruling family which was subordinate to the Sātavāhanas of Pratiṣṭhāna, it may not be quite unreasonable to suggest that Ahimitra was a Śuṅga prince of Vidiśā and Devī Vākilā was a Śuṅga queen. Two other Sanchi inscriptions (Nos. 172, etc.) record "the gift of the Vākilīyas from Ujjayinī, and Bühler belived that queen Vākalā or Vākilā was a girl of this Vākilīya family of Ujjayinī, the name of which he derived from *Vṛkala*, a name found in the mythological lists of the Purāṇas (EI, II, p. 93). May it further be suggested that the marriage of a Śuṅga prince of Vidiśā with a girl of the Vākilīyas of Ujjayinī formed the nucleus of the tradition of Agnimitra Śuṅga's marriage with Mālavikā (literally, a princes of Mālava or of the Mālavas) recorded in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*? This however should be taken as merely a suggestion, and I must admit that Kālidāsa does not connect Mālavikā with Mālwa.

In conclusion, I must refer to the old lead and potin coins of a type which Rapson calls the Malwa fabric. These coins bear the legend *rāño siri-sātasa*, and this King Śāta has been identified by Rapson with Śātakarṇi of the Nanaghat inscriptions. The same scholar however says (op. cit., p. xcii), " Although no record of the *provenance* of these coins has been preserved, their attribution to the region of Malwa would seem to be extremely probable from a consideration of their type ; and as they are round in form, we

may perhaps advance one step further and attribute them to West Malwa rather than to East Malwa, in accordance with an observation made by General Sir A. Cunningham". It may be noted that according to Cunningham, the coins of Ujjayinī (i. e. Avanti or West Malwa) are invariably round pieces, while those of Besnagar and Eran (i. e. Ākara or East Malwa) are nearly all square. If even the Ujjayinī characteristics of the coins of Śāta are thought sufficient to prove Sātavāhana occupation of west Malwa, they certainly do not conclusively prove that East Malwa formed a part of the Sātavāhana dominions.

A FORGOTTEN CHAPTER IN SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY.

Āayi Country and its kings.

V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M. A.

A history of South India is still in the making. There are several chapters that remain to be written or rewritten. One such chapter is that on the Āayi kingdom and its rulers. One among the problems that confront the historian of South India is to find out the origin of these Āayis. Who were these people that have left indelible mark in South Indian history? Were they indigenous or emigrants from other lands? Where did they rule? What was their country? Were they subordinate chieftains or independent chiefs? Can we approximately fix a chronology to their origin, rise and fall? These and other questions we endeavour to answer, in the following pages.

Extent of the Āayi kingdom.

Before we proceed to examine the origin of the Āayis it is better to study the geographical background of their history, or in other words the physical basis of their history. The chief sources of information for this study are ancient Tamil literature which goes by the name of the Saṅgam literature and the records of foreign travellers. The earliest extant work of this literature has been generally accepted to be the Tolkāppiyam, a Tamil Grammar attributed to a certain Tolkāppiyanār who seems to have flourished about the fourth or fifth century B. C. He speaks of Tamilnāḍu as Sentamilnāḍu. [1] Writers of the mediaeval period, however, have divided the whole Tamil nāḍu into two broad divisions Sentamil nāḍu and Koḍum Tamil nāḍu. [2] Whatever may have been the conditions that made these mediaeval writers

1. Solladikāram, sūtra 393.

2. See for example, the comment of Sankaranamaśśivāyar on Nannūl sūtras 271-7

to differentiate Tamil nāḍu as Sentamil nāḍu and Koḍum tamil nāḍu it was not so, we can say without any fear of contradiction, in the early centuries of Christian era, as evidenced by the Sangam works. It is incontrovertible that Tolkāppiyam does not mention a division like Koḍumtamil nāḍu. A later writer and a celebrated commentator on the Tolkāppiyam like Deyvaccilaiyār seems to accept this position of Tolkāppiyanār. In his gloss on the sūtra 393 of his Solladikāram he rejects what other commentators state to be Sentamil nāḍu and boldly advances that Sentamil region had the following as its boundaries—Veṅkaḍam in the north, Kumari in the south, and on the two other sides the sea. [1] We have then the authority of Deyvaccilaiyār that all the region south of Tirupati hills and extending both to the east and the west as far as the sea was Tamilagam Another sūtra (395) is little more informing. [2] According to this Tolkāppiyanār makes a definite statement that the ancient Tamilagam consisted of 12 nāḍus or provinces. Though the sūtra admits of another interpretation, viz., the reference is to the Kingdoms that were found on all sides of

1. Veṅkaḍam is the modern Tirupati hills and Kumari is Cape Comorin.

வடவேங்கடம், தென்குமரி,
ஆயிடைத், தமிழ்கூறு நல்லுலகத்து,
வழக்கு வஞ் செய்யுளு மாரு முதலின்
எழுத்தும் சொல்லும்பொருளுநாடி.

என்றமையாலும், இதனுள் தமிழ்கூறும் நல்லுலகமென வி சதித்தமையாலும், இழக்குப் மேற்கு டல்லே கூறுத லெதற்கென்னே கூறியவதனாற் குமரியன் றெற்கிய நாடுளவொழித்து வேங்கடமலையின் றெற்கும், குமரியின் வடக்கும், குணகடலின் மேற்கும், குடகடலின கிழக்குமாகிய நிலம் செந்தமிழ் நிலமென்றுரைப்ப.

Tolkap. Solladikā—Deyvaccilaiyār. comment. Karandai edition P. 217.

1929.

2. செந்தமிழ் சேர்ந்த பன்னிரு நிலத்துக்
தங்குதிப் பினல்ல திசைச் சொறனிலவி.

Tolk. Soll

the Tamilagam. Deyvaccilaiyār would have it as the twelve nāḍus into which the whole of the ancient Tamil world was divided. The following are the names of these different regions: Tenpāṇḍināḍu, Kuṭṭanāḍu, Kuḍanāḍu, Karkanāḍu, Veṇāḍu, Pulināḍu Panrināḍu, Aruvānāḍu, Aruvavadatalaiyārnāḍu, Sitanāḍu, Malānāḍu and Punnāḍu.

தென்பாண்டி குட்டம் குடம்கா வேண்பூழி
பன்றியகுவா ளதன்வடக்கு-நன்குய,
தென்மலைபு னாஞ்சி செந்தமிழ்சே-
ரெந்தம் சிற்பன்னிரு நாட்டெல்.

There is another list of these twelve nāḍus with slight variations in their names. These are the following: Podun. gurnāḍu (also Pongar nāḍu), Olināḍu, Tenpāṇḍināḍu, Karuṅkuṭṭanāḍu, Kuḍanāḍu, Panrināḍu, Karkānāḍu, Sitainādu Pūlināḍu, Malanāḍu, and Aruvanāḍu Aruvāvaṭatalaināḍu. The second list is accepted by Deyvacciniyār as the correct list of the twelve nāḍus.[1] Into the identification of these different nāḍus this is not the place to go. Suffice it to say that Venāḍu of the first list represents roughly modern Travancore. This Veṇāḍu is perhaps the Olināḍu of the second list, and one meaning of Oli is fame, and to venture a conjecture it was one of the renowned kingdom of ancient days. Veṇāḍu again is not a mere name. It consists of two words, Vel and nāḍu. The literal meaning is that it was the nāḍu or kingdom of Vel or Velir.[2] It lay south of the Kuṭṭanāḍu and extended as far as Cape Comorin.

It was not then a nāḍu on the outskirts of the Tamil nāḍu but formed a part and parcel of Tamilnāḍu proper. This is the view of Deyvaccilaiyār as has been already pointed out, and could be the only sensible view to be taken. For the Velir were the Tamil tribe of the Yādavas as we shall see in the sequel and spoke the Tamil tongue, having been long in the heart of the Tamil country. It may be

1. See the gloss on sūtra 395
2. See also Tr. Arch. Series, Vol. II P. 33.

pointed out in this connection that this was not the only place which was occupied by the Velir. There were other small states where the Velir got settled, like the Kodumbālūr Velir of Pudukkotta state. But in the early centuries of the Christian era the Velir of the Veṇāḍu perhaps rose to prominence and became an independent ruling line at the region now representing the Travancore State. We cannot say with any definiteness that Veṇāḍu covered the whole region now covered by the State of Travancore. On the other hand there is sufficient testimony to point out that the region now represented by the East or rather Central and South Travancore was ruled by a different set of chieftains who went by the name of Āayi. In the early years of the Christian era this portion of Travancore was mostly hilly tracts as it is also largely true today. In these hilly tracts which can be roughly said to begin from the Palghat gap and extending as far as the Cape Comorin these Āayi chiefs held their extensive sway independent of Veṇāḍu and Pāṇḍināḍu. It was the region of the famous Podiyil hills, sacred to the memory of the sage Agastya. In fact one Āayi is called Podiyil Selvan, [1] These Āayis were primarily then the chiefs of the Podiyil hills: and attracted the attention of Ptolemy who visited India about 140 A. D. Ptolemy refers to the country of Aioi, [2] and this reference is unmistakably to the Āayi country round about the Podiyil hills. This reference is all the more important for a satisfactory identification of the Āayi country proper. For according to Ptolemy the kingdom of the Aioi was south of Bakarei. The late Kanakasabhai identified Bakarei with the village of Vaikkarai near modern Kottayam. [3] and it has not been so far questioned. So we may say that Kanakasabhai almost hit the right point in this identification. The mention of Paralia again may be a reference to Paraliyāru or

1. Aham, 25, 1-20.
 ஔபா இதற் ஔல்வன் ஔபாவக்ஞன்ற் இதயன்.
2. *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* by J. W. Mecindle 1885
3. *Tamils 1800 years Ago*, Pp. 19-20
 Pp. 53-4. also P. 180

the river Parali of South Travancore. Again if the testimony of the *Puram* anthologies is of any value (137-140) it shows that to the west of the Podiyil hills was the Nāñjilnādu, now a part of modern Travancore and it was in the occupation of a chieftain who went by the name of Porunan. Porunan is celebrated in these four poems of the *Puranānūru* as the lord of lofty Nānjil mountain famous for jack trees. Not only the *Puranānūru* informs us that Āayis were the lords of the Podiyil hills (st. 128 ff) but also definitely states the name Āayikuḍi (st. 132) leaving us no doubt that it was the capital city of the Āayis. This Āayikuḍi has been rightly identified with the present Āykkuḍi which is near Senkottai on the eastern border of Travancore State. The above discussion leads to the conclusion that most portion of the East and South Travancore of the present day was the territory of the Āayi in the first and second centuries after Christ, and that it included the Podiyil hills and that its capital was Āykkuḍi[1].

Origin of the Āayis.

We have said that the Vel or Velir ruled the ancient Travancore for some time. We have no evidence to determine how long they ruled. If the tradition of the Perumāl rule could be accepted, then we can safely say that the Perumāls succeeded the Velir.[2] For both theories however there is no impeachable testimony. History records that when these Velir were masters of Veṇāḍu, the Āayis continued to be overlords of Podiyil and its surrounding regions. One set of scholars represented by Paṇḍit M. Raghava Aiyangar[3] connects these Velir with Vellalas who seems to have played no mean part in the history of the Tamils. The late Kanakasabhai took up this position when he says that Māvel Āay

1. *Cantra*—Gopinatha Rao: *Tr. Ar. Series, I.P.* 188. A distance of 35 miles from the Podiyil need not preclude it being a capital. To say that there is no vestige of the ancient capital is not convincing. We fail to find, for example, trace of antiquities in the modern hamlet which represents the ancient Chola Capital Puhar

2. *The Travancore State Manual* Vol. S. Pp. 219-223.

3. See his able monograph on *Velirvaralāru*.

belonged to the tribe of Vellālas.[1] The late Gopinatha Rao, sometime Archaeologist to the Government of Travancore has edited a number of inscriptions in the Travancore Archaeological Series, and he is also of opinion that the Āayis were 'Vellalas of the higher social scale, that of the overlords of the farmers of the soil.'[4] The Archaeologist further informs us that several inscriptions which however, belong to the eighth and ninth centuries furnish names of kings who belonged to the Āy-kula.[5] Though the consensus of opinion is for identifying the Velir with the Vellālas, one objection can be raised against this theory, and that is that while the Āayis were a pastoral people, the Vellālas were mainly an agricultural community. But nothing would prevent the pastoral people taking to agriculture in the march of time. Whatever this may be, it cannot be controverted that the Āayis were a branch of the great Vēlir tribe. For Uṟaiyūr Kṇiccēri Muḍamosiyār, a saṇgam poet of much renown who sings in praise of Āayi Aṇdiran, definitely refers to him in one of the verses as Vēl Āāyi.[6] In another verse[7] the same poet gives expression to Māvēl Aayi. These two references made by a contemporary poet of the Āayi king Aṇdiran are sufficient to demonstrate that these Āayis were only a branch of the Velir clan. From the term Āy Kula in the later inscriptions it can be said that these Āayis were one of the chief families that constituted the Vēlir Gaṇa.

Again the term Āayi has been equated with Āyar, a community of cowherds and shepherds. And it is said that the term is derived from the first letter ā which means 'a cow' in Tamil literature. There is nothing improbable in this if we only recall to our mind the original history of the Vēlir. A clue has been yielded by one of the verses in the *Puranānūru*

1. *Op cit.* P. 106.
2. *Tr. Ar. Series* No. 1, P. 3.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Puram* 33, last line.
 ஞிமிரிய காமமுஞ் காஞ்சியு மென்றிவை,
5. *Puram* 135, l. 13.
 மன்னெயிற் காடுங் மறவெ காஞ்சி.

attributed to the saṅgam poet Kapilar. (verse 201). Addressing Iruṅgovēṉ, a distingsished member of the Vēlir line the poet Kapilar says that Iruṅgo was fortyninth in descent from the great Vēḷ who took his birth from the fire-pit in the northern mountain and ruled Dvārakā.* This stanza[1] of Kapilar then yields much historical material of an original character. A mythical origin hangs about the founder of the Vēlir family. The reference to fire-pit shows that the founder was what we may call Brahmanical in religion, as fire-pit is generally associated with Vedic yajñas or sacrifices The second thing we learn from this informing verse is that the Velir originally belonged to Dvārakā, the quondum capital of Śrī Kṛṣṇa of the Yādava line. The Purāṇas bear witness to the fact that the Yadus branched off into a number of groups which went by the name of the Bhojas, Sātvatas, Vṛṣṇis, Dāśārhas and Yādavas. To what group the Vēlir belonged it is not possible to say at this distance of time. Apparently the Vēḷir is a Tamil expression standing for one of the above communities. Whatever this may be, the fact remains that the Vēlir were a branch of the great Yādava tribe. We know again from the Purāṇas that Yādavas claim their descent from Yadu, son of Yayāti. As the throne did not of right belong to Yadu, owing to the curse of Yayāti,[2] the members of Yadu line came to be looked upon as Kṣatriyas inferior in rank. Another circumstance that led to their inferiority complex is the alleged birth and growth of Kṛṣṇa in the midst of gopālas who

* We have a similar tradition about the founder of the Paramāra family who is said to have been born from a fire-pit on Mount Arbuda (Abu).

See for details D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty* 1938 Pp. 1 ff.

1. சீயே, வடபான் முனிவன் றடவிஞுட் டோன்றிச்
செப்பு புனைந் தியற்றிய சேணெறிப் புரிசை
யுயர் விசைத் துவரையாண்டு
ஈரைம்பத் தொன்ப துவழிமுறை வந்த
வேளிரு ளெரோ விறற்போ சன்னை etc.,

2 See Bha. Purāṇa X. ch 45-18

consequently became akin to the Yādavas. Notwithstanding these peculiar circumstances, the Yadu dynasty was a great Kṣatriya line of kings. And history records that twice these Yādavas had to leave their capital in search of new homes and newer settlements. It is Kauṭalya's dictum that when a king behaved tyrannical, one course open to his peaceful subjects is to withdraw to an alien land and there settle down. So when Kaṁsa assumed charge of administration at Mathurā imprisoning his father Ugrasena and ruled according to his will and pleasure, the Yādavas migrated to neighbouring kingdoms as the Bhāgavata Purāṇa would have it.[1] (X. ch. 2, 2-3).

Again after the great decease of Kṛṣṇa the Yādavas wandered in search of new homes, and while some groups settled in different parts of Mysore, others more adventurous reached the Tamil nāḍu and settled in mountainous tracts which were suitable to their pastoral culture. These were known Vēl or Vēlir in Tamil country. Thus the Vēlir belonged to the Kṣatriya stock. As a branch of this Vēlir clan the Āayis should be regarded also as Kṣatriyas, unless there is strong evidence to support the theory that they belonged to the tribe of Gopālas, as some scholars would believe. Thus we have to connect these Āayis with the great Yādava movement that took place on the great decease of Kṛṣṇa. This Yādava connection of Āayis and Vēlir is again borne out by the fact that we have a number of temples dedicated to Kṛṣṇa in the state of Travancore. It is well known that the Yādavas were followers of the Kṛṣṇa cult, and wherever they settled, they spread the cult of Kṛṣṇa That explains fewer temples to Kṛṣṇa in Tamil districts and more temples in the west coast, and especially in the state of Travancore.

1. The Epic *Mahābhārata* speaks of eighteen families of Yadavas. Kṛṣṇa in addressing Yudhiṣṭhira says thus

भये तु समतिक्रान्ते जरासन्धे सुमुच्यते ।
मन्त्रोऽयं मन्त्रितो राजन् कुलैरष्टादशोदयैः ॥

Sabhā, 14, 27.
Kumbhakonam ed.

Added to this is the tradition recorded by the celebrated commentator Naccinārkkiniyar that when Agastya came to the Tamil land, he took, among others, with him the Vēlir who were the descendents of Kṛṣṇa. This further supports the theory of migration of the Yādavas into the Tamilnāḍu. Above all the Pāliyam plates of Varaguṇa[1] who was not the Pāṇḍyan Varaguṇa but who has been identified with Vikramāditya Varaguṇa of the Huzur Office plate clearly mention that this Varaguṇa of the Āy-kula belonged to the Vṛṣṇi tribe to which, it needs no saying, Kṛṣṇa belonged. Is the Vēlir then a corrupted Tamil from the Sanskrit expression Vṛṣṇi? Perhaps it is. The reference to Malaya hills in the inscription shows a great Vṛṣṇi settlement in that region. Further the inscription shows that the members of the Yādava Vaṁśa were in the habit of perfoming horse sacrifices. And none but Kṣatriya princes could of right perform Āśvamedha sacrifices. All these facts taken together compel us to conclude that the Āayis, like their neighbours the Vēlir, belonged to the great Yādava stock, and were Kṣatriyas who settled in the Tamil land in prehistoric days. As Kapilar speaks of Iruṅgo Vēl as 49th in descent from the founder of the Vēlir family, and as he flourished roughly about the second century A. D.[2] the founder of the dynasty must have flourished forty generations before Kapilar. If we estimate approximately even twenty years for a generation then it is about a thousand years before 100 A. D. when the Yādava vaṁśa was founded in Dvārakā.

The Early Āayi rulers.

It is rather difficult to construct a political history of the Āayi rulers, the overlords of Podiyil hills. Reliable data are indeed lacking. Still an endeavour is made here to give a history with the materials available. The Āayi king we meet with in Saṅgam literature goes by the name of

1. *Tr. Ar. Series* I. pp. 187-93.
2. See my *Studies in Tamil Literature and History* P. 54.

Aṇḍiran, and Aṇḍiran Āayi may be taken to be the Aioi referred to by Ptolemy. As Ptolemy visited India by about 140 A. D. we may suggest that Aṇḍiran was his contemporary. We have no means of knowing anything about the ancestors of Aṇḍiran, and also when Aṇḍiran's family commenced to reign at Āykkuḍi. The available evidence shows Aṇḍiran Āayi to be the first king of the Āyakula of whom we know anything. This does not mean that Aṇḍiran was the first ruler of his family. The chief source of information about Aṇḍiran consisted of the ten verses of Puṟanānūṟu (127-136). These are sung by Uṟaiyūr Ēṇiccēri Muḍamosiyār, a Brāhman poet who received much patronage at the hands of the Cera king Antuvan Ceral Irum-poṟai. That his account of Āayi was not an exaggerated one, and that he spoke the bare truth is attested to by another poet Perumcittiranār (Puṟam st. 158). The same poet Moṣiyār has also sung in praise of the Cōla monarch, Muḍittalaikko-Perunaṟkiḷḷi. From this it appears that Aṇḍiran was a contemporary of Antuvan Ceral Irumporai and Cōḷan Perunaṟkiḷḷi. In a tentative chronology of the Cera kings Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar assigns* to Antuvan Ceral c. 100-120 A. D. If this date were accepted, Aṇḍiran was already a ruler before 120 A. D. and continued his rule to c. 140 A. D. and beyond if he were the Aioi referred to by Ptolemy. Anyway it is certain that he flourished in the earlier half of the second century A. D. He is addressed by the poet as Āayiveḷ or Vēl-Āayi and Māveḷ-Āayi. He is reckoned to be the first of the seven Vaḷḷalas or those who gave away rich and profuse gifts to the deserving†. About his gifts, Muḍamōsiyār informs us that he was not dealing with righteousness as an article of merchandise. He did not do Dharma expecting the return of heavenly happiness. He felt that giving gifts to the needy and the deserving was the highest Dharma irrespective of the fruits thereof, and he

* *Cera Kings of the Sangam period* : p. 129.

† The other six are Adigaman, Naḷḷi, Pekan, Ori, Kari, and Pari.

acted accordingly. He realised that it was a duty incumbent on him to give without expecting anything in return even in the other world. In fact his duty of gift amounted to what Sanskritists would say *niṣkāmakarma**.

His gifts consisted chiefly of elephants. Being the overlord of mountain tracts which were rich in elephants Aṇḍiran gave away a large number of elephants as gifts. He was giving so much that the poet wonders whether elephants in his forests would give birth to ten cubs at a time. (Puṟam 130). By his unparalleled gifts, Aṇḍiran's name became widely known. A certain Viṟaḷi (female bard) who had heard so much of Aṇḍiran's generosity expressed to Muḍamosiyār her desire to see the person of such wide fame. With great difficulty, this lady got up the hill in spite of hot weather and hard rocky soil, not with a view to receive gifts but to feast her eyes with a look at that gifted person. (Ibid. 133 and 135). Such a reputation the high-souled Aṇḍiran earned. A certain poet Ōḍaikiḷār of Tuṟaiyūr had heard of the philanthropic nature of Aṇḍiran and feeling the pinch of hunger, had audience with his majesty the Āayi king and was richly rewarded‡. Such continuous gifts of elephants and other things, the poet says, drained completely his resources so much so that there was no elephant found in his stables, and no ornament excepting the *maṅgalavaṇi* decking the bodies of his queens. Such a spirit of philanthropy actuated his mind, and no wonder he has been assigned the foremost rank among the Vallals of the Tamil country.

* *Puram* st. 134.

இல்லைச் செய்தது மறனைமக்காயெனு
மறனில வணிக ரியலன் பிறருஞ்
சான்றோர் சென்ற நெறியென
வான்றுப் படீஇ நவின்றனை வண் மையே,

‡ *Puṟam*, 135.

Aṇḍiran was at the same time a trained soldier and a warrior of much prowess. (*Puṟam* 128). He decked himself with the garland of flowers of *śorapunnai* (ochrocarpus longifolius) which was perhaps characteristic of his region. From *Puṟam* st. 135 it can be inferred that he was in possession of chariot force besides horses and elephants. Though we have no details of the wars and conquests effected by him, there is a passing reference in *Puṟam* 130 to his invasion of Koṅgar kingdom and the crushing defeat of the Koṅgar† at his hands. It is said that unable to stand against Aṇḍiran, the Koṅgar retreated from the battlefield leaving their swords behind. They went away as far as the western sea.

அன்னைம் மரீஇ வெண்ணீற் கொளீஇ
குடை வொடீஇய ஞாயிறைத்
தண்பெயற் றிரிட வேலி ஞம் பலவே.

(*Puṟam* 130, Ll 5-8.)

This proves beyond doubt how Aṇḍiran was a great conquering king also.

He seems to have been a śaivite by religion. Once he got a very valuable silk garment from a certain nāga (euphemistically a nāga prince and friend of Aṇḍiran). When he was going back to the place of his residence, it was winter and he came upon his way a *liṅga*, the phallic emblem of Śiva. As a devotee of Śiva, he at once felt that that *liṅga* was suffering much from the bad effects of the season, and covered the silk cloth in his possession over the *liṅga*‡. He enjoyed for some time seeing the *liṅga* covered with his cloth, and after bowing to it he returned home. This account is based on the *Śirupāṇāṟṟuppaḍai*, one in the

* The Koṅgar under reference are no other than Cēras.

† In Śēttur, Paṇḍit Raghava Aiyangar informs me, the lord enshrined goes by the name even today. Nāccaḍailiṅgam literally liṅgam clothed with Nāga's coil. It perhaps records the tradition attributed to Aṇḍiran.

category of Paṭṭuppāṭṭu. (11. 96-7). Not only was he godfearing, he had other noble qualities to commend him. He was always obliging and was ever generous and sympathetic. (Ibid. 98-9).

He had a happy home. He had more than one wife. All of them were devoted to him and chaste. They were so chaste that when he died his wives practised *satī* or self-immolation. The poet says well that on his death, Indra the king of gods welcomed him to his abode. By his deeds and by his character he won heaven. (See *Puṟam* 240 and 241). It is even said that a certain owl who lived in his forest saw that the master of the country died, and without bestowing any thought he fell into the funeral fire and burnt himself. The idea is that Aṇḍiran won even the love of esteem of inanimate objects. (*Puṟam* 240).

Titiyan: Whether Aṇḍiran had a son to succeed him or who succeeded him is still a moot point in South Indian history. We meet with one Titiyan in Saṅgam literature, and it is just possible he was successor to Aṇḍiran. But what was his relationship to Aṇḍiran it is not possible to determine. Like Aṇḍiran, Titiyan seems to have been a great warrior and chieftain. Ollaiyūrtanda Bhūtappāṇḍiyan refers to Titiyan as 'Podiyir ĕelvan' or the lord of Podiyil hills*. In another verse the poet Paraṇar refers to the prowess of Titiyan and his army especially the chariot force†. A certain Titiyan is being celebrated in a number of stanzas in the *Aganāṉūṟu*. In *Agam* st. 36 the poet Madurai Nakkīrar informs us that Titiyan was one of those who joined the confederacy of kings against the Pāṇḍyan Neḍumjeḻiyan who defeated them in the historic battle of Alankāṉam or Talaiālamkāṉam now identified with Talai-Alam-Kāḍu, eight miles north-west of Tiruvālūr in the Tanjore district. It seems that two Titiyans are involved

* *Agam.* 25, 1. 20.

† Ibid. 322; See also 331.

here, the one possibly an Āayi king and the other a Vēḷir chief of Teraḷannūr in Tanjore district. It is significant to recall to our mind in this connection the term Podiyir ēlva attributed to Titiyan by Bhūtappāṇḍiyan. This attribute well nigh shows that Titiyan was not only an independent ruler but also a chieftain who evoked the regard of the Pāṇḍyan king. At least the poet does not warrant any enmity between the Pāṇḍyan king Bhūtappāṇḍyan and Āayi Titiyan. He was possibly an immediate successor of Aṇḍiran Āayi. Here it is difficult to follow the chronology of Mr. Sivaraja Pillai. There is at least a difference of a century between his calculation and ours. It is established with more plausibility that Aṇḍiran was the Āayi king referred to by Ptolemy ruling about 140 A. D. It is therefore reasonable to assign to Titiyan a date after 140 A. D. If we roughly assign to him a generation of rule, he should be placed somewhere between 140 A. D. or 145 A. D. tc 165 A. D, or 170 A. D. But it may be noted in passing that this was the age of the Cera king Seṅguṭṭuvan, and his Pāṇḍyan contemporary according to the *Silappadikāram* was a certain Neḍumjeḷiyan. And Bhūtappāṇḍiyan must be possibly the immediate predecessor of this Neḍumjeḷiyan.

The history of the Āayi dynasty after Titiyan is completely a blank chapter in South Indian history. Neither literature nor epigraphy comes to our aid. Mr. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai however thinks that Adigan was a successor of Titiyan, and his successor was the Titiyan who fell in Ālamkānam battle. But there is no warrant to this theory. Nowhere is it stated that either Adigan, or Titiyan who took part in the battle of Ālamkānam, was of the Āayi dynasty that ruled from the Podiyil hills. On the other hand the very little evidence points to Adigan being identified with Adigamān; Titiyan who fell in the Ālamkānam battle had his kingdom in the Chōḷadeśa. In these circumstances it is difficult to agree with Mr. Pillai who seeks to

bring the history of the dynasty to two more generations than we actually know*.

Later Āayi Kings.

After the death of Āayi Titiyan it seems highly probable that the Āykula ruling from the Podiyil region lost its independence, and became subject to the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. It was roughly about the end of the third century when the Āayi kingdom lost its independence. What became of the Āayis after this, we cannot say with any certainty. Indeed there is no clue, literary or epigraphical, to show that the Āayi recovered their independence in the near future. For about four centuries the history of this Āayi dynasty is thrown into the shade. Apparently the Āayi king continued to hold the position of a subordinate ruler until, in the eighth century, a member of the dynasty became powerful and asserted his independence. From the fact that the inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries shed needed light on the later Āayi rulers, we have to assume that the Āayi dynasty did not totally disappear in the third century A. D. and succeeding centuries. Perhaps a legitimate successor to the Āayi Titiyan was reinstated on terms of subordinate alliance to the Pāṇḍyan king, and this continued for some centuries until it was given to one Śaḍaiyan to shake off the Pāṇḍyan yoke and regain his independence. Saḍaiyan is according to the available inscriptional evidence must have regained independence of the Āayi country. This kingdom is known in the documents as Malaināḍu. The documents which throw light on the later Aayi rulers are the Huzur Office plates, the stone inscription at Kalugumalai and the Paliyam plates of Varaguṇa.† A reconstruction of chronology on the basis of these records shows that Aḍakkan was reigning in 855 A. D., and continued to rule till 866 A. D. when Vikramāditya Varaguṇa succeeded him.

* *Chronology of the Tamils*: pp. 122-24.

† See *Tr. Ar. Series*, Vol. i.

It has been taken for granted that this Śaḍaiyan, according to inscriptions, was the father of Karunandan. In the absence of definite evidence it is not possible to say whether independence of the Āayi kingdom, known to epigraphy as Malaināḍu as we have already said, was gained by Śaḍaiyan or one of his predecessors. Whatever this may be, it seems certain that Śaḍaiyan enjoyed a rule of independence and freedom. How long Śadaiyan flourished and whether he had any achievements to his credit, it is not possible to say. But one thing that can be claimed as a historical fact is that the throne passed on to his son Karunandan peacefully.

Karunandan succeeded his father Śaḍaiyan and is known in inscriptions as Śaḍaiyan Karunandan. As the epigraphist puts it, it simply means Karunandan, son of Śaḍaiyan The Madras Museum grant and Velvikuḍi grant inform us that king Jaṭilavarman Parāntaka (Māṟañjaḍaiyan) was his Pāṇḍyan contemporary. This receives further corroboration from the Kalugumalai inscription. It is said here that Māṟañjaḍaiyan the Pāṇḍyan king led an expedition to Malaināḍu in the twenty-third year of his reign. This expedition was a successful one to the extent that the fort of Ariviyūrkkoṭṭai fell. The reigning Āayi chieftain also fell a victim to the Pāṇḍyan sword. It is not clear from the materials available whether his immediate successor Aḍakkan became a vassal of the Pāṇḍyan king. It must be noted that Aḍakkan ascended the throne with the highsounding title of Ko-kkarunandaḍakkan which is also the reading of the stone inscriptions at Tiruviḍaikkoḍu* So we have to take it in this necessarily imperfect sketch that Karunandan enjoyed freedom to the last years of his life. But Mr. Gopinatha Rao seems to think that he became a vassal and as is usual with the vassals he assumed the name Śrī Vallabha of his overlord for himself and Varaguṇa to his son.†

Tr. Ar. Series I p. 14.
†Ibid p. 189.

Adakkan. His full name is Ko-kkarunadaḍakkan The Huzur Office plates yield much information about him. The first plate says that he built a Viṣṇu shrine and a śālai. For this purpose he bought a plot of land known as Ulakkuḍivilai from the sabhā of Miñcirai, and the whole was converted into a village which was named Parthivaśekharapuram. Before fixing up the final boundary limits of the village, he let loose an elephant round the land, being an ancient custom. According to this a she elephant was generally let loose. It would take its own route and come back home. As it went the route was marked, and the area thus marked out was a fitting grant for any charitable purpose So it is said that Karunanḍakkan did it, and that land was apparently set apart for the temple and the śālai. This sālai was a boarding school, arrangements being made to feed ninety-five śaṭṭars. The other plates give more information about grants of lands to temple services, such as bringing water to the temple, supplying flowers, playing music and conducting the festival of seven days in the month of Paṅguni. It was already stated that provision was made for feeding 95 śaṭṭars who were followers of three Caraṇas—45 for the Paviliya (Baharija) caraṇa, 36 for Taittirīya caraṇa, 14 for Talavakāra. Each caraṇa represents an important section of the Vedas.* Then the records give further information as to the relations between temple servants and śaṭṭars. In the fifth plate on its second side there is a Sanskrit verse which is in praise of one śrī Vallabha,[2] and from this we have to infer that Karunandaḍakkan bore that name also. His Pāṇḍyan contemporary was Varaguna Pāṇḍya. Karunanḍadakkan had a son called Varaguṇa. The inscriptional evidence points out that

1 cp. Naccinārkkiniyar on Tolkāppiyam, Śirappuppāyiram.

2 Whether this was borne as the title of his overlord or in memory of God Kṛṣṇa who uplifted the Yādava race, it is not quite easy to say. But I am inclined to take the latter view, and associate the school of Kanyākumāri which went by the name of Śrīvallabhapperumāḷai with the honoured name of this Āayi king (*Tr. Ar. Series* II, p. 138).

this Varaguṇa or Vikramāditya Varaguṇa who succeeded Aḍakkan must have been born in A. D. 853, and it further records that Aḍakkan continued to live till 866 A. D.

Vikramāditya Varaguṇa: He succeeded Aḍakkan when he was a boy. According to one calculation he must have been thirteen years old when he ascended the throne. The source of information for his reign is mainly the Pāliyam plates of Varaguṇa.* The second part of the record commences with an invocation to Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha**, followed by a glorius description of Yaduvaṁśa. It appears from this record that this Varaguṇa became a convert to the Buddhist faith, and that Buddhism was his personal religion. He had granted in the year A. D. 868 extensive lands to the Buddhist temple at Śrīmūlavāsam[1]. He had also endowed the Jain temple at Chitarāl in the Vilavaṅgoḍu taluk[2]. We have no information about the Āayi dynasty after this prince. To venture a conjecture the dynasty died out soon.

In conclusion we have to note that the inscriptions, especially the Huzur Office plates, use the Tamil alphabet, and the language is Tamil. The particular interest it conveys is that the Āayi kingdom continued to be a part of the Tamil country until the end of the ninth century, if not earlier.

* *Tr. Ar. Series* Vol. I. pp. 187 ff.

** Ibid P. 190—verses 1-2 First plate: second side.

1 A considerable amount of interest centres round Śrīmūlavāsam. What was flourishing about 868 A. D. had become submerged under sea waters by the commencement of the eleventh century. This description of the city has been recorded in the Muṣakavaṁśakāvya. What affords greater interest is the discovery of an image in Gāndhāra with the short inscription.——

Dakṣiṇāpathe mūlavāsalokanāthe

(A. Foucher: L' Iconographie Bouddhique Pt. I. p. 105)

This demonstrates two things: (i) Śrīmūlavāsam was a reputed Buddhist shrine of Lokeśvara, (ii) a duplicate of this image was worshipped in distant Gāndhāra (*Tr. Ar. Series* II, pp. 116-7)

2 *Tr. Ar. Series* I, pp. 193-5.

ST. THOMAS IN SOUTH INDIA.

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1. Introduction and Scope.

The South Indian Apostolate of St. Thomas has been a matter of controversy from the time especially of Basnage who was followed by La'Croz, Tillemonte and many others. Much has been written on this subject, which, though trite, has not in any way lost its fascination for the Orientalist, In the following lines we intend stressing certain aspects of the subject giving them a setting of our own. In our opinion this is the best method to approach the question if we would like to come to any conclusion.

2. St. Thomas and India.

It is a well attested fact that all early Fathers and writers whether eastern or western speak of India in connection with the labours of the Apostle St. Thomas. It will be too much on our part to quote these Fathers and writers in a comparatively short paper like the present one. Dr. Mingana after a careful study of the matter has drawn the conclusion that there is no historian, no poet, no breviary, no liturgy and no writer of any kind, who having the opportunity of speaking of Thomas, does not associate his name with India; that some writers mention also Parthia and Persia among the lands evangelized by him, but all of them are unanimous in the matter of India; that the name of Thomas can never be dissociated from that of India; that to refer to all the Syrian and Christian Arab authors who speak of India in connection with St. Thomas would therefore be equivalent to referring to all who have made mention of the name Thomas; that Thomas and India are in this respect synonymous. [1]

1. The Early Spread of Christianity in India (Reprint)

We would therefore think that it is an admitted historical truth that St. Thomas evangelised "India". [2]

3. Which India?

The question now is proposed 'which India'? Was our India, especially South India known to the Fathers and early writers? Was not North-west India, or Parthia or Persia or Arabia Felix, or Ethiopia designated by the term "India"? If so, should not South India be thrown in the back ground?

4. South India not unknown to the early Writers.

We would remark that there is no shred of ancient literature which says that in this connection India does not signify the India of the Ganges in general, or South India in particular.

The India of the Ganges, especially South India, was not a *terra incognita* to the early Fathers and writers. Pliny refers to Muziris [3] (the modern Cranganore: in *Tamil* Muchiri) which according to Julius Solinus "could not be reached owing to pirates in the neighbourhood" and so Roman ships were "equipped with cohorts"—*cohortibus impositis*—before they set sail to India[4] The kingdom of Pandy and Madura was known to Pliny who says: "Pandion reigns away from the emporium in a distant inland city which is called Modusa.[5] For Ptolemy the *Modusa* of Pliny is "Modoura (Modoura," the kingdom of Pandios (Mavdious)[6] and he adds that "in the bay of Agarico (Agarixon) of the region of Pandios" is "the cape

2. If the ante-Nicean writers of Alexandria speak of Parthia in connection with St. Thomas, the pos-Nicean writers stand for India. The former do not exclude India; nay Parthia for them might have been *Paratha* (India) as Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Iyer, B. A., M. R. A. S., contends in his *The Apostle Thomas and India*. For him Parthia was a little extended signer of *Paratha*.

3. Natural History l VI. c. 23.

4. Indicum Itinerarium c. 67.

5. *Natural History* l. VI. c. 23.

6. *Geographia* Vet l. 7. c. 1. fol. 94. 91.

Cory" which is *Comorin* from *Cumari* the *Comar* of the author of *Periplus Maris Erythraei*. Arrianus or the author of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* describes the Coromandal coast thus: "The first place Balita which has a beautiful port and seaside village. After this comes another place Comar by name. In that is a fortress and a port. To that place in-order to wash themselves and purify by water are won't to flock those who for the rest of the whole time of their life think of leading a religious and widowed life. For, in writing it is left to memory that the goddess (cumari virgin)[7] used once every month to bathe there. From Comar the region extends to Colchos[8] in which is fishery of pearls. That part of this region which is towards the *Meridies* is subject to the rule of Pandion....."[9]. According to Ptolemy[10] in India are "the estuary of the river Chaberi[11] and the emporium Mailiarpha and the place whence those who sail to Chrysa put to see"[12]. After the word Mailarpha he adds "Maesolia the estuary of the river Maesolon" which refers to our Musulipatam.

Large numbers of Roman coins have been discovered in South India, and they mostly belong to the period between Augustus and Nero[13]. It was Hippalus a captain of the emperor Claudius who discovered the monsoon winds in 47 A. D. Pliny deprecates the immoderate use of pepper in Rome.[14] When Alaric the Goth conquered Rome, he took among other things 5000 pounds of pepper and 4000 robes of scarlet cloth.

7. The goddess *Cumari Virgin*: *Kanikkumari*.
8. *Colchos* our *Colachil*?
9. Quoted by Paullinus in *India Orientalis Christiana* p. 118 note.
10. *Geographia*. lib. 7. tab. X c. I. p. 117. edito Lugd.
11. *Chaberi* our *Caveri*
12. *Mailarpha* our *Mylapore*.
13. Swell. J. R. A. S. 1903.
14. *Natural History* XIII.

Hence nobody would deny that South India in the dawn of Christianity was known to the Romans and Greeks[15]

Of the early Syriac writers who have spoken of India in connection with St. Thomas, some, as St. Ephrem, lived on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates on the over land trade route to Modern India and had ample facilities to know of South India. We shall have to speak more about the Syrians below.

5. *Dr. P. J. Thomas on the Subject.*

The observation of Dr. P. J. Thomas is pertinent here. "According to recent critics," says he "Persia and even Arabia have been mistaken for India. Modern writers who are acquainted with the mistakes made in this matter by medieval European travellers have assumed that the same mistakes must have arisen in the case of Greek and Syriac patristic writings also. But they forget that before the rise of Islam, India was better known to Greeks and Syrians and that the testimony quoted above (of St. Ephreme &c.) is that of men who lived on the banks of Tigris and Euphrates, on the over land trade route to India, and had ample facilities to know quite well where India was. As for the Greek fathers it would be absurd to say that they did not know India, seeing the most authoritative of contemporary Greek writings on Geography and Trade-Pliny's *Natural History* (c. 50-60 A. D.); *Periplus Maris Aerithrae* (c. 60 A. D.) and Ptolemy's *Geography* (c. 150 A. D.) knew India, especially South India, with a minuteness of topography that would amaze the moderns. By India they all meant the country lying in the Indian Ocean between the mouths of Indus and of Ganges. By the discovery of the monsoon winds in c. 47 A. D. voyage to India became a comparatively easy matter to the people of western Asia and every year numerous ships sailed from the Red Sea Ports to the West

15. cf. Dr. P. J. Thomas. *The India of the Early Christian Fathers* and *The Roman Trade centres on the Malabar coast.*

Coast of India viz Socodra. As the monsoon winds directed the sailing ships straight to Malabar Coast—according to Pliny Muziris (Cranganor) was the first port touched in India the Greeks and Arbs naturally knew that part of the country best and had to touch Malabar before they could proceed to any other place in India. Therefore the India of the early Fathers was first and foremost Southern India". [16]

6. *South India Cannot be Ignored.*

South India, therefore, cannot be ignored when we treat of the India of St. Thomas. In the words of Dr. P. J. Thomas quoted above "The India of the early Fathers was first and foremost Southern India". It was not necessary that they should mention it with the qualification *South* since South India is a part of India. Since North-West India, Parthia, Persia, Arabia Felix, Ethiopia and South India were all known to the ancient writers, and since there was regular communication between these countries and the Greeks, Syrians and Latins, it cannot be imagined that they held conflicting views regarding the India of St. Thomas which *so very often* occurs in their writings. South India, as we said above, has a right to be heard when we treat of St. Thomas and the India of those who have written about St. Thomas.

7. *The South Indian Tradition.*

In South India we have a community of Christians who from very ancient times are exclusively known as the *St. Thomas Christians*. Certainly they are very ancient and they claim to be the descendents of those whom St. Thomas baptized in South India itself. Making concessions for the legends that have grown around it and for the discrepancies regarding its details, the tradition about the Apostolic origin of this Christian community is definite, strong and living

16. *Was the Apostle St. Thomas in South India?* S. B. College Magazine IV 3.

It definitely and unhesitatingly points out to places and events connected with St. Thomas,[17] especially to his tomb at Mylapore. Even today there are found in Malabar several families that claim direct descent from those whom St. Thomas made Christians. This tradition is so strong that, as Mr. T. K. Joseph puts it, even if St. Thomas himself were to come to life again and declare that he never came to South India, the Malabar Christian community would not abandon it. In spite of all these we have no reference (?) to this tradition in any of the earlier, say pre-Marco-Poline writings. Still, no one has ever proved that this Christianity and its tradition had an origin later than the first century. Whatever writers we come across, we find all recording this tradition as existing previously. Dr. Adrian Fortescue is one of those who "leave the Apostolic origin of Malabar Christianity as a very doubtful legend.' Even he admits that "the Christians of St. Thomas are right when they protest against being described as a Nestorian Mission"[18]. The Nestorians themselves, we must note here, have not at any time put forward the claim of having introduced Christianity into South India. In the South Indian tradition there is no anachronism nor anything that may weaken it in any way. There is no *rival tradition* any where in the world *claiming the tomb of the Apostle*. Both Hindus and Mohomedans share this tradition with the St. Thomas Christians. Criticisms brought against it range

17. There is a place, for instance, Vammanat near Trichur. Tradition says that when St. Thomas baptized some Brahmins of Palayur, a village north of Vammanat, the rest of the Brahmins cursed that locality calling it *Chapakada*, the modern Chawghat, meaning "cursed forest" and went to Vammanat saying 'The next bath at Vammanat'. Even today Brahmins of that locality do not bathe eat, or drink in this cursed area. The origin of the proverb "Iniyatha Kuli Vammanat" i. e. The next bath at Vammanat, is attributed to this event. This and similar traditions show how deeprooted the St. Thomas story is in Malabar.

18. The Lesser Eastern Churches, p. 356.

round its details only leaving the central point intact and unscathed. This tradition therefore is not to be treated as grand-mothers' tales to be met with in every country and community.

8. *The South Indian Tradition and the Syrian Belief.*

The South Indian tradition must be viewed in its relation to the belief and practice of the Syrians who, as we shall presently see, have a right to speak on St. Thomas.

There is no doubt that the Syrians in the early centuries of the Christian era could know the whereabouts of the India of St. Thomas. North-west India, Parthia, Persia and Arabia Felix were all in early centuries as well known to the Syrians as either to the Greeks or to the Latins owing to the regular overland trade that existed between the Syrians and these countries. The Syrians moreover, had from the very beginning a special devotion towards St. Thomas whom they all, irrespective of Rite or Faith, term their Apostle who met with his death in India. They believe that the relics of St. Thomas were translated to the Syrian city of Edessa in the 4th century[19]. We know from St. Ephrem and other sources that thay were translated from India by a Syrian merchant. Both the Greeks and the Latins believe in this translation of the relics

19. *Chronicon Edessenum* XXXVIII

The Chronicon says: "In the year 705. (i. e. of the Greeks which is equivalent to 393 (4) A. D.) in the month of August on the 22nd day, they brought the box of the Apostle Mar Thomas to the great Church dedicated to him in the days of Mr. Cyrus the bishop."

We need not think that the whole of the relics were thus removed to Edessa from "India". It could very well be that a portion was left in "India". This could make some in "India" think that the whole of the relics were in the place where they were first laid.

from India to Edessa. There is every reason to think that the India from where the relics were removed must have been the same for the Greeks, Syrians and Latins. Further, it cannot be possibly supposed, as we have pointed out above, that they held conflicting views about the India of St. Thomas. The Syrians again had known the Syriac work *The Acts of St. Thomās* which had its origin among them, and which, by its names of persons and places, has bewildered many, especially since the discovery of the coins of King Gondaphares in the Punjab, Afghanistan, Seistan and Sind. It seems therefore that the Syrian account about the India of St. Thomas must be considered decisive.

The earliest Syriac reference to India in connection with St. Thomas is found in *The Doctrine of the Apostles*, a Syriac work still in the possession of the Syrians, written not later than 250 A. D. A passage in it says: "India and all its own countries and those bordering, even to the farthest sea, received the Apostle's hand of priesthood from Judas Thomas who was guide and ruler of the Church he built there and ministered there".

It seems that this passage cannot apply to Arabia Felix except for "the *farthest sea*" But "*India and all its own countries*' show a sub-continent like our India. It cannot be the small, sea-coast, narrow country of Arabia Felix (the west coast of Arabia) nor North-West India, Parthia, Persia or Ethiopia. This interpretation may not be conclusive; but

Of St. Ephrem who speaks about the translation of the relics from India, the *Chronicon Edessenum* says:: "XXX. In the year 685 (i. e. 373) in the month of June, on the 9th day, passed away from this world Mar, Ephrem very celebrated for doctrine." Hence the *Chronicon* in No. XXXVIII cited above speaks of the solemn carrying of the relics to the church of Edessa. The translation from India had already taken place before the death of St. Ephrem.

the text under review serves to prove that the Syrians believed in the Indian Apostolate of St. Thomas long before the translation of the Saint's relics[20].

The West Syrians lost all contact with the India of the Ganges when the Muslim nations acquired the monopoly of trade in the East[21]. But it was not so in the case of the East Syrians who held intimate relations with the South Indian Christians till the end of the 16th century. Let us therefore pass on to the East Syrian Church which had very special connections with St. Thomas and South Indian Christianity.

Let it be noted that the East Syrians were generally called Nestorians. There was a time when even Catholics of the East Syrian Rite South Indians not excluded, were termed or were misunderstood as Nestorians. All Nestorian heretics are East Syrians, but not all East Syrians are Nestorian heretics.

20. The Syriac manuscripts at Berlin (Sachau Ms.) and Cambridge say "a certain merchant came from the south country" to take St. Thomas. The south country, as Mr. M. S. Rameswami Aiyar says may be Deccan meaning the *south country* and applied as a proper noun to signify South India. The missing word of the British Museum syriac manuscript which says "a certain merchant, an Indian, happened to come into the south country from (missing word) whose name was Habban", may be *Makasa* for Mysore the land of buffalo (*Mahisha, nādu*, buffalo land; mahisha in Sanskrit means buffalo). In Tamil Mysore is called by some authors *Erumainādu* (buffalo land). Jacob of Saruga Syrian writer who admits St. Thomas was in India mentions Mahuna in connection with merchants in a poem on St. Thomas. An Ethiopic text says that Abnes (Habban) was sent by the king of *Gona* and that Abnes was from India. Gona in Kanarese is *Kona* meaning buffulo. These explanations are from Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar's "*The Apostle Thomas And India.*"

21. 'Thus Michael the West Syrian writes stories of what Emperor Justinian accomplished among Indian and Kushite Kings of. Payne Smith *Thesaurus Syriacus* Vol. I p. 1026 quoted in Mingana's Reprint, p. 12.

The pre-Nestorian tradition about St. Thomas in the East Syrian Church, as also in the West Syrian Church, recorded by St. Ephrem and embodied in ancient breviaries and calendars clearly points out India as the land of martyrdom of St. Thomas. Everybody admits that the East Syrian Church excels all the others, the St. Thomas Christians excepted, in her devotion to St. Thomas. It was to Edessa the once famous centre of the East Syrian Church, that the relics of St. Thomas were carried in the 4th century. Add to these that the East Syrians *held under control* the St. Thomas Christians of South India till the end of the 16th century.

Now, to the East Syrians who could know the whereabouts of the India of St. Thomas and to whom *The Acts of St. Thomas* were well known, "the land of India" where St. Thomas "was pierced with a lance on the seashore"[22] has always been South India. While they held the South Indian Christianity under control, they never objected to the South Indian tradition about St. Thomas. Nay, it was their tradition also. To them the seashore, where according to their breviary, St. Thomas met with his glorious death has always been Mylapore.

If the South Indian tradition was a mere myth, the East Syrians would, it seems, have suppressed it at least indirectly by not accepting it. They would have, by their belief and practice, pointed out to the South Indians where the genuine India of St. Thomas and his tomb lay, whence they had acquired his relics through a merchant who, in the words of St. Ephrem the Syrian,

"Since on divers trades he embarked,
"Nothing so precious did he acquire,
"In his several journeys to India,
"And thence on his returns,

22. *Bathrad' Hendo basper yamma*"In the land of India on the seashore. (East Syrian Breviary).

"All riches which there he found,
"Dirt in his eyes he did repute,
"When to thy (Thomas') *sacred* bones compared."

No doubt, the East Syrians would have nipped the South Indian tradition in the very bud, if, as some think, they themselves had introduced Christianity into South India. Thus the attitude of the East Syrians towards the South Indian tradition amply makes up for the absence (?) of explicit or positive South Indian records referring to its existence in primitive centuries.[23] Again, the East Syrian attitude towards the South Indian tradition and the Syriac work *The Acts of St. Thomas* do not permit us to discredit the South Indian tradition on the ground that the South Indian tradition does not agree fully with the narrations of *The Acts of St. Thomas.*

9. *The Tomb of St. Thomas at Mylapore* [23b].

9. The memory of the tomb of St. Thomas and its precise locality were fresh in the minds of the East Syrians, centuries after the translation of the Saint's relics. Amr'son of Mathew an East Syrian writer who flourished about 1340 says that "his (Thomas') tomb stands on the peninsula *Milan* in *India* to the right of the Altar in the *monastery* bearing his name."[24]

The East Syrian bishops who came to Malabar in 1504, give us a description of the monastery at Mylapore mentioned by Amr, son of Mathew. Say they: "But also the *House*

23. Here we do not enter into the question whether there are very ancient writings in South India referring to this tradition.

23b. Milan, Malapur, Maylaph are pre-Portugeese names in connection with the tomb of St. Thomas. We have supposed them to be identical with the present Mylapore though we do not insist on such an identification. The tomb we insist was in or near the present Mylapore or somewhere on the Coromandal Coast. Otherwise the Malabar Christians would not have given credit to the Portuguese who located it in Mylapore.

24. Assemani *Bibliotheca Orientalis* IV, p. 34.

of the holy Apostle Thomas has begun to be inhabited by some Christians who are thinking of its restoration. But it lies at a distance of about 25 days' journey from the said Christians, and it lies on the seashore in a town called Mailapur in the province of Silan which is one of the provinces of India"[25].

Writers of the Middle ages and before may throw further light on the subject. Bishop John de Marignoli, O.F.M. Papal Legate (1348—1350) after a stay of 14 months at Quilon *set sail* to visit *The church of St Thomas*[26]. Nicolo de Conti, an Italian traveller who visited Mylapore between 1425 and 1430 writes: "Proceeding onwards the said Nicolo arrived at a maritime city, which is named *Malepur* situated in the second gulf beyond the Indus (the bay of Bengal). Here the body of St. Thomas lies honourably buried *in a large and beautiful church*; it is worshiped (venerated) by heretics, who are called *Nestorians*, and (they) inhabit this city to the number of a thousand. These *Nestorians* are scattered over *all India* as Jews among us"[27].

Bl. Oderic (1324-1325) says that from *Minibar* "tis a journey of ten days to another realm which is called *Mobar* and this is very great and hath in it many cities and towns. And in this realm is laid the body of the Blessed Thomas, the Apostle. *His Church* is filled with idols and beside it are some fifteen houses of *Nestorians*[28].

In 1330 the Dominican Friar Jordanus brought letters from the Pope to the Christians living in *Melophatam* which the Friar also spells *Melopoor*[28b].

25. Schurhammer, *The Malabar Church and Rome* p. 5.
We are inclined to think that the word *Madras* is derived from this monastery at Mylapore. *Madrastha*, *Madrasth*, and *Madrasa* in Syriac, and *Madrasah* in Arabic signify a house of training as a monastery is. Paulinus in his *India Orientalis Christiana* spells Madras as *Madrast*.

26. Medlycott, *India and the Apostle St. Thomas*, p. 94.

27. Quoted by Medlycott, *Ibid.* p. 95.

28. Idem, Ibid. p. 92.—*Mobar* is the *Ma'abar* of Marco Polo, we think. Mrs. Conor Miguira *St. Thomas the Apostle* p. 27.

Marco Polo (1293) speaks of the province of *Ma'abar*[29] and of the tomb of St. Thomas visited by Christians and Saracens.[30] Friar John of Monte Cervino proceeded from *Persia* in 1291, and reached India "where stands the *church* of *St. Thomas the Apostle*."[31] About 1222 Solomon of Basra says in the Book of Bees: "Thomas taught the Parthians, Medes and Indians, and because he baptized the daughter of the king of the Indians he stabbed him with a spear he died. Habban the merchant bought his body and laid it in Edersa the blessed city of Our Lord. Others say that he was buried at Mayluph, a city in the land of the Indians"[31b] This Solomon was an East Syrian[31c] We should recall here also the embassy of King Alfred "to India, to St. Thomas" in 883.

St. Gregory of Tours (593) observes: "Thomas the Apostle, according to the narrative of his martyrdom, is stated to have suffered in India. His holy remains (corpus), after a long interval of time were removed to the city of *Edessa* in *Syria* and there interred. In that place of *India* where they first rested, stand a *monastery* and a *church* of striking dimensions, elaborately adorned and designed..... This Theodore, who had been to the place narrated to us"[32].

29. *Malabar* according ancient writers is the tract of land lying on the eastern coast of South India beginning from Cape Comorin. See *Malabar* and *Mabar* by Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar in *The Catholic Register* XXXIII. March 1931, p. 7.

30. Medlycott. o. c. p. 84.

31. Ibid. p. 89.

31b. Mrs. Conor Miguire op. c. p. 26.

31c. For Ptolamy Mallarpha was on the Coromandal Coast. (See above).

32. Ibid. p. 72. Note that St. Gregory of Tours in the 6th c. knew of the translation of the relics to Edessa from India which Niccio de Condi and Bl. Orderic of the 15th and 14th centuries cited above, do not seem to know. It could also be that the presence of a part of the relics at Mylapore made these say that the body of St. Thomas was at Mylapore.

St. John Chrysostom writes that from the *earliest times of Christianity* the tomb of St. Thomas was *in the East* as much venerated as that of St. Peter at Rome"[33]. In the *East* of St. John Chrysostom we find no tomb of St. Thomas except in South India. Note here that this same St. John Chrysostom had known the translation to Edessa of the relics of St. Thomas who, as he says, "travelled almost the whole *inhabited* world".[34]

Yes, Western travellers mention the tomb of St. Thomas at *Mylapore*[34b] where there were a *church and a monastery* of striking dimensions. They also mention that it was surrounded by *Nestorians*. These *Nestorians* were either *East Syrians* or South Indians who were under the East Syrians following the *East Syriac Rite*. Since De Conti compares them to Jews in Europe, they must have been colonies from "East Syria', and Persia. The East Syrian bishops of 1504 speak of the *House of St. Thomas* at Mylapore, while the East Syrian writer Amr'son of Mathew alludes to the tomb of St. Thomas at *Meilan in India* to the right of the altar in the *monastery* of *St. Thomas*. Solomon of Basra, another East Syrian, had heard of *Mayluph* as the burial place of the saint. All these go to show that the East Syrians had not forgotten the place from where they had obtained the sacred bones of the Apostle in the 4th century. It cannot be supposed that the East Syrians forged a tradition and located the tomb of the Apostle at Mylapore shifting it from North-west India or Parthia or Persia which were in their neighbourhood. If the real tomb was in Arabia, Felix or Ethiopia we cannot explain how St. John Chrysostom speaks of it as *in the East* and how the Western travellers did not notice the East Syrian forgery and South Indian myth, the more so since the *Saracens* also were seen venerating the tomb at Mylapore. Moreover, some Western writers

33. D'Orsey, *Portuguese Discoveries, Dependencies and Missions in Asia and Africa* p. 61.

34. Medlycott, o. c. pp. 146,46.

34b. See note (22b)

distinguish between India and India when they speak of St. Thomas. Thus the collections of the martyrology of Usuard for the *Idibus Julii* says "Bertholomew in India after being flayed was decollated: Thomas was pierced through in *another India* which is *in the confines of the world*"[35]. India in the confines of the world for a writer who know the India of St. Bartholow, we think, must be our India. Add to this that nowhere in the world except in South India there existed and still exists the tradition about and the locality of the tomb of St. Thomas. We would in this connection recall what we said above, namely, that the Syrian tradition about the India of St. Thomas must be considered decisive. This decisiveness seems to become all the more strong when we study the East Syrian belief in the light of its relation with South Indian Christianity, South Indian tradition, and the tomb at Mylapore.

10. Calamina.

The tomb at Mylapore brings us to the Calamina question. Many early writers speak of Calamina as the place of martyrdom of St. Thomas in India. But nowhere in India do we now find Calamina. This made some deny or call to doubt the Indian Apostolate of St. Thomas. But what we have said above about the tomb at Mylapore forces us to believe that Calamina is near Mylapore. It could be that there was a small town or place near Mylapore by this name which is now destroyed or not called by the former name. This our view seems to be is confirmed by a statement in the work *Nuovo Viaggio all intorno del Mondo* published in Venice in 1762 which says

35. Paulinus. *India Orientalis Christiana*, p. 144.

St. Jerome in his letter 146 *ad Evangelum* says that "Gaul and Britain and Africa and *Persia* and *India* and all barbarian nations adore one Christ and observe one rule of charity" and that because of its rarity "fleabane in *India* is more precious than *pepper*." Note that he knew Persia and India and that in *India pepper*, according to him, was not rare. Where does pepper grow in abundance except in Malabar?

in letter 12 on page 126 of Vol. 2: "There was there other times (in India) a town called Calamina, which has been destroyed in the war between the French and the Portuguse) in which the Christians of the Malabar coast say that St. Thomas was martyred by the infidels. This town was built on the ruins of another called *Batuma* that is to say the town of St. Thomas."[36] Again, Assemani in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis* III para 2, p. 461, cites a letter written in 1652 or 1653 from Mylapore by Patriarch Ahathalla to the St. Thomas Christains of Malabar. Patriarch Ahathalla in that letter says: "Those whose custom it is to perturb the upright have detained me in custody in *Calamina*" Hence there was a place near Mylapore called Calamina. Mgr. Teixeira observes that there is near Madras a place called *Kala Street* where a certain class of natives sell fish.[37] According to him Calamina may be from Kala-meen-ur, *i e.* the place of the Kala fish caught in great numbers off the sea coast of Madras.[38]

According to Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar, in Tamil *Kali Manai* means seaport in general, and Calamina a corruption of this was by foreigners mistaken for or made a proper noun.[39] Recall here the Syrian tradition which says that St. Thomas died in India *on the sea shore.*[40]

Unless we give some such explanation to Calamina we cannot explain how the whole world, so to say, looked to Mylapore for the tomb of St. Thomas. The place of martyrdom must be sought near the tomb.

36. Cited by Paulinus, o. c. p. 135. We do admit that this may be a supposition of later authors and writer who located Calamina near Mylapore or identified it with Mylapore.

37. Preface to *St. Thomas the Apostle in India* by F. A. D 'Cruz 2nd ed.

38. Ibidem.

39. The Apostle Thomas and Madras.

40. According to Mr. M. S Ramaswami Aiyar the *Quantaria* in or near which St. Thomas was killed as held by the Ethiopian text referred to by Mgr. Medlycott and *Kuntorya* of another quoted by W. R. Philipps are the same and stand for *Kuvanthurai* meaning (in Tamil) the port at the mouth of the river *Kuvam* near Madras—*Ibidem.*

Those who would locate Calamina in Persia or Northwest India or anywhere in Asia west of India forget that the East Syrians, Saracens and others sought the tomb of St. Thomas in South India although Persia and the other places were nearer and better known to them than South India We must remember that they, especially the East Syrians, sought the tomb at Mylapore after they had known that the Saint's relics were taken to Edessa *from India*.

11. The Coins of Gondaphares and the Acts of St. Thomas.

A word about the coins of King Gondaphares and the Syriac work *The Acts of St. Thomas*. Many coins bearing the inscription of a certain King Gondaphares were discovered in the Kabul region. The Syriac work *The Acts of St. Thomas* speaks of King Gudnaphar who brought St. Thomas to India. The presence of these coins in the Kabul region has made some think that the Gudnaphar of *The Acts* is the same as the Gondaphares of the coins and that St. Thomas preached the Gospel only in North India. *The Acts* also mention the Kingdom of Mazdai where St. Thomas was killed as situated in the vicinity of that of Gudnaphar. This has confirmed the view of those who hold St. Thomas preached the Gospel only in North India.

Now, if this conclusion which is based on the coins of Gondaphares and *The Acts of St. Thomas* has any weight it must have had its effect chiefly on the East Syrians who had known the story if *The Acts* and to whom North India was nearer than South India. But we have seen what the attitude of the East Syrians has been in this respect. We must therefore with Dr. Burkitt regard *The Acts* as an elaborate romance, told with much skill, in the delineation of character. [41]In fact *The Acts* are among the *Apocrypha* and no attention is paid to it by the East Syrians as a genuine document. Dr. P. J. Thomas remarks: "The probability is

41. *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1900, pp. 280-290

that the clever Syriac writer dramatised the simple story that came from India, spinning out many Indian names and incidents and connecting the Apostle with an otherwise known Indo-Parthan King Gudapharas"[42]. Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar and others are trying to indentify Gudnaphar, Mazdai and other names found in *The Acts* with South Indian names.[43]

As for Gondaphares, he may or may not be the same as Gudnaphar. The presence of his coins in the Kabul region does not argue that he was King there just as the coins of Augustus found in South India does not make Augustus emperor of South India. It could very well be that Gondaphares was a South Indian King whose territory extended as far as North India.

One thing worthy of special mention is that the South Indian tradition in its essentials agrees with the story of *The Acts* as it does with other versions of the labours of the Apostle found in various parts of the world. Discrepancies in details only stand for the independent origin of the South Indian tradition, which, if it was based on *The Acts* and other sources as its enemies understand them, would have had no appeal to the East Syrians and to the pilgrims who flocked to Mylapore from every part of the world during the middle ages and before.

12. Conclusion.

All early writers agree that St. Thomas evangelized India. South India was well known to the ancients. It cannot be imagined that they shared conflicting views about the India of St. Thomas. In south India there is a very ancient community of Christians known *exclusively* as *The St. Thomas Christians* claiming its origin from St. Thomas. They point out definitely to places and events connected

42. Was the Apostle Thomas in South India ? *S. B. College Magazine IV*, 3.

43. op. c

with the Apostle, especially to his tomb at Mylapore. Nobody has yet proved that this Christianity had its origin in South India later than the first century. From India the relics of the Saint were removed in the 4th century to Edessa, the chief city of the Syrians who had a special devotion towards St. Thomas. This translation of the relics, according to the Syrians, was done by a Syrian merchant. The Syrians therefore had knowledge of the burial place of the Apostle and in this neither the Greeks nor the Latins contradicted them. The Greeks and Latins too believed in the translation of the relics from India. The East Syrians who had better knowledge of the India of St. Thomas and who held under control the South Indian Christianity till the end of the 16th century never questioned the South Indian tradition. They made it their own in spite of *The Acts* which some think stand against the South Indian tradition. The East Syrians always looked to South India for Thomas tomb and Thomas Christians. No objection brought against the South Indian tradition has shaken the East Syrian belief and practice. The South Indian tradition also agrees in its essentials with other versions of the Apostle's labours. Discrepancies in details only argue indpendence of origin.

In the light of all these we don't think it necessary to search for early explicit positive references to South India or to South Indian tradition to support the conclusion that St. Thomas evangelized South India. The arguments we have adduced above are not negative, but really positive though indirect. In some cases positive indirect evidences are more weighty than positive direct references to the thing to be proved.

THE RISE OF THE KĀKATĪYAS.

Dr. M. Rama Rao, M. A., Ph. D., B. Ed.

The rise of the Kākatīyas to power and influence is an important but controversial problem. The older generation of scholars seem to have opined[1] that these monarchs rose to fame as subordinates of the Western Cālukyas of Kalyāṇ and became independent during the days of their decline. One writer believes, on the other hand, that the Kākatīyas were one of the feudatories of the Cālukya-Cōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I and that they rose to power when the Western Cālukyas invaded the Āndhra country during the period of the rule of Kulōttuṅga's sons as viceroys over the Vēṅgi country[2]. Thus, there seem to be two distinct views regarding the rise of the Kākatīyas. Both these views, however, are untenable and it is now necessary, in the light of some of the inscriptions recently discovered in the Nizam's Dominions, to ascribe the rise of the Kākatīyas to a date far earlier and to circumstances far different from those mentioned above.

The western Cālukyan origin theory, referred to above, seems to be based upon two important facts of early Kākatīya history viz., the rule of Bēta II *alias* Tribhuvanamalla as a feudatory of the Cālukyan king Vikramāditya VI and the mention of the Cālukya Vikrama era in the Anamakoṇḍa inscription[3] which belongs to the time of Prōla II, and which indicates his subordination to the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇ. Some more evidences may now be added in support of this view. Two inscriptions from Kāzipēt[4] and

1. This is derived from the belief that Bēta alias Tribhuvanamalla, who was a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI, was the first king of the Kakatīya dynasty. See note 6 a, below.
2. K. V. S. Iyer. Hist. Skt. Anc. Dek. pp. 270-271.
3. E. P. Ind. XII. p. 256-257.
4. Kak. Sam. App. Ins. Nos. 1 & 2.

another from Anamakoṇḍa [5], all belonging to the time of Bēta II bear out his Western Cālūkyan connection. It is known further that Bēta's father Prōla I was also a subordinate of the Cālūkyas, for one of the Kāzipēt inscriptions [6], referred to already, mentions that he obtained the Anamakoṇḍa viṣaya from Sōmeśvara I. Thus we have three generations of Kākatīya kings—Prōla I, Bēta II and Prōla II—who appear to have been the feudatories of two generations of Western Cālūkyan kings—Sōmēśvara I and Vikramāditya VI, a fact which lends much support to the view that the Kākatīya kingdom was an offshoot of that of the Western Cālūkyas. But there are several objections to this vew. In the first place, it was propounded when it was held that Bēta II was the first historical king of the Kākatīya dynasty [7]. This opinion no longer holds good, for, two more generations of Kākatīya kings are known to have ruled before Bēta II [8] and in view of this, his rule as a subordinate of the Western Cālūkyas, becomes the second phase of the history of this dynasty and does not explain its rise In the second place, it is evident that Bēta I, the first known historical king of this family ruled independently and had no western Cālūkyan connection. Thus it is evident that the Kākatīyas rose to fame under Bēta I and not under Bēta II, as is generally supposed, that their rise has no connection with the Western Chālūkyas and that the theory of Western Cāḷūkyan origin of the Kākatīya kingdom is, therefore, untenable.

5. Kak. Sam. app. Ins. No. 4.

6. See my paper entitled "Three new Kakatiya Inscriptions" in the proceedings of the Indian Oriental Conference, 1938, Baroda, and also lines 14-18 of Ins. No. i of my "Epgr. Notes"

7. This has been the opinion of many of the previous writers Cf. K. V. S. Aiyyar. *Historical sketches of Ancient Dekkan* pp. 269, 271 ; Krishna Sastry in E. I. XII p. 260; Dr. S. K. Aiyyangar. *Ancient India* p. 184.

8. See my paper entitled "New light on the Kakatīyas" in JAHRS VII—p. 175.

The second of the theories regarding the rise of the Kakatīyas viz., that they founded their independence about the time of the Western Cālukyan interlude in the rule of the Cālukya—Cōḷas over the Vēṅgi country, is also untenable. In the first place, the inscriptions of the Western Cāḷukyas found in the Āndhra country indicate that they occupied this country for a brief period between 1120—1124 A D. This period falls within the regnal period of the Kākatīya king Prōla II[9], who, as has been stated previously, was a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI till the time of the latter's death in 1127 A. D. In the second place, the Western Cālukyan inscriptions referred to above have been found on the East coast while the Kākatīyas rose to prominence in the interior of the Dekkan. In the third place, it is now proved that Bēta I, the first king of the Kākatīya dynasty, flourished more than a century before the date of the Western Cālukyan interlude mentioned above. It is therefore evident that there is no connection between the rise of the Kākatīyas and the extention of Western Cālukyan power to the East coast.

The clue for the determination of the date and the circumstances of the rise of the Kākatīyas is furnished by one of the Kāzipēt inscriptions referred to already, and another record from Guḍūr[10] in the Nizam's dominions. The former mentions that Bēta I "obtained much wealth by churning the ocean that was the army of the Cōḷa king" and, obviously implies that he fought with the Cōḷas of South India. It is evident that Bēta who was ruling in the neighbourhood of Warangal could not ordinarily have come into conflict with the Cōḷas of the distant south. It may, on the other hand, be supposed that the Cōḷas themselves invaded the neighbourhood of Bēta's principality when

9. He ruled during 1115-1158 A. D.

10. Kak, Sam. app. Ins. No. 3 and Ins. No. 19 of my "*Epigraphica Notes*".

he might have attacked them as a measure of self defence. There is good reason to support this view. The sources of Vēṅgi Cālukyan history mention two Cōḷa invasions of Vēṅgi, one in 999 A. D. towards the close of the so-called interregnum in Eastern Cāḷukyan history [11] and the other towards the close of the third quarter of the 11th century A. D. in the reign of Vijayāditya VII [11]. The later invasion was witnessed by Bēta's son Prōla I, and it is evident therefore that Bēta's fight with the Cōḷas, mentioned in the Kāzipēt inscription, was connected with the first invasion of Vēṅgi in 999 A. D. This implies that he began his rule prior to that date.

The Gūḍūr inscription, referred to above, contains some important information on the basis of which the date of the rise of Bēta I can be determined. A certain Eṟṟana of the Viryāla family is said to have taken up the cause of Bēta defeated his enemy and instituted him over the Koṟavi country. This Eṟṟana's wife Kāmasāni is said to have made Bēta the Kākativallabha. Who was this Bēta? The fact that he was made the Kākativallabha proves beyond doubt, that he was a member of the Kākatīya family. There were, however, two rulers in this dynasty bearing that name and the indentity of the Bēta of the Gūḍūr inscription with either of them has to be determined. It may be stated at the outset that for several reasons he cannot be identified with Bēta II of the Kākatīya family. In the first place, the inscriptions of Bēta II indicate that he had a peaceful reign and was engaged in making numerous charities. In the second place, he is not known to have had the title Kākativallabha mentioned in the Gūḍūr inscription. There are, on the other hand, many reasons for identifying the

11. M. E. R. 396 and 397 of 1896 para 18 p. 7. See also e. p. No. 15 of M. E. R. 1917-18.

12. J. A. H. R. S. VI—2 pp. 125-126.

Bēta of the Gūḍūr inscription with Bēta I. Firstly, Bēta's son Prōla 1 is known to have had the title Kākativallabha and the Gūḍūr inscription gives the title to Bēta. Obviously the father had the title and the son inherited it. Secondly, the Gūḍūr record pictures a chaotic condition from which Bēta seems to have emerged. Bēta I is the earliest known member of the Kākatīya dynasty and the founder of its independence and is, as such, likely to have fought against odds in order to win for himself a small independent principality. Thirdly, the Koṟavi country over which Bēta is said have been installed, is never included among the numerous conquests of his illustrious successors and this indicates that the Kākatīya kingdom began with it. As Such, therefore, it is likely that its ruler Bēta would be the first chieftain of that name who is not known to have ruled over any other tract excepting the Koravi country and not Bēta II, who inherited both Koravi[13] and the Anumakoṇḍa Viṣaya[14] from his ancestors and obtained the Sabbi 1000 district from the Western Cālukyan king Vikramāditya VI[15]. It may be concluded, therefore, that the Kākatīyas rose to political power for the first time under Bēta I in the Koravi region. The Gūḍūr inscription associates the name of a Bhāskaravibhu with the installation of Bēta I over the Koravi country. The record itself affords no clue for establishing the identity of this Bhāskara but it is possible to solve the difficulty with the aid of contemporary history. One thing however, which is a certainty, is that the institution of Bēta over Koravi obviously preceded his fight with the Cōlas in 999 A. D, referred to already. The only occasion on which a Bhāskara figures near enough to be of some consequence in the transactions in the Koravi country, about

13. This was the region wherein the family rose to power under Bēta I, (Vide the Gūḍūr inscription mentioned above).

14. This was obtained by Prola I from Cālukya Sōmēśvara I (Vide the Kashipet Ins,. referred to above)

15. See the Ganaresa Inscription of Anumakoṇḍa of the time of Prola II in Ep. Ind. XII pp 256-267

this time is in the reign of Ammarāja II, the Eastern Cālukyan king (945-973 A. D.) He is known to have had a brother-in-law called Bhāskara who, towards the end of the reign, deserted him and threw in his lot with Bādapa the rival claimant to the Vēṅgi throne. Bādapa ultimately defeated and killed Ammarāja in 973 A. D., and ascended the Vēṅgi throne. He is also known to have made valuable gifts to Bhāskara, probably out of his gratitude for the timely help rendered by him. From the implication in the Gūḍūr inscription that Bēta was installed over the Koṟāvi with the consent of Bhāskara it may be inferred that the latter exercised some kind of superior jurisdiction over that region. The rise of Bēta I in the Koṟavi region may be ascribed, therefore, to about 975 A. D. Bādapa, the contemporary sovereign, was too busy with his own affairs to mind the rise of the Kākatīyas.

The foergoing discussion proves beyond doubt the Eastern Cālukyan origin of the Kākatīya kingdom. This view is also borne out by other evidences. The presence of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription of the 9th century A. D. at Anumakoṇḍa[16] indicates that the territory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas terminated at that place and it follows from this that Koravi, which is to the East of Anumakoṇḍa, was included in the Vēṅgi kingdom. In the second place, the presence of an Eastern Cālukyan inscription of the 9th century A. D, correspondingly at Koravi itself[17] supports this view. It may be concluded therefore that the Kākatīyas rose to importance about the year 975 A. D. during the period of confusion that brought the reign of Ammarāja II to a tragic end and led to the usurpation of the Eastern Cālukyan throne by Bādapa.

16. See p 255 of the Kakatīya Saṭṭcikā edited by me, wherein the text of this inscription has been given.

17. Tel Ins. Misc. No. 12.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE REDDIS OF KONDAVĪDU.

Dr. M. Rama Rao, M. A., Ph. D., B. Ed.

The Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu were the political successors of the Kākatīyas of Waraṅgal on the east coast and held undisputed sway for about a century. Short as the period of their rule was, their dynasty consisted of not less than six members. The chronology of these Reḍḍi kings is still a matter of much uncertainity and difference of opinion.[1]

Several sources of Reḍḍi history help us in solving the problem of their chronology. Numerous inscriptions of the kings of this line, scattered widely all over the country, contain dates which are of great value in fixing the limits of individual regnal periods. Of the traditional histories, special mention may be made of the Kaifīyat of Koṇḍavīḍu[2] and the Koṇḍavīṭidaṇḍakavile.[3] The former mentions Śaka dates denoting the commencement and the ending of the reigns of the Reḍḍi kings while the latter simply gives the number of years over which each reign extended. Old verses known as "Cāṭus" also contain useful information regarding the chronology of the Reḍḍi rulers of Koṇḍavīḍu. Two verses of this type are now extant. One of them is found mentioned in the Kaifīyat of Koṇḍavīḍu, mentioned above, while the other is found in living local tradion.[4]

(1) Cf. the views of Messrs. C. V. Rao, V. Prabhākara Śāstry and M. S. Sarma.

(2) Mack. Mss. 15/4/40.

(3) Ibid. 15/5/23.

(4) Quoted by Mr. M. S. Sarma in the Āndhrapatrikā Annual for 1936. p. 283.

The following is the information derived from the above sources of Reḍḍi history—

Kings.	Inscriptions.	K. K.	K. D. K.	Ch. I.	Ch. II.
Prōlaya Vēma .	(5) 1330-53	1320-31	32	12	12
Anapōta .	(6) 1353-71	1332-61	30	30	30
Anavēma .	(7) 1371-81	1362-73	12	12	15
Kumāragiri .	(8) 1381-1403	1374-87	14	14	14
Pedakōmaṭi Vēma.	(9) 1403-19	138.-1415	28	28	20
Rācha Vēma .	..	1416 19	4	4	4
Total .	89	99	120	100	95

It is evident from the table above that the traditional accounts ascribe between 95 and 120 years for the duration of Reḍḍi rule. The old verses, however, mention that the Reḍḍis ruled for 100 years. Still, the sum total of individual regnal years given by them does not, as shown above, agree with this figure but either exceeds or falls below it. Some

(5) Previous writers have referred to the Varivāṛe inscription in the Local Rec. Vol. 57. p. 131. and taken it to have been dated 1330 A. D. and held that this is the first known record of Prōlaya Vēma, the founder of the Reḍḍi kingdom. (see Dr. N. Venkataramanayya in the Triveṇi, Vol. 6., pt. 3, p. 276 ff., and Mr. M. S. Sarma in the Āndhrapatrika Annual, 1936. p. 285). But the record bears the Śaka date 1254 (Yuga-bana-bhāskara) and corresponds to 1332 A. D. and not 1330. There is, however, a reference to an Anavēma in an inscription dated Śaka 1252 (Nētra-bāṇa-bāhu-candra) in Mr. M. Gurubrahma Sarma's book entitled "Koṇḍaviṭisāmrājyamu" p. 59. Since Prōlaya Vēma is known to have been addressed as Anavēma in the Harivaṁśamu of Errāpragaḍa, (II. 3. i. and 9-i) I consider that the Anavēma of the above record is identical with the first Reḍḍi king of Koṇḍaviḍu.

(6) Nel. Dist. Ins. C. 78.

(7) c. p. No. 15 of 1922-23.

(8) M. E. R. No. 446 of 1893.

(9) c. p. No. 7. of 1919-20.

writers have taken this total of one hundred years to be exactly accurate and tried to manipulate the regnal periods of the rulers so as to maintain the total ultimately. This leads to several difficulties and upsets definitely known facts of history. I believe that the total duration of Reḍḍi rule, as indicated in these old verses, is only an approximation and that it has to be corrected in the light of inscriptional and other reliable evidence.

One important issue that has to be settled in this connection is the limits of Reḍḍi rule. From what date are we to begin the reckoning of the period of about a century of the rule of this family? The Kaifiyat of Koṇḍavīḍu starts this reckoning from Śaka 1241 or 1320 A. D., and ascribes the commencement of the rule of Prōlaya Vēma to that year. Many of the Local Records [10], especially those concerning the villages of the Guntūr district, state that Pratāparudradēva, the last of the Kākatīyas, ruled till 1320 A. D. and that in that year the Reḍḍis came into power. Some even mention that the first Reḍḍi monarch began to rule from that year. [10] There are, however, some serious objections to this view. Firstly, Pratāparudradēva was captured in 1323 A. D.[11] by the Mahomadans and his authority seems to have been recognised all over his dominions till that date. Thus there is no room for the commencement of the independent rule of Prōlaya Vēma before that year. Secondly, his minister and general Kolani Rudradeva is known to have been making a gift three years later in the Guntūr District itself and his record states clearly that the monarch was

(10) See III pp. 469, 496-99, 531-32, 587; V. p. 426, VI I. pp 411, 420, 451. XIV., pp. 232.

(11) Cf. I bid III. pp. 496-99. The account of the village of Vallūr wherein it is mentioned that the Reḍḍis occupied the country after Pratāparudradeva and that Prōlaya Vēma and five others ruled between S. S. 1242-1342. See also pp. 491-95 and 587.

(12) Elliott III., p. 367.

ruling in 1326 A. D.[13] Thirdly, the Kaluvachēru inscription of Anitalli[14] mentions that after the death of this monarch, a certain Prōlayanāyaka rescued the country from the Mahomadans and ruled over it for a time. I believe that this is a reference to the repulsion of the Mahomadans from Rajahmundry in 1321 A. D., by a acombination of the local Hindu chieftains.[15] After Prōlayanāyaka, another chieftain named Kāpayanāyaka is said to have ruled over the country attended by 75 subordinate *Nāyakas*. These subordinates are said to have become independent in their respective localities after the death of Kāpayanāyaka. One of them was Prōlaya Vēma. The earliest known record of this Reḍḍi chieftain is dated, as mentioned above, in 1330 A. D. It is obvious, therefore, that the events mentioned in the Kaluvachēru inscription took place between 1326-1330 A. D. In view of this and on account of the statement in the grant that Vēma became independent only after the death of Kapayanāyaka, it become impossible that this first Reḍḍi monarch could be ruling independently from 1320 A. D. It is known further that he was wandering from place to place—Dharaṇikōṭa[16], Vinukoṇḍa[17], and Bellaṁkoṇḍa and finally settled down at Addaṅki from where he ruled as an independent monarch[18]. The traditional accounts state that

(13) M. E. R. No. 308 of 1915.

(14) Jour. Tel. Ac. II. pp. 99-112.

(15) See the Persian inscription at Rajahmundry in M. E. R. 1925-26, para 15.

(16) See the Kaifiyat of Koṇḍaviḍu p. 5 where it is stated that Prōlaya entered Dharaṇikōṭa and drove away the Kākatīya subordinates from there. See also Sewell's Antiquites II. p. 187.

(17) See Loc. Rec. III p. 587 which mentions that Vēma built a fort on the hill of this village.

(18) M. Gurubrahma Sarma—Koṇḍaviṭisāmrājyamu p. 69., where the author quotes two verses from an inscription which describes Vēma as the ruler of Bilaparvata alias Bellamkoṇḍa which is famous for its big cave.

this king had to struggle against the Kākatīya officials Probably, Kolani Rudra, the famous general and minister of Pratāparudradēva, and the viceroy on the east coast, including part of Guntūr District till 1326 A. D.[19], was one of the rivals with whom Prōlaya Vēma had to struggle. I believe therefore, that the independence of the Reḍḍis was founded some time between 1326-30 A. D., and possibly in 1327 A. D.[20]

The lower limit of Reḍḍi rule may also be determined with the aid of inscriptions and contemporary history. It is known that during the weak rule of Kumāragiri, the fourth member of the Reḍḍi dynasty, the kings of Vijayanagara pushed their territory as far north as Mōṭupalli in the Guntūr district.[21] His successor Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma retrieved this misfortune. [22] But an inscription of Devarāya II dated 1422 A.D. is to be found as far north as the village of Pāṭūru in the Guntūr taluk, indicative of the conquest of the region by that monarch. This would not have

(19) Ep. Ind. VIII. the Madras Museum plates of Vēma verses 14 and 15.

(20) See verse 54 of the introduction to the Śivayōgasāramu published in the Appendix to the Kakatīya Saṁcika edited by me. The Enamandala mentioned in it is indentical with the village of that name in the Guntūr district and Guntūr taluk. Kolani Rudra is mentioned as having made some gifts in the village of Santamāguluru in the Narasaraopet taluk. Obviously, the north-eastern half of this district was under his control till 1326 A. D. Prōlaya Vēma probably abandoned Dharaṇikōṭa and Vinukoṇḍa because they were too near the province of Rudra and also retired finally to Addaṅki in the southern part of the Guntūr district in the Ongōle taluk for the same reason.

(21) See Loc. Rec., Vol. 42, pp. 422-23 where a charter issued by the Vijayanagara prince Dēvarāya to the merchants of Mōṭupalli is mentioned. See also Nel. Dist. Ins. c. p. No. i.

(22) This monarch is known to have reconquered Addaṅki and annexed Udayagiri, Pottapināḍu and Pulugulanāḍu from the Vijayanagara rulers (M. E. R. No. 433 of 1911. L. R. Vol. 22., p. 166).

been possible if the Reḍḍis were ruling at Koṇḍavīḍu at this time. The latest known date of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma is 1319 A. D. and after him his son Rācha Vēma is said to have ruled for four years and was then assassinated by his own subordinates. [23] With Rācha Vēma the line of the Reḍḍis became extinct. Obviously, this event took place in 1423 A. D. Dēvarāya II of Vijayanagara must have taken advantage of this event and annexed the Guṇṭūr district. I hold therefore that the year 1422 A. D. marks the lower limit of Reḍḍi rule. This conclusion is corroborated by some of the sources of Reḍḍi history. Thus, for example, the individual regnal years mentioned in the Kaifiyat of Koṇḍavīdu yield a total of 95 years. Calculating this period from 1327 A. D., which year, according to me, marks the commencement of Reḍḍi rule, we get 1422 A. D., for the end of the rule of this dynasty.

Having determined the duration and limits of Reḍḍi rule, we shall now fix the duration of individual reigns. Prōlaya Vēma founder of the family, is given a reign of 12, 30 and 32 years in tradition and the old verses. His first known inscription is dated 1330 A. D. while the earliest record of his son and successor Anapōta bears the date 1353 A. D. It is thus evident that he reigned for 23 years, at the least. In view of this, the traditional sources which ascribe to him a rule of twelve years seem to be unreliable. The other version that he ruled for 30 or 32 years, may be explained in a way consistent with this inscriptional evidence. As stated already, the Local Records reckon the commencement of Reddi rule even from 1320 A. D., and equate it with the commencement of the rule of Prōlaya Vēma. Adding to this the period of 32 years, which is described as the duration of this king's rule, we get 1352 A. D., for the close of his

(23) According to the Koṭṭaviṭidaṇḍakavile this regicide was the consequence of the general misbehaviour and oppressive rule of Rāchа Vēma.

reign. This agrees perfectly with the evidence of inscriptions which indicate that the reign of Prōlaya's son and successor Anapōta began in 1353 A. D. This Anapōta is given a reign of 30 years according to some sources while the Kaifiyat of Koṇḍaviḍu assigns to him 19 years. The inscriptions of this king cover, on the other hand, a period of 8 years between 1353-61 A. D. The earliest record of Anavēma the third Reḍḍi king is dated 1371 A. D. It may be supposed therefore that Anapōta ruled between 1353 and 1361. Since the earliest record of Anavēma is dated 1371 A. D., it may be supposed that Anapōta ruled till that year and for a period of 18 years. This duration accords more or less with the period of 18 years contained in the Kaifiyat of Koṇḍaviḍu mentioned above. Anavēma is said to have ruled for 12 years according to some sources and 15 years according to others. His inscriptions, however, range from 1371 to 1381 A. D. It may be considered that his rule ended in the latter year[24]. The next ruler of the dynasty was Kumāragiri. Only one inscription of his has so far come to light[25] and that is

(24) The latest known record of Anavēma at Śrīśailam is dated 1377 A. D. (M. E. R. No. 20 of 1915) but by 1385-86 A. D. this place seems to have passed into the hands of Hari Hara II of Vijayanagara (M. E. R. Nos. 257 and 270 of 1905). It is not known if Anavēma fought with any Vijayanagara ruler. It may be supposed therefore that Hari Hara occupied the Śrīśailam region only after the death of Anavēma. This Vijayanagara aggression into the Reḍḍi territory might also have been due to the weakness of Anavēma's success. Kumāragiri, whom his brother-in-law and minister Kāṭaya Vēma is said to have placed on the throne and himself exercised authority on his behalf (See verse 19 of the Tottara mūḍi plates in Ep. Ind. IV. p. 318). Kāṭaya Vēma figures as a powerful chieftain even from 1386 A. D., and it may be concluded that Kumāragiri's accession took place a few years earlier. For these reasons, I consider that the reign of Anavēma terminated in 1381 A. D., which year also happens to be the year of Kumāragiri's accession.

25) S. I. I. Vol V., No. 1. The significance of this inscription has been missed by previous writers on Reḍḍi history.

dated 1399 A. D. He may be supposed to have ascended the throne in 1381 and his reign may be taken to have terminated in 1403 A. D., the earliest known date of his successor Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. The latest records of Peda Komaṭi Vēma are dated 1419 A. D., and this may be taken to be his latest year. The last member of the Reḍḍi dynasty was Rācha Vēma for whose reign there is no inscriptional evidence. The traditional sources however assign to him a reign of four years. Calculating this period from the last known date of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, we get 1422-23 A. D. for the termination of Rācha Vēma's reign. This date agrees perfectly with the view expressed above that Dēvarāya II of Vijayanagara annexed the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom in 1422 A. D.

In view of the foregoing discussion, the chronology of the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu may be stated as follows:—

Prōlaya Vēma	1327-53	26 years.
Anapōta	1353-71	18 ,,
Anavēma	1371-81	10 ,,
Kumāragiri	1381-1403	22 ,,
Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma	1403-19	16 ,,
Rāchavēma	1419-22	4 ,,

SOME NOBLE FAMILIES OF THE EASTERN CĀLUKYAN PERIOD 615-1070 A. D.

K. R. SUBRAMANIAN, M. A., Ph. D.

In the long roll of Eastern Cālukyan inscriptions, we meet with some nobles of the land now and then. Some of them were generals, some were heads of Districts and others appear merely as royal relations. They were bound to render military service to their lord and king and, in turn, the king gave them fiefs which were more or less hereditary. These feudatory lords seem to have exercised something more than revenue jurisdiction.

The earliest noble man to be mentioned is Aṭavidurjaya of the Matsya family who was a general of Kubja Viṣṇu Vardhana, the founder of the Eastern Cālukyan dynasty. At a later date, we meet with the Matsyas of Vaddadi near Anakapalle.

Buddhavarman of the Durjaya family also served Kubja Viṣṇu. The name Durjaya occurs with reference to the early ancestors of the Velnaṭi family or the family which had Velanāḍu or Aruvelanāḍu as its fief. Mahārājā Raṇadurjaya occurs in an eighth century copperplate from Pithapuram but, perhaps, he was related to the family of Aṭavidurjaya and not to that of Buddhavarman Durjaya. The Koṇḍapadmatis, a petty feudatory family of Guntur District are said to have belonged to the Durjaya family. Probably, they were descended from Buddhavarman.

The Paṭṭavardhini family was also equally ancient. Kalakaṁpa killed Daddara the great foe of Kubja Viṣṇu. Bhaṭṭakala, his grandson Kadeyarājā, his son Pāṇḍaraṅga, Somāditya, his son Pṛithvyarājā, his son Bhandanāditya—Kuntāditya, Yuvarājā Bellāladeva Velabhaṭa Boddiya son of Pammava, Kadeya grandson of Pāṇḍaraṅga, Duggarāja great grandson of Pāṇḍaraṅga all these belonging to the

Paṭṭavardhanī family have served successive sovereigns. We don't hear of the Paṭṭavardhanī after the reign of Amma II (945-970) who pays the family the compliment of hereditary officials of the state. Probably, the Paṭṭavardhanis had their fief somewhere in the north of Nellore District. All of them are known to us as generals and Pāṇḍaraṅga is really the most famous. His military exploits in the reign of Vijayāditya III and his inscription in early Telugu at Addaṅki are deservedly famous. Bhandanāditya was given Gonturu and 12 hamlets by Amma I (918-25) for his invaluable military services. Chameka of this family became a Jaina nun. Pantraṅgam and Paṭṭavardhan are two villages in Vizagapatam district but, we don't know for certain if the Paṭṭavardhanī family had anything to do with them.

Another family which got into limelight in the second Ammarāja's time was that of Kolanu (near Kolleru lake in Veṅgi). It was perhaps Cola in origin. Bālāditya or Colāditya's son was Nṛpakāma father-in-law of Amma II. Nṛpakāma's son was Gandanārāyaṇa. There was another Nṛpakāma, Commander in Vimalāditya's reign. Kolani Kāṭamanāyaka was a general of Kulottuṅga Cola II. The traitorous Kolanis aided Kaliṅga against Cola in the 12th century and so the Velnāṭi Rājendra killed Kolani Bhīma It is quite possible that Jata Choda of the period before Śaktivarman son of Dānārṇava was of this family. Choda Bol of Indrabhaṭṭāraka's grant (663 A. D.) is the earliest Cola name we meet with on the coastal side in Āndhra. At a later date Telugu Cholas of Nellore play a notable part and patronise Telugu culture till the Kākatīyas step into the breach caused by the decline of Cola rule.

Telugu Pallavas are met with in later epigraphs. But, in this period we know only of the Kuppaṇayya son of Sāmanta Makariyarāja and grandson of Kalivarman. He was of the famous Pallavamalla family. He belonged to Velanāḍu,

East Guntur district. Makariyarāja is styled Mahāsāmanta and *amātya* of Tala the usurper and he died fighting for his king.

Some of the Eastern Cālukyas married Haihaya princesses. Nṛpakāma was the son of Viṣṇu V and a Haihaya and Nṛparudra was the son of Viṣṇu IV and a Haihaya Queen. They were very loyal to their half brothers who ascended the throne. Vijayāditya VII also married a Haihaya. We meet with a petty Haihaya family in Godāvarī district at a later time and it is quite likely that a Haihaya branch established itself in Āndhra during this period.

The Velanāṭi or Velnāṭi or Velanāḍu chiefs had been attached to the Eastern Cālukya sovereigns from the time of Cālukya Bhīma II (934-45). They seem to have started their career as chiefs under a Pallava ruler in Sattenapalli taluk. They belonged to the fourth caste.

Malliya was devoted to Cālukya Bhīma II. His grandson Erraya served a Viṣṇuvardhana, a successor of Bhīma. Vimalāditya was served by Kudiyavarman who was made Governor of Kudrahara viṣaya (near Masulipatam). Rājarāja I and Kulottuṅga I were faithfully served by Nanna and Goṅka and the latter was made lord of Aruvelnāḍu and temporary Governor of Āndhra by the Emperor. Goṅka's son Coḍa had the honor of being adopted as his son by Kulottuṅga who gave him Veṅgimaṇḍala, while Vidura, Coḍa's first cousin was similarly rewarded by Viracoḍa for having fought with a Pāṇḍya. Coḍa's son Goṅka II ruled Āndhra as Deputy and his son Rājendra Coḍa was made ruler of Āndhra by Cola Rajaraja II. Rajendra Coda seems to have transferred his allegiance temporarily to Vikrama of Kalyāṇ as the Western Cālukya was too powerful for him.

The genealogy of only three more families is known to us. Indaparāja grandson of Maharatta Indaparāja of Mānyakheṭa was given a fief by Amma I. Kākariya Gundyana, son of Eriya and grandson of Ratta Guṇḍiya belonged to the Sāmantavoddi family and its fief was on the border of Hyderabad in Nandigama taluk. He is called Viṣayādhyakṣa and he had his own ministers one of whom even bore the courtesy title of Mahārāja. We don't know if Kākatīya had anything to do with later Kākatīya. In the reign of Amma II again, another family to which Duggarāja belonged is mentioned and it seems to have had much influence at the court.

Individual nobles are met with here and there. Koṇḍivarmā of Aryahu served Indrabhaṭṭāraka. Jayasiṁha II was served by Niravadya Sakalaloka Pṛthvī Gamundi, Nissaramji appears in the reigns of Maṅgi and Viṣṇu III. Niravadyeśa Vatsala and Jayarūpa are met with in the reigns of Vijayāditya II and Viṣṇu V. Prince Vajjaya Panara and Rachiya Pedden a Bhīma, Bhīma Bhūpa (son of Chammarāja of the Nāgakula, lord of Megagiri and Malaya Bhāskara) and Appana of Āryakula served Rājarāja I, Vijayāditya and Śaktivarman respectively.

These noble families have peculiar local interest. They are interesting to the historian because some light is thrown by them on the administrative system of those days. It will be a fascinating theme to work out their previous and later histories in close connection with the histories of the localities with which they are associated in the inscriptions.

THE EPOCH OF THE KALACHURI—CHEDI ERA.

PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M. A., *Nagpur.*

The first conjecture about the epoch of the Chedi or Kalachuri era, which was found used in dating several records in the Central Provinces, was made by Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall, who in his article on the Bherā-Ghāṭ inscription of Alhaṇadevi dated Saṁvat 907 and the Tewar inscription of the time of Jayasiṁhadeva dated Saṁvat 928 showed that the unspecified era used in the Kalachuri records might have commenced about A. D. 250.[1] Subsequently in 1878 Sir A. Cunningham announced in the Introduction (p. vi) to his *A. S. R.*, Vol. VII, that he had found among the inscriptions collected by his assistant Beglar in the eastern part of the Central Provinces, two which were specifically dated in the Chedi saṁvatsara and two others in the Kalachuri saṁvat. He identified the two eras as 'the princes of Chedi were of the Kalachuri branch of the Haihaya tribe'. He also stated that he had examined some eight verifiable dates of the era and had found by calculation that the era began in A. D. 249, the year 250 being the year 1 of the Chedi Saṁvat. The details of these eight dates were given by him together with the corresponding Christian dates in the *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 111, which showed that only four of them were found to be regular, with the epoch of A. D. 249. But Sir A. Cunningham felt satisfied with the result and stated in his *Indian Eras* that A. D. 249=0, and A. D. 250=1 was the true starting point of the Chedi era.

Cunningham's conjecture about the epoch of the era was corroborated by the dates of the Nausāri plates and the odd

1. *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VI (1860), p. 501. The article was presented to the Society on October 26, 1859.

Kāvi plate of the Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa III,[2] which on calculation appeared regular with the epoch of A. D. 249-250. No definite suggestion about the month and the *tithi* when the era actually commenced was, however, made until Dr. Kielhorn published his article entitled 'the Epoch of the Kalachuri or Chedi Era' in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 215 f. In that article Kielhorn showed, by an examination of 12 dates of the Later Kalachuris and their feudatories and two dates of the Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa III, that 'the only equation which yields correct week-days for those Chedi inscriptions in which the week-day is mentioned is Chedi Saṁvat 0 = A. D. 248-249 and Chedi Saṁvat 1—A. D. 249-250', and that if we wish to work out the dates by a uniform process we must take the Chedi year to commence with the month Bhādrapada and must accordinlgy start from July 28, A. D. 249 = Bhādrapada śu. di. 1 of the northern Vikrama year 307 current as the first day of the first current year of the Chedi era. In a note Kielhorn remarked that a year beginning with the month Āśvina would suit the dates examined by him as well as the one beginning with Bhādrapada, but he preferred the latter because 'Alberuni does mention a year beginning with Bhādrapada'. As regards the arrangement of fortnights Kielhorn found that it was the *pūrṇimānta* one, in which the dark half of a month precedes the light half.

Kielhorn's calculations made on the basis of the epoch of A. D. 248-249 showed that of the fourteen dates examined by him, in none of which the year was qualified either as current or expired, eleven were found recorded in current years, two in expired years and one in a year, which is to be taken as expired if the Chedi year commenced on Bhādrapada śu. di. 1, but as current if it began on Āśvina śu. di. 1.

2. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII, pp. 76-77. The Gurjara prince who granted the Kāvi plate should now be called Jayabhaṭa IV in view of the Prince of Wales Museum plates of Jayabhaṭa (IV) dated in the (Chedi) year 486. See Acharya—*Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*, Vol. II, pp. 53ff.

This proportion of current and expired years of the Chedi era was, however, the reverse of what Kielhorn himself found in the case of other eras, such as the Vikrama, Śaka and Newar eras. It was pointed out by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and others "that the Hindus' usual, though not invariable, way of expressing a date was not 'in the year so and so' but 'after so many years had elapsed since such and such an event had taken place'. [2]" The case of the Chedi era which seemed to be an exception to the general rule was cited by Fleet [4] in support of his view that the years of the Gupta era, which were not qualified as current or expired, should be taken as current. This controversy about the general practice of the Hindus in dating their records in the middle ages led Kielhorn to revise his conclusion about the epoch of the Chedi era. In his article 'Die Epoche der Chedi-Aera' contributed to the *Festgruss an Roth*, [5] and in another on the Bhers-Ghāṭ inscription of Alhaṇadevi in the *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, pp. 7ff., both of which were published in 1893, he expressed his opinion that in conformity with the common usage observed in the case of other eras, the epoch of the Chedi era should be fixed in such a way that all or at least a great majority of the available verifiable dates would be in expired years. He, therefore, proposed A. D. 247-248 as the epoch of the era. As regards the beginning of the Chedi year, he drew attention to the following remark in Colebrooke's letter written at Nagpur on the 30th October 1799: 'The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Āśvina; but opening in the midst of Durgā's festival, the New Year's day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day'. [6] Kielhorn thought that the *Āśvinādi* year, which was current

2. See *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar* Vol. III, pp. 388-389. The paper was communicated to the Bom. Br. R. A. S. on the 1st August 1889.
4. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX (1891) pp. 387.
5. See pp. 53-56.
6. See *Life of H. T. Colebrooke* (pub. in 1873) by Sir T. E. Colebrooke p. 163.

down to Colebrooke's time in a part of the country previously included in the Chedi kingdom, might be reminiscent of the Chedi year and as such a year suited all the twelve Chedi dates known till then, he fixed the 5th September (Āśvina śu. di. 1) A. D. 248 as the first day of the first current year and the 26th August (Āśvina śu. di. 1) A. D. 249 as the first day of the first expired year of the Chedi era. He next showed that all the twelve verifiable Chedi dates in the inscriptions of the Later Kalachuris and their feudatories, which were known till then, were, without exception, in expired years. The two early dates, 456 and 486, of the Nausāri and Kāvi plates, however, presented difficulties which Kielhorn acknowledged in the foot-notes to his List of Northern Inscriptions.[7]

Three more Chedi dates containing the necessary data for verification were subsequently discovered and were calculated by Kielhorn before his death—viz. (1) the Sārnāth fragmentary stone inscription of the time of Karṇa[8] dated '*Sa[ṁvatsare* 8]10 *Āśvina sudi* 15 *Ravau* (corresponding, for the expired Kalachuri year 810, to Sunday the 4th October 1058); (2) Tahankāpār (first plate) of Pamparāja[9] dated '*Sāṁvata(t) 965 Bhādrapada vadi* 10 *Mriga-rikshe So[ma]-dine* (corresponding, for the current Chedi year 965, to Monday the 12th August A. D. 1213); and (3) Tahankāpār (second) plate of Pamparāja[10] dated '*Saṁvat* 966.....*Īsv(śva)ra-samvatsare Kārttika-māse Chitrā-ṛi(ṛ)kshe Ravi-dine Sūry-oparāge* (corresponding, for the expired Chedi year 966, to Sunday the 5th October A. D. 1214). Besides, he found it necessary to change his reading and the corresponding Christian date in the case of one of the previously known twelve Chedi dates, viz. (4) that of the Sheorinārāyaṇ image inscription which he now read as *Kalachuri*

7. See p. 57 ft. n. 6 and 7.
8. *A. S. I. An. Rep.* for 1906-7, p. 100.
9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 129-130
10. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 129.

saṁvatsare ||898|| Āśvina-sudi|7 Soma-dine[11] from a photograph supplied by Dr. (then Mr.) D. R. Bhandarkar and found by calculation to correspond, for the current Chedi year 898, to Monday the 24th September A. D. 1145.

Kielhorn's final view that the epoch of the Chedi era is A. D. 247-248 was confirmed by these new dates; for while two of them (viz. 1 and 3) might have been taken as current years with the epoch of A. D. 248-249, the other two (viz. 2 and 4) would have appeared irregular according to that epoch. The latter dates, again, showed that 'Kalachuri years, occasionally and exceptionally, are quoted as current years'.[12]

Since 1893 scholars have generally accepted Kielhorn's conclusion that the Chedi era commenced on Āśvina śu. di 1 (corresponding to the 5th September) in A. D. 248. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit alone, differing from Kielhorn, has suggested that the Chedi year might have commenced on the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Āśvina.[13]

Since Kielhorn's time as many as thirteen new dates of the Chedi era have come to light and though they have been calculated and the corresponding Christian dates have generally, been given by the scholars who have edited the records in which they occur, none has so far comprehensively dealt with them with a view to see how far they support or go against Kielhorn's view regarding the epoch of the Chedi era and the beginning of the Chedi year.

Having recently had to verify all the Chedi dates I have come to the conclusion that the epoch A. D. 247-248 finally fixed by Kielhorn is correct so far as it concerns the later

11. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 130.

12. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 130.

13. See his *History of Indian Astronomy* (Marāṭhī) (first published in 1896 Second Ed. p. 375.

Kalachuri dates ; but taking all these dates into consideration, I am convinced that with that epoch the Chedi year could not have commenced on Āśvina su. di. 1 as held by Kielhorn. On the other hand some of the lately discovered dates go to show that the year must have begun on some day between Āśvina su. di. 15 and *Phālguna va. di.* 7. And since we do not know of a Hindu year beginning in any of the months from Mārgaśīrṣa to Phālguna as current in any of the provinces under the Kalachuris,[13a] I think it probable that like the Southern Vikrama year, the Chedi year also commenced on Karttik su. di.. 1, especially because the era seems to have originated in Western India, where the Kārttikādi variety was the standard one.

To prove my view I give below nine [14] out of the thirteen lately discovered Chedi dates together with their corresponding Christian dates according to the epoch of A. D. 247 248. These dates are arranged below under two heads : A-Dates in expired years and B-Date in current year. As according to my view the Chedi era commenced on the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika Su. di. 1 in A. D. 248 (corresponding to the expired Śaka year 170), to convert a current Chedi year into an expired *Chaitrādi Śaka* year we have to add 169 when the date falls in the bright fortnight of Kārttika or in any of the months from Mārgaśīrṣa to Phālguna and 170

13 (a). Alberuni mentions a year beginning in Mārgaśīrṣa, but from the account he gives of it, it seems to have been current in the north-west of India, from Multan to Sindh and Kanauj. (See Sachau's tr. Vol. II, pp. 8-9.)

14. I omit the following four dates for the reason stated in each case:—(1) The Goharwa plates of Karṇadeva, because they mention no year of the Chedi era ; (2) the Khairhā plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa, because the date is found to be irregular. (See the discussion about it in my article, 'Some Kalachuri Dates' to be published in the *Woolner Commemoration Volume*) ; (3) the Ghoṭia plates of Pṛithvīdeva II, because the numerals of the date are evidently incorrect and (4) the Amoḍā plates of Jājalladeva (II), because the last figure of the date is uncertain.

in all other cases. Similarly, to convert an expired Chedi year into an expired Śaka year we have to add 170 and 171 respectively in the same circumstances [15].

A—*Dates in Expired Years.*

1. The Rewah stone inscription of the time of Karṇa (Bhandarkar's *List* No. 1236) (from an ink-impression with me) *Saṁvatsata (ra)* 812 *śrīmat-Karṇa-prakāśa (śa) vyavahāraṇayā navama-saṁvatsare Māgha-sudi* 10 *Guru i. e.* the year 812, the ninth year of the administration established by Karṇa, the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha, a Thursday—The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year 812 + 170 = 982) Thursday, the 4th January A. D. 1061 when the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Māgha* ended 3 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.

2. The Sheorinārāyaṇ plates of Ratnadeva II (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IV, pp. 31 f.) *Saṁvata(t) 878 Bhādra-sudi 5 Ravau i. e.* the year 878, the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada, a Sunday. The corresponding Christian date (for expired Śaka year 878 + 171 = 1049) is Sunday, the 14th August A. D. 1127. On that day the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada ended 8 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

3. The Sārkho plates of Ratnadeva II (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 159f.) *Ten-ās(ś)īty - adhiks-āshṭa = vatsara-śate jāte dine gīṣpateḥ Kārttikyām-atha rohiṇīśha-samaye rātreś = ca yāma-trye/Śrīmad-Ratna-nareśvarasya sadasi jyotirvidām-agrataḥ sarvva-grāsam-anuṣṇa-goḥ pravadatā tīrṇṇā pratijñā-nadī = i. e.* the year 880. Kārttika Śu. di. 15, Thursday with a total eclipse of the moon when she was in

15. or the verification of dates I have used throughout S. K. Pillay's indispensable work '*An Indian Ephemeris*'.

the constellation of Rohiṇī. The corresponding Christian date for the expired Śaka year (880+170=1050) is Thursday, the 8th November A. D. 1128. The moon was totally eclipsed in the third quarter of the night. The *nakṣatra* Rohiṇī commenced 13 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on that day.

4. The Amodā plates (first set) of Pṛthvīdeva II (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vo. I, pp. 409 ff.) l. 25 *Chaitre Soma-grahe sati.*, l. 33, *Saṁvat 900* i. e. the year 900, a lunar eclipse in the month of Caitra. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year 900+171=1071) is Friday, the 25th March A. D. 1149. On that day there occurred a lunar eclipse visible at Ratanpur.

5. The Amodā plates (second set) of Pṛthvīdeva II. (*Ind., Hist. Quart*, Vol. I, pp. 412 f.,) *Saṁvat 905 Āsvi (śvi)na-sudi 6 Bhaume* i. e. the year 905, the sixth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina, a Tuesday. The corresponding Chirstian date (for the expired Śaka year 905 + 170 = 1075) is Tuesday, the 14th September A.D. 1154. On that day the sixth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Āśvina* commenced 1 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise. With the Chedi year commencing on Āśvina śu. di. 1 in A. D. 248, this date should fall in A. D. 1152 if the Chedi year is taken as current, and in A. D. 1153 if it is taken as expired. But in A. D. 1152 the *tithi* ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Saturday the 6th September) and in A. D. 1153 it ended 7h. after (mean sunrise on Friday (the 25th September). In either case it would have to be regarded as irregular.

6. The Jubbulpore Kotwali plates of Jayasiṁha (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXI, pp. 91 f.) *Saṁvat 918 Āśvina sudi paurṇamāsyāṁ tithau Sani-dine Tripuryāṁ Soma-grahaṇe, i. e.*, the year 918, the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Āśvina*, a Saturday, at Tripurī, a lunar eclipse. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year 918 + 171 = 1089) is Saturday, the 30th September A. D. 1167. On

that day the full moon *tithi* ended 13h. after mean sunrise and there was a lunar eclipse. With the Chedi era commencing on Āśvina śu. di. 1 in A. D. 248, this date should fall in A. D. 1165 if the year is current and in A. D. 1166 if it is expired. But in A. D. 1165 the *tithi* fell on Tuesday, the 21st September and in A. D. 1166 it fell on Monday, (the 10th October). Again, in neither year was there a lunar eclipse on the given *tithi*.

7. The Rewah plates of the time of Vijayasiṁha (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 265 f.) *Saṁvat 944 Bhādrapada-sudi 1 Śukre* i. e. the year 944, the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada, a Friday. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year 944+171=1115) is Friday, the 30th July A. D. 1193. On that day the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada ended 22h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

8. The Pendrābandh plates of Pratāpamalla (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 1 f.) l. 26 *Grāmo Makara-saṁkrāntau dattaḥ saṁkalpa-pūrvakaḥ*; l. 35 *Saṁvata (t) 965 da Palasadā-samāvāsid-vi(tavi)jaya-kaṭake Māgha-sudi 10 Maṅgaladine*. As it stands, the date is irregular, for in none of the years 1212-1215 was the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha connected with a Tuesday. If, however *sudi* is taken to be a mistake for *vadi* it corresponds (for the expired Śaka year 965+170=1135) regularly to Tuesday, the 7th January A. D. 1214.) On that day the tenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha ended 10h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.

B. *Date in Current Year.*

9. The Amoda plates of Pṛthvīdeva (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol XIX, pp. 78 f.) 11. 27-38-*Ghā* (*Phā*) *Iguna-kṛṣṇa-saptamyām Ravidine*. 1. 41 *Ched-īśasya Saṁ* 831, i. e. the year 831, the seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna a sunday.

The corresponding date (for the expired Saka year 831 + 169 =1000) is Sunday, the 27th January A. D. 1079. On that day the seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phâlguna ended 7h. 30m. after mean sunrise. A careful examination of these nine dates will show that—(1) All these dates can be shown to be regular only according to the epoch of A. D. 247-248 finally fixed by Kielhorn; for though the dates 1-8 might also be explained as dates in current years with the epoch of A. D. 248-249, that epoch will not at all do for the date 9.

This date, therefore, clearly proves the correctness of the epoch A. D. 247-248. There were only two such dates in current years[16] known to Kielhorn.

(2) The dates 2 and 7 clearly show that with the epoch of A. D. 247-248 the Chedi year must have begun in some month later than Bhâdrapada. There was only one date of this type[17] known to Kielhorn, which rendered his earlier view about the Chedi year commencing in Bhâdrapada impossible when he changed the epoch to A. D. 247-248

(3) As seen above, an *Āśvinâdi* year with the epoch of A. D. 247-248 will not at all suit the dates 5 and 6. For them a year beginning in some month later than Āśvina is required. Now the date 9 shows that the Chedi year must have commenced before Phâlguna va. di. 7. The beginning of the Chedi year must, therefore, lie between Āśvina śu. di. 15 (the *tithi* of the date 6) and Phâlguna va. di. 7 the *tithi* of the date 9). Though it is not yet possible to settle this question definitely, I think it probable that the era commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1 for the reasons already stated.

16 See the dates 2 and 4 on pp. 545-46, above.

17. The date of the Rewah copper-plate inscription of Kirtivarman, *Ind. Ant.* Vol XVII, pp. 219 and 224 f.

(4) Among the nine dates there are only two (viz., the dates 8 and 9) which fall in the dark fortnight, they corroborate Kielhorn's conclusion that the arrangement of fortnights in the Chedi era was the *pūrṇimānta* one.

(5) The proportion of expired years to current ones is 8: 1, which is in accordance with that observed in the case of the dates of other eras.

A *Kārttikādi* year will also suit almost all the dates known to Kielhorn. The only dates that require to be specially considered here are those falling in Āśvina. Only two such dates were known to Kielhorn, viz., (1) the date of the Sārnāth fragmentary stone inscription of the time of Karṇadeva *Saṁvatsare 810 Āśvina-sudi 15 Ravau*, the corresponding Christian date being Sunday, the 4th October A. D. 1058; and (2) the date of the Sheorinārāyaṇ image inscription *-Kalachuri Saṁvatsare||898||Āśvina-sudi 7 Soma-dine*, the corresponding Christian date being Monday, the 24th September A. D. 1145. Of these the former presents no difficulty. Only, it will now have to be considered as citing the current and not the expired year as was supposed by Kielhorn. In regard to the latter it may be noted that its reading has been a matter of controversy for a very long time. Sir R. Jenkins first published it in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, p. 505 as *Saṁvat 898 Ashwin shudh saptamī*. Cunningham in his *A. S. R.* Vol. IX gave it as *in the Kalachuri Saṁvat, in the year 898 Asvin sudi Some* on p. 86 and as *898 Asvina sudi 7, Monday* on p. 111. Subsequently in his *A.S.R.*, Vol.XVII, plate XX, he published a photozincograph of only part of it which reads *Kalachuriḥ saṁvatsare 898*. He again referred to it in his *Indian Eras*, p.6 where he remarked, 'A fresh examination has shown the date to be *Asvin su. di.* 2 (and not *Aswin su. di.* 7.) Kielhorn at first accepted this last statement

of Cunningham and on calculation found that the date corresponded to Monday the 9th September A. D. 1146, on which day the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina ended 21 h, 54 m, after mean sunrise. As he was then of opinion that the Chedi year was *Bhādrapadādi* and the era commenced in A. D. 249, he concluded that the year 898 of this date was a current year. Subsequently his article on the era in *Festgruss an Roth* he confirmed the aforementioned reading from a facsimile and gave the same corresponding date as before, but as he had then come to the conclusion that the Chedi era commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 of A. D. 248, he took the year of the date as expired. Dr. (then Mr.) D. R. Bhandarkar next stated in his notice of the inscription in *P. R. A. S., W. I.* for 1903-4 that the inscription was dated 898 Kalachuri era, Monday the 7th of the bright half of Āśvina. From a photograph of the inscription supplied by him, Kielhorn also finally read the inscription as *Kalachuri-saṁvatsare* ‖ 898 ‖ *Āśvina-sudi* 7 *Soma-dine* and stated that it regularly corresponded for the current Kalachuri year 898, to Monday, the 24th September A. D. 1145 when the 7th *tithi* of the bright half of Āśvina ended 20h. 57 m. after mean sunrise. This date seemed to confirm Kielhorn's opinion that the Chedi year began in Āśvina, for it showed that the month of Āśvina fell, in any case, in the beginning of that year. But the recent discovery of the dates 5 and 6 noticed above, which show that the Chedi year began in some month later than Āśvina, has rendered the accuracy of the date of the Sheorināryāṇa inscription open to question. There is, of course, no doubt about the reading of the date. I have satisfied myself that the reading finally adopted by Kielhorn is correct, but with that reading the date appears to be irregular; for with the Chedi year commencing in some month later than Āśvina, the 7th *tithi* of the bright half of Āśvina would, in the current year 898, fall on Saturday (the 14th September A. D. 1146) and in the expired Chedi year 898, on Friday

the 3rd October A. D. 1147.) In neither case was the *tithi* connected with a Monday. The question, therefore, arise whether we should take the Chedi era to be *Āśvinadi*, on the authority of this date and treat the dates 5 and 6 as irregular or whether on the authority of these latter dates we should take the Chedi year to have commenced in some month later than Āśvina (probably in Kârttika.) I choose the latter course not only because a larger number of dates would, otherwise, appear irregular, but also because the evidence on which Kielhorn relied for taking the Chedi year to be *Āśvinādi* is, as shown below, questionable. As for the date of the Sheorinārāyaṇ inscription, the conjecture may be hazarded that owing to the similarity in the Nâgarî figures 2 and 7 of the twelfth century A. D. the writer or the engraver committed a mistake in recording the *tithi* and wrote or engraved 7 in place of 2. The confusion in reading the figure of the *tithi*, which persisted for a long time, shows that such a mistake is not unlikely. The intended date Monday the 2nd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina regularly corresponds, for the current *Kârttikādi* Chedi year 898, to Monday the 9th September A. D. 1146.

Let us next turn to the evidence on which Kielhorn relied for his view that the Chedi year commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1. As stated above, he found the following statement in a letter written by Colebrooke at Nagpur on the 30th October 1799: 'The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Āśvina, but opening in the midst of Durgā's festival, New Year's Day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day.' Kielhorn took this usage as reminiscent of the Chedi year, for according to him the country round Nagpur was previously included in the Chedi kingdom. But Colebrooke's statement is clearly due to some misunderstanding.

He was appointed Resident at the Court of the Bhonslā Rājā of Nagpur and he stayed at Nagpur from the 18th March 1799 to the 19th May 1801. The statement referred to by Kielhorn occurs in the *Journal* of *Occurrences at Nagpur*, which Colebrooke privately kept and from which some extracts have been printed in the *Life* by his son, Sir T. E. Colebrooke. As the context shows the statement in question refers to the festival of Durgā which is to this day celebrated with great *eclat* not only in the Central Provinces, but in other parts of India also. In the Mahārāṣṭra the Dasarā or the *Vijaya-daśamī*, as the 10th day of the festival is called, was celebrated with great pomp and splendour during the Marāṭha rule, as marking the end of the monsoon and the commencement of the season for military operations. Under the date 30th October 1799, Colebrooke gives in the *Journal* a graphic description of the Dasarā festival which he attended at the Rājā's invitation. He seems to have thought that the festival marked the beginning of the new year, but he was clearly mistaken in this.[18] The era current in the country round Nagpur during the 18th century was the so-called Śālivāhana or Śaka era. That the Śaka year did not then begin in Āśvina even at Nagpur there can be no possible doubt. Dates of contemporary statepapers cannot, unfortunately, be cited to prove this, for the Bhonslas, like other Marāṭhā chiefs, almost invariably, used the Muhommadan year in dating their records. But if proof is needed, it would be furnished by the

18. In a note added to the statement the Editor of *the Life of Colebrooke* (p. 163) remarks. 'It would appear too from a passage in Niebuhr's travels that the reckoning in use at Nagpur was followed in Bombay and Gujarat at the time of the traveller's visit. The year is said by him to begin with the month of *Kartika*, evidently referring to the Autumnal Equinox.' The Editor is here evidently confounding the Durgā festival in *Āśvina* with the *Divāli* festival in *Kārtika*.

following date[19] which occurs in two Marāṭhī letters written evidently at Nagpur by Raghoji II, the Bhonslā Rājā of Nagpur and his brother, Khaṇḍojī alias Chimṇājī Bāpu to record a mutual agreement— *Śake 1701 Vikārī nāma saṁvatsare miti Āśvina bahula pañchamī Bhṛgu-vāsare.* This date corresponds, for the *amānta* Āśvina, regularly to Friday the 29th October A. D. 1779. The cyclic year for the *Chaitrādi* Śaka year 1701 was *Vikārin* according to the southern luni-solar system. This date clearly shows that the era current in Nagpur in the time of Colebrooke was the Śaka era, its months were *amānta* and the year commenced in *Chaitra* and not in *Āśvina*.

Even supposing that in Colebrooke's time the year began at Nagpur in the month of Āśvina, it can have no bearing on the question of the commencement of the Chedi year for the simple reason that the country round Nagpur was probably never under the rule of the Kalachuris.[20] No inscriptions dated in the Chedi era have been found in the Marāṭhī-speaking districts of the Central Provinces and Berar. These districts which were evidently comprised in the three Mahārāṣṭras mentioned in the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II were successively under the Early Chālukyas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Paramāras, the Later Cālukyas and the Yādavas but never under the Kalachuris of Tripurī or of Ratanpur. In the present Central Provinces the use of that era was confined to the Chattisgarh and the northern Hindi-speaking districts.

19. See *Aitihāsika Patra-vyavahāra* (Historical Documents) (Marāṭhī published in 1933), pp. 147—48.

20. Some parts of Berar may have been under the Early Kalachuri king Krishṇarāja, as a hoard of his coins was found at Dhāmori near Amraoti in Berar, but these coins were used by other dynasties also.

Kielhorn's view that the territory round Nagpur was once included in the Chedi kingdom was evidently due to his wrong identification of the kings Siṁhaṇa and and Rāmachandra mentioned in the Rāmṭek Lakshmaṇa Temple inscription with the homonymous kings of the Raipur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty.[21] The inscription is fragmentary and has not been edited so far. Kielhorn's knowledge of the kings mentioned in it was derived from a faint rubbing which he obtained from Fleet. My examination of the inscription has convinced me that it belongs to the Yādava (and not the Kalachuri) dynasty; for 1. 4 of it names the royal family as *Yādavo vaṁśaḥ*. The kings Siṁhaṇa and Rāmachandra mentioned in 11. 14 and 19 are evidently the well-known kings of the Yādava dynasty.[22] That the rule of the Yādavas extended in the east as far as Lāñjī in the Bālāgaāṭ district, about 100 miles north by east of Nāgpur is clear from a fragmentary stone inscription of the dynasty, found at Lāñji,[23] which has now been deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

21. Kielhorn has incidently mentioned this identification at the end of his article on the Khalāri stone inscription of Haribrahmadeva of the (*Vikrama*) year 1470, *Ep. Ind.* II, p. 230.

22. The late Rai Bahadur Hiralal also following Kielhorn at first thought that the princes mentioned in the Rāmṭek Lakshmaṇa temple inscription belonged to the Haihaya dynasty, but he has not asserted that view in the second ed. of his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, p. 3. That these princes were of the Yādava dynasty is clear also from the fact that the first eight lines of the inscription, though much damaged speak of the victories of these princes over Rudra, Āndhra, Chola and Gurjarendra. It is clear that we have here references to the brilliant exploits of the Yādava kings, Jaitugi and Siṅghaṇa. The petty kings of the Raipur branch of the Haihaya dynasty who ruled in the fifteenth century A. D. are not known to have distinguished themselves in this way.

23. See Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P. Berar.* (Second Ed.) p. 20.

There is thus not an iota of evidence to prove that the Chedi era was current in the Nagpur District nor to show that the Chedi year there commenced in Āśvina. On the other hand, the testimony of some of the recently discovered Chedi dates renders it probable that the Chedi year commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 6th October) in A. D. 248.

THE TRIBULATIONS OF INDIA

[A hitherto neglected source of Aurangzeb's history]

By Kazi Ahmad Mian Akhtar, Junagadh

Among the rulers of India Aurangzeb is the only monarch of whom a great deal of historical literature has been brought into existence in different languages at different times. Many sources of the Emperor's history have been unearthed and brought to light in our own times, and still many more are awaiting publication. In this connection it would be interesting to know that a Persian Mathnawi named آشوب هند, or 'Troubles of India', dealing with the 'Wars of Succession between Aurangzeb and his brothers', has been preserved in manuscripts and even in a printed edition; and as far as my knowledge goes, it has never been utilized by the contemporary chroniclers, nor does it find a place in the modern bibliographies of Aurangzeb's history.[1]

The Manuscripts

Manuscripts of this Mathnawi are rarely found in the libraries of India and Europe. There is a manuscript of a later date in the *library of the British Museum, Ad. 26235*. It has been noticed by Riu in his catalogue.[2] Measuring 10″×5¼″ the MS. comprises 6 folios or 120 pages, every page containing 18 couplets. Written in Nesta'liq character the MS. belongs to the 18th century. India Office possesses another MS. in its library. An incomplete MS. is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Besides these two complete and one incomplete MSS., a fourth MS. of earlier date has lately been acquired by a friend of mine[3] and it is proposed to notice the same and to examine

[1] Sarkar's Aurangzeb and Najib Ashraf's Urdu introduction to the latest edition of Aurangzeb's Letters contain such bibliographies.

[2] Catalogue of the Persian MS. in the British Museum, vol. II, pp. 689–690.

[3] Mr. A.D. Pathan (Alig.), Superintendent, Madrasatul Mu'alla, Junagadh.

its contents in the present article[1]. At the same time it is rather strange to find that while very few copies of both are available in manuscript, two printed copies of it exist in India, the one is preserved in the Asifiyyah Library of Hyderabad, in the Persian History Section, No. 905, dated 1300 A.H. The author's name is given in the catalogue as 'Bihishti Shirazi'.[2] The other copy dated A.D. 1883 exists in the Public Library at Lahore, which is probably a copy of the same printed edition, as the date 1300 A.H. synchronises with the A.D. 1883.

Our Manuscripts

This small volume comprises 174 pages and measures 8"×5". There are 15 couplets on every page. The couplets or verses number 2,570. Every page is ruled in black and red lines. The headings are all written in red ink. The MS. is written in Nesta'liq character and the writings are clear and beautiful. Some corrections have been made here and there, which are shown on the margins in a different hand. Probably some reader might have collated the MS. with another copy and noted down the variants. At the end of each page a catchword is supplied for reference to the next page, but there is no pagination. The name of the book does not appear on the title page which is blank, but it occurs in the last couplet which runs as follows:—

شد این نامه از بهمت دوستان * مسمي بآشوب هندوستان

The date of transcription and the name of the scribe are recorded at the end of the book in the following postscript:—

كاتب المعروف محمد حسين - بيست و هشتم شهر رجب المرجب سنه ۱۰۹۱ هجري تحرير يافت -

(i.e. Written by Muhammad Husain, on the 28th Rajab 1091 A. H.).

[1] It would be a vain attempt to enquire for MS. copies as the catalogues of almost all the important libraries of India and Europe have been thoroughly searched for.

[2] Fihrist-i-Kutubkhan-i-Asifiyya, Vol I.p. 252.

Date of Composition

The date of composition is nowhere given in the book, but it can be accurately fixed between 1068 and 1069 A. H., as we shall observe later on. Thus it is obvious that the present MS. was written only 28 years after the composition of the book. At the end the words "این کتاب دولہ رای؟" appear on the margin, which shows that the MS. was in possession of one Dulah Rai, a learned Brahma-Kshatriya of the Desai family of Junagadh, who flourished over a century and a half ago.

The Author

Very little is known about the author of this book except his nom-de-plume 'Bihishti' which occurs in the following verses :—

(۱) خدایا بهشتي ثناخوان تست • گیاهي ضعیفي ز بستان تست
(۲) بهشتي کند گر صفاتش بیان • چو تیغش ز پولاد باید زبان
(۳) بهشتي بمدح امام زمن • چوصاحب سخن کرد ختم سخن

Nor do we find his name mentioned in the biographies of the Persian poets. From the printed edition we come to know that he belonged to Shiraz and was a Perisan by birth. As to his being a follower of Shiite School and a believer in the twelve Imams we are informed in the following couplets :—

علي ولي اولیا را دلیل • نبي را وصي و خدا را وکیل
بمدح امامان اثنا عشر • مرا ساز نخل بیان بارور

From the following verses the author appears to have been a court poet of the Mughal prince Murad Bakhsh for whom he used to compose panegyrics. He says :—

بوصف حسینان مده فرصتم • که از فکر بیهوده در زحمتم
مراد جهانست چون سرورم • بخود کرد لطفش ثنا گسترم

From the words 'وصف حسینان' or appreciation of beauties we conclude that the poet used to compose Odes or Ghazals, a popular theme of all the Persian poets. This

is supported by the fact that he also left his 'Kulliyat' or poetical works, a copy of which exists in manuscript in the Edinburgh Library.

The author, being a protegeè of Murad, is eloquent in the praise of the latter—his master—whom he names as 'Murad-i-Jahan' (desire of the world), sometimes 'Murad-i-Du'alam' (desire of both the worlds), as for instance :—

ز آل تیمُور شاه گیتي ستان * نیا مدشهي چون مراد جهان

In the prologue he has devoted a special chapter to Murad, as is generally the case with the Mathnawi writers to praise the ruling princes of the time. But the poet, like his other confreres indulges in undue appreciation of the prince ; as for instance, we are told for the first time only about the religiosity of Murad in the following couplets :—

زعصیان گریزان ز طاعت قرین * بو دلي سخن شاه دنیا ودین
دلش غنچهٔ گلشن معرفت * ز شاهان ندارد کسي این صفت
شب و روز بر سنت مصطفیٰ * بهر کار شرعش بود رهنما
چنان شرع دارد بعهدش رواج * زاویان باطل ستاند خراج

This is hardly supported by history which on the contrary informs us that Murad was of soldierly nature and a man of haughty temperament. He was a pleasure-seeker mostly passing his time in unlawful indulgences. Hence there is no justification in saying that he was a staunch follower of the Prophet's Sunnah and acted in every matter according to the dictates of Shariat.

The author says he wrote within a decade (*of years*) several books on his master and the present Mathnawi is not his first literary production :—

ز احوال آن قبلهٔ راستان * ز یکقرن گفتم بسي داستان
کنون فکر تصنیف دیگر کنم * ز آشوب گیتي سخن سر کنم

The author claims to be an eye-witness to all the wars and events that came to pass between the sons of Shah Jehān during the fraternal contest for the throne of Delhi, and while comparing his narrative with the great Persian

Epic Shah Namah, he boasts over Firdawsi who was not an eye-witness to the wars and deeds of his heroes. He writes:—

بسي سال فردوسيِ خوش كلام * كه بادش زير ذان درود و سلام
همه رزم شهنامه نا ديده گفت * بجاي گهر طبعش الماس سُفت
من اين رزمها را همه ديده ام * زكس همچو افسانه نشنيده ام

There are certain allusions in the book which refer to the author's stay in Gujarat. It is certain that he was a court poet of Murad who was, as is well-known, at that time in Ahmedabad where he had celebrated his coronation assuming the title of Murawwijuddin. Referring to a prediction made by Khwaja Nasiruddin Tusi, the author says that he received such and such news from the pilgrims who went from Gujarat to Mecca and had recently returned therefrom. From both the facts it can be inferred that if not living there permanently, his sojourn at Ahmedabad must have been at least for a period during which his master was staying there.

Date of Composition of the Book

No date of composition has been given in the text but from certain historical facts narrated therein, it can be deduced that the book was composed between 1068 and 1070 A. H.; firstly because it does not make any mention of Murad's death except his imprisonment in the Gwalior fort, which took place on 4th Shawwal 1068 A.H., and secondly at the end it contains an account of the arrest and execution of Dara which happened on 21st Zilhajj 1069 A. H. These facts clearly establish that the book was composed between 1068 and 1070 A.H., long before the death of Murad and soon after Dara's execution.

List of Contents

From the different headings in the present MS. the table of contents is prepared and given below:

I. A hymn to God and the praise of the Prophet.

II. An appreciation of the Emperor of the World (i.e. Murad).

III. In praise of Shah Jahān and division of the provinces among his four sons.

IV. Shah Jahān's illness.

V. Dara preparing for war against Shuja and sending his son to Bengal to fight with the latter.

VI. A story by way of illustration.

VII. Murad receiving information of Shah Jahān's illness and slaying his Wazir Ali Naqi.

VIII. Siege and capture of the fortress of the port of Surat and plunder of great wealth and riches through the tactics of Shahbāz.

IX. Murad celebrating his coronation in the province of Gujarat.

X. Dara sending his son Sulaiman Shikoh against Shuja; victorious return of the former for the first time.

XI. Murad leading his forces from Ahmedabad to Ujjain and coming across Aurangzeb on the way.

XII. Murad and Aurangzeb meeting together.

XIII. Aurangzeb and Murad leading attack against the Maharaja (Jaswantsingh), and defeat of the latter.

XIV. Both the princes leading their armies *en route* Samogarh to Akbarabad.

XV. Aurangzeb and Murad gaining victory over Dara and flight of the latter.

XVI. Capture of Agra Fort and Murad taken prisoner by Aurangzeb.

XVII. Dara's flight from Lahore on account of the deceitful letters received by his officers.

XVIII. Shuja's flight, Aurangzeb's victory and demobilisation of the army.

XIX. Dara marching from Ahmedabad to Ajmere as planned by the Maharaja, consequently his defeat, his flight third time, his arrest by Jiwan the Zamindar of Lahore and finally his execution.

Under the above captions the author has divided the contents of his book and it is to be noticed that he has not exercised his power of poetical imagination or exaggeration in describing the events.

Historical Value of the Book

The author being a contemporary writer his information is partly based on his personal knowledge and partly on the reports and news he received through different sources. As far as the fraternal wars are concerned, his work deserves consideration in relation to other chronicles of the period. Although most of the events described in the book are corroborated by the chronicles of later date, yet the author's general claim as to his being an eye-witness to all the wars between the brothers cannot be admitted. It is true that he was attached to Murad's court and as such he might have witnessed the events in which his master took part, but how could he be expected to have been present at all the events that took place in other parts of the country? It is but natural that he might have gathered such information either from the news agents (Parcha-Nawis) or from the popular rumours. Nevertheless the author's narrative is mostly accurate in collaboration with other authentic accounts.

The Author's Opinion about Aurangzeb

Although the author was a servant and an adherent of Murad, and as such he is naturally expected to adopt an antagonistic attitude towards Aurangzeb, yet throughout the book he has refrained very carefully from pronouncing his opinion against the prince. While speaking of Shah Jahān's division of the provinces among his four sons, the author draws an analogy between them and the four

Righteous Caliphs of the early Islamic period. He says :—

خلف بودش ز دولت ذوالمنن * چو اصحاب خیر البشر چار تن
بدا را شکوه جهان اقتدار * سریرش سزاوار خلایق وار
باگین فاروق سلطان شجاع * ز خورشید رایش فروزان شعاع
همی بود شهزاده اورنگ زیب * چو عثمان سراپا حیا و شکیب
ز سلطان مراد از نکو اختری * عیان شوکت وصولت حیدری

It is worthy of note that Aurangzeb is compared with Uthmān the third Caliph, which betrays the mental attitude of our Shi'ite author towards the prince, while he compares his patron Murad with 'Ali the son-in-law of the Prophet, giving him preference over others and thus paying his homage to the sanctimonious Imam. However the comparison is incongruous and inapposite and the author seems to have concealed his prejudice and religious rancour against Aurangzeb beneath this garb. At certain places in the book he casts his aspersions against the prince but he is so cautious and guarded as to put the words in the mouths of others. We come across a single line in the book in which he has openly censured Aurangzeb for bribing Allahwardi Khan, the general of Shuja, for making him his partisan :—

چو اکثر فتوحات اورنگ زیب * بسحر و فسون بود و مکر و فریب

Notwithstanding this he admires the foresight and practical wisdom of Aurangzeb. He pays a tribute to the prince when he says :—

ز تدبیر و فرهنگ اورنگ شاه * که از کودکی داده بودش اله

Likewise the author while dwelling on the imprisonment of Murad and comparing him with Aurangzeb, observes that a ruler having had several enemies around him is justified when he is forced to employ strategic tactics :—

شهی را که بسیار باشد عدو * به نیرنگ و افسون کند کار او
کند زادهٔ شاه شاهنشهی * گر از کار خود باشدش آگهی

نه آنکس که مانند سلطان مراد * ز انجام کارش نیارد بیاد
بدا نسان که رستم تهور نداشت * سکندر ز بخش علم بر فراشت

While speaking of the country running desolate from the river Attak to the Deccan after the arrest of Murad, the author's observation regarding Aurangzeb is significant :—

مگر بعد ازین نیست شهر یار * جهان را کند سر بسر عیش زار
بخیر است چون نیست بادشاه * چو جوهر ز فولاد روید گیاه

Although the author has evinced great solicitude for his master on account of his personal attachment with the latter and has lavishly praised him for his bounty, bravery and manly courage, yet he does not think him worthy and capable of being a ruler and an administrator. In this respect he entertains a very high opinion about Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb sends a message to Murad inviting him to fight a decisive battle with Jaswant Singh, the partisan of Dara, and promises him on Dara's defeat the possession of the vast Indian Empire. On receiving the message Murad proceeds from Ahmedabad, building castles in the air and thinking that after Dara's overthrow he will ascend the throne of Delhi :—

گمان اینکه دارا چو یابد شکست * بر اورنگ دهلی بخواهد نشست

Here the author like a real statesman remarks :—

ندانست با آن همه رای و هوش * که بی نیش کس را ندادند نوش
چه خوش گفت اند تلک مایهٔ * که هرکار را هست پیرایهٔ

He strikes a note of alarm at the incapability and corruption of the low-bred ministers and mean officers in Murad's camp :—

بود از وزیران دوات و قلم * ز شه عدل و تدبیر و فوج و حشم
چو ارکان دولت اراذل بود * حق پادشه جمله باطل بود
بموعی که بود از مراد جهان * شود شرح آن در مجالس بیان

Although Murad is eulogised by the poet for leading invasion against Jagat Singh and for his expeditions to Balkh and Badakhshan, yet he is not considered worthy of ascending the 'golden throne' and wearing the 'Imperial

Crown'. He is censured for his impolitic move in strengthening the hands of his rival Aurangzeb :—

بالآخر سپهر برین شاد شد * که فرمان ده احمد آباد شد
ولیکن شهنشاه با عقل وراي * همه لطف و احسان بخلق خداي
ندانست این نکته دلپذیر * که کار شیان نیست تیمار شیر
ز اولاد هر کس که بخت آوراست * همان لائق تاج وتخت ز راست
بود دور از شیوهٔ خسروي * که دشمو گر ملک گردد قوي

The author has narrated some incidents in the Mathnawi which are not found in other historical accounts. As for instance he writes that :—

1. When Dara was arrested at Lahore, his daughter fell on her knees before Malik Jiw-an, imploring him to release her father, but the impudent wretch paying no heed to her entreaties gave a slap on her tender face.

2. At the time of Dara's execution his murderers offered him a cup of poison which he refused to drink.

3. On the fourth day after his coronation Aurangzeb appeared on the balcony of the Palace and ordered his Bakhshies or paymasters to dismiss all the old servants from the army and to recruit new ones:—

چو روز چهارم گذشت از جلوس * رخ لشکر از درد شد آبنوس
بر آمد چو بر منظر خاص وعام * بفرمود با بخشیان عظام
که باید سپاه جدیدي همه * شوند از قدیمي جدا همچو مه

By the old servants the men of the armies of Shah Jahān, Dara and Murad are meant:—

ز شاهجهان وز دارا شکوه * ز سلطان مراد تهور پژوه
سپه هر قدر هست در هر طرف * نمایند از نوکري بر طرف

How this dismissal created a commotion among the people and thousands of men were deprived of their daily bread, we are told in the following lines :—

بسي را هم از نوکري دور ساخت * همه صبح شان شام دیجور ساخت
بعهدش پریشان و بي روزگار * نشستند چندین هزاران هزار
ز اولاد صاحب قران هیچ شاه * نبود اینچنین مهربان با سپاه

Subsequently the author praying that God may grant justice and generosity to Aurangzeb so that the people may live in peace, reproves the Emperor for his love of wealth and riches and proposes to remain himself as silent spectator, without uttering a word, watching the trend of events.

خدایش دہد عدل و خلق و سخا • کہ آسودہ باشند خلق خدا
شہی را کہ در دل بود مہر زر • چو زر دولتش رُو دہد یکدگر
از ان ماجرا دم نباید زدن • بہ بینم کہ آخر چہ خواہد شدن

This incident is related at a time when Murad was a prisoner at Gwalior, Shuja had fled away, and Dara had already met his tragic fate, and all the servants in their armies were gathered together in the camp of Aurangzeb. The authenticity of this story can be questioned inasmuch as it is not corroborated by any historical account of this period. However, believing it to be literally true, it cannot be considered an unwise step on the part of the Emperor to drive away the partisans and adherents of his rivals, and therefore professed enemies, in order to gurad himself against the dire consequences that might ensue in future. In fact this diplomatic move of the Emperor must elicit an appreciation of his political sagacity and farsightedness with which he was naturally gifted.

In conclusion, we may observe that this Mathnawi can be utilized with some advantage to know the details of the Wars of Succession, which to a great extent are based on the personal observations of the author. It may be taken as a contemporary contribution, and an addition to the early sources of the history of Aurangzeb which has not been brought to light.

Translation of the Persian Couplets

I. With the encouragement of my friends I named this book *The Tribulations of India.*

II. O God! 'Bihishti' is Thy eulogiser, a weak blade of grass from Thy garden.

If 'Bihishti' were to speak of His attributes, he should have his tongue made of steel.

'Bihishti' in praise of the Imam of the time, concluded his speech like a master-poet.

III. 'Ali the friend (of God) and a guide to the saints, the heir of the Prophet and intercessor to God.

O God! in lieu of the praise of the twelve Imams, make the tree of my speech fruitful.

IV. O God! do not grant me leisure for singing in praise of the beauties, a fruitless task which bothers me.

As I have got a patron like Murad, his kindliness has made me his panegyrist.

V. In the house of the world-conquering Timur none has come up like Murad.

VI. Abstaining from sins and engaged in prayers is the King of the World and the Faith.

His heart is a blossom from the garden of mysticism, a quality hardly possessed by any other king.

Day and night acting according to the ordinances of the Prophet. The Shariat (the common law of Islam) is always his guiding star.

Shariat has so much come into vogue in his time that it is taking tribute from the false faiths.

VII. About the memoirs of that 'resort of the righteous' (i.e. Murad) I have narrated several episodes during a decade, and now I am contemplating to compose another book and to write about the turbulance of the world.

VIII. The sweet-tongued Firdawsi (may peace be on him) has described the wars in his Shah Namah during thirty years without being himself an eye-witness to them, and (yet) he has stringed diamonds together instead of

pearls. (But) I have myself witnessed all these wars and not that I learnt them as hearsay from other people.

IX. By the grace of God he has four sons like the four companions of the Prophet.

The all-powerful Dara is worthy of the throne like Abu Bakr the truthful.

On the model of Faruq is Sultan Shuja whose reason is a brilliant ray from the sun of al-Faruq.

In the same way the Prince Aurangzeb is all-shyness and fortitude like Uthmān.

In Sultan Murad the pomp and glory of Haider (Ali) is manifest.

X. Most of the conquests of Aurangzeb were through treason and strategy.

XI. By that wisdom and policy with which God hath gifted Aurangzeb from his very boyhood.

XII. A King who has several enemies to encounter may deal with them treacherously.

The son of a King is fit to rule only if he is thoroughly conversant with the art of government.

No man, like Sultan Murad, is un-mindful of his tragic fate.

In the same way, when Rustam had not the valour, Alexander gained victory over him.

XIII. But hereafter the good intention of the Emperor (Aurangzeb) might transform the world into the happiest land.

When the intention of a king is best, grass can grow from steel like its substance.

XIV. Thinking that after Dara's defeat he will ascend the throne of Delhi.

XV. But in spite of his wisdom he never thought that nobody can achieve success without undergoing trouble.

A poor wretch hath well said that 'there is a different way for carrying out every task'.

XVI. The inkstand and pen are possessed by the ministers, and justice, diplomacy, and militia by the kings.

But when the ministers are low people, the rights of the rulers are all set at naught. The same was the case with Murad, which has become the topic of every assemblage.

XVII. Eventually through divine grace he (Murad) became the ruler of Ahmedabad.

But the wise and reasonable Emperor, who was benevolent to the people, could not remember this popular adage that: 'it is not the business of a shepherd to look after the lion.'

From amongst the sons whoever is favoured by fortune, is fit for the throne and the golden crown.

It is against the Imperial policy that the claimant of the empire should become strong.

XVIII. When the fourth day elapsed after the coronation, the faces of the soldiery grew dark like ebony.

And when he (Aurangzeb) appeared in the public view, he ordered his paymasters to enlist a new army and, like the moon, to dispense with the old one.

XIX. As many soldiers as there may be of the armies of Shah Jahān and Dara Shikoh, as well as that of the valiant Murad, all should be dismissed from service.

XX. Many of them were dismissed from service and their bright morning was turned into a dark evening. In his (Aurangzeb's) reign thousands and thousands sat unemployed and worrying.

None from the sons of Sahib-i-Qiran (i.e. Shah Jahān) was so 'kind' to the army!

XXI. May God grant him (sense of) justice and generosity, so that people may live in peace.

A King who has got love of gold in his heart, is anxious to acquire more and more wealth and riches day-by-day.

I should keep quiet over the matter and observe That happens in the end.

SHAHJI AND HIS ACHIEVEMENT IN THE CARNATIC.

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I. His military career

Shahji, the father of Shivaji, spent the greater part of his later life in the Carnatic, though the Marātha *Bakhars* do not give us much information about his doings therein. Shahji in fact was the real founder of revived Hindu dominion in South India, particularly in the Mysore region and in the Lower Carnatic including Tanjore. He might be said to have become the champion of the Hindu cause in South India, though, officially and technically, he was only a general of Bijapur and a representative of Muhammadan rule. A short review of his activities in South India will reveal to the student, the scope and the significance of his achievement in the cause of Hindu revival. Randulla Khan, Rustam Zaman, a general of Bijapur was sent by the Sultan of Bijapur, Muhammad Adil Shah (1627-1656 A. D.), along with Shahji, at the invitation of Kenge Hanuma of Basavapatan, an enemy of Vīrabhadra Nāyak of Ikkeri (1637-38), against the latter and made him fly away to his fort at Kavauldrug, leaving his capital to be occupied by the Muhammadans. The Nāyak himself was forced to give up half his kingdom and a very large amount of ransom. Two years later, when the Nāyak refused to pay the balance of the stipulated indemnity, he was once again attacked and beaten by the Bijapur forces but restored to his principality through the intervention of Shahji. In this expedition, the Nāyak of Sira was defeated and killed treacherously by Afzal Khan, one of the Bijapur generals, in the course of an attempted negotiation; and Sira was handed over to

the traitor, Kenge Hanuma. Kempe Gowda, the chief of Bangalore, was also threatend into submission; and Bangalore was placed under Shahji as its governor. Shahji had been promised a *jaghir* in the territories to be conquered and thus became the ruler of Bangalore in 1638, while Kempe Gowda retired to Savandurga. Then Shahji subdued Kantirava Narasaraja Uḍayar (1639-59), the chief of Seringapatam, but left him in possession of his fort and territories south of the Kāveri, after taking an indemnity. According to the *Shiva Bharat*, the Nāyaks of Madura and Kaveripatam were also won over to the Bijapur side now. In the third Bijapurian expedition of 1639, the traitor, Kenge Nāyak, was himself attacked in his fort of Basavapatan in the course of the siege of which, Shahji again distinguished himself and earned the laurels of victory along with Afzal Khan. The capture of Basavapatan was followed by the conquest of other forts like Chikkanāyakanhalli, Belur, Tumkur and Balapur. Sivappa Nāyak, the successor of Vīrabhadra, who ruled from 1645 to 1660, contrived to recapture Ikkeri from the Bijapur commander and strongly fortify it. Indeed, Sivappa had become a very powerful general even before his accession; and a strong Bijapuri expedition was sent into the Carnatic for his suppression. Shahji Rājā contrived to secure a confederacy of the local Nāyaks and of several Marātha and Muslim chiefs in support of the invaders, and brought about a series of triumphs for Bijapur. In the course of the expedition of the Khan-i-Khanan (Muzaffar-ud-din) in 1644-45 and of Nawab Mustafa Khan in the years 1646-48, Shahji contrived to gain further honours for himself. The campaign of 1644 was the outcome of an alliance between Bijapur and Śrī Raṅga Rayal of Vellore who was opposed by a powerful combination of the Golconda Sultan and his own ministers and Nāyak feudatories. In the latter campaign led by the Bijāpur Vazir, Mustafa Khan, he organised a combination of the Nāyakas of Gingi, Madura and Tanjore

and also those of Harpanahalli and Ikkeri against the determined opposition of Śrīraṅga Rāyal. He fought in January 1646 against Jayadeva, the Rājā of Kāveripatam and forced him to take refuge in Krishnadurg and compelled the Rāya to take to flight. Subsequently, the Bijapur army annexed a large part of the Baramahal and proceeded against Vellore, under the walls of which a terrible battle was fought, in which the slaughter on the Hindu side was very great and Shahji commanded the right wing of the victorious army. Then followed an investment of the fort of Vellore and the submission of the Rāyal who paid a large indemnity in gold and gave 150 elephants. Shahji and a Muhammadan colleague were left in charge of the government of the conquered territories. The Golconda forces also joined in this campaign, which is detailed below. The high titles of Mahārāj and Farzand were conferred upon Shahji who helped in the capture of forts in the Changamma Pass. His achievements are not fully chronicled in the *Muhammad Namah*, written by Zahur, a *protege* of Mustafa Khan, one of his chief enemies at the Bijapur court (B. D. Verma—*History in Muhammad Namah*). Shahji was, by this time, governor of all the conquests below the Ghats, called *Karnatak Bijapur Balaghat*. He resided at Bangalore and also occasionally at Kolar and Dodballapur. Under his rule, the Bijapur officials took charge of the chief cities which they captured; and the chiefs who were restored, were transferred to the less productive parts of their previous territories. "This resulted in bringing under cultivation and attracting population to the more neglected tracts of the country. Thus Basavapatan and its possessions being retained, Tarikere was given to the palegar; Bangalore was taken, but Magadi left to Kempe Gauḍa; similarly Hoskote was taken and Anekal granted; Kolar was taken and Punganur granted; Sira was taken and Ratnagiri granted". (*Mysore Gazetteer*, Revised edition, Vol. II, Part IV, page 2,428).

The campaign against Vellore ran the following course. At that time, Golconda had contrived to annex a good part of the Carnatic on the eastern side, from Masulipatam on the coast down to the neighbourhood of Madras. The contracted power of the Rāyal of Vellore was thus hemmed in on both sides by its two old enemies, Bijapur and Golconda. Udayagiri was captured by the Golconda forces in 1646 (*English Factories in India*—Vol. 1646-50, page xxv and pp. 24-25) and the Dutch Pulicat a little later. The internal dissensions that now beset the disintegrating kingdom of the Rāyas were worsened by the infectious treachery of the brothers, Damarla Veṅkaṭādri and Ayyappa who called in the aid of Golconda; and this treachery was copied by Tirumala Nāyak of Madura, who seduced the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Gingi also to his side. Though the Nāyak of Tanjore went back to his loyalty, Tirumala Nāyak ultimately brought about the break-up of the Vijayanagar Empire by his course of conduct. By 1645, Amir Jumla, the general of the Golconda forces, had successfully penetrated the country as far as Vellore, advancing by way of Ongole, Nellore and Chittoor. At the same time, the Bijapur forces also converged on Vellore. The combined armies laid seige to Vellore about the beginning of 1645 A. D. Śrīraṅga Rāyal had to flee for his life, leaving the defence to one Mallayya who proved treacherous and surrendered the fort to Mir Jumla upon composition for himself and all his people. Śrīraṅga then sought the help of Śivappa Nāyak of Ikkeri; and the latter took advantage of the opportunity to advance against Vellore and to reduce it to submission. The restoration of Śrīraṅga by Sivappa Nāyak was a great service to the Hindu cause. It led to Śrīraṅga granting him the titles of Rāmabāna and Paravarana Varana, (Taraṅga xiv, Kallola vii of Keladi Basava's *Śiva Tattva Ratnākara*). We have a number of inscriptions testifying to the continued effective rule of Śrīraṅga from 1645—46 to 1649; and would lead to the inference that Śrīraṅga was in

occupation of the interior country at least round Vellore. It was the disloyal policy of Tirumala Nāyak of Madura towards his suzerain, which was continued by his successor Chokkanatha that finally broke up the Empire of the Rāyas and in their wake brought in the Muhammadans and the Marathas. Śivappa Nāyak of Ikkeri was loyal to the Rāya.

In 1648, there was the great Bijapur campaign against Gingee which had been invested by Mir Jumla. This campaign was induced by Tirumala Nāyak of Madura who repented of his short-sighted policy and sought an alliance with the Bijapur ruler and with the help of the latter, marched to relieve Gingee from the forces of Mir Jumla. But the Muslims soon came to understanding among themselves ; and Tirumala Nāyak could not effectively help the defence of Gingee. In the course of the campaign Shahji, being dissatisfied with the conduct of Mustafa Khan, the commander-in-chief, contrived to prolong the operations ; while Mir Jumla took advantage of the dissensions among the generals of the Bijapur army and even formed a secret alliance with the Rayal. The Nāyak of Gingee was at last forced to surrender to the Bijapur army towards the end of December 1648. The city of Gingi was given over to plunder and the victors got several crores worth of cash and jewels. In this campaign, the Piṇḍāri free booters who always hung in the rear of the army, were allowed to spread desolation and devastation through the land, particularly round the ports of the Devanampatam, Porto Novo and Puducherry (afterwards to become the French settlement.)

After this Bijapurian acquisition of Gingee, Shahji was easily even more powerful than before. The rebellious conduct of his son, Shivaji, against the Adil Shah, led to a secret order from Bijapur for the arrest of Shahji. According to the *Muhammad Namah*, some incidents occurred during the siege of Gingee, that led to a misunderstanding

between him and Nawab Mustafa Khan. Sir J. N. Sarkar holds that the arrest of Shahji was due to his disloyal intrigues with the Rāyal of Vellore and with the Sultan of Golconda. Shahji had now become the virtual ruler of the Carnatic ; and perhaps, he thought that he might throw off the yoke of Bijapur and become openly independent. Perhaps, Shahji did not like the idea of Nawab Mustafa Khan making common cause with Mir Jumla. Perhaps, also, Mustafa Khan might, by having Shahji arrested, have endeavoured to forestall a powerful combination of the Hindu rulers of the country consisting of the Nāyaks of Madura, Gingee and Tanjore and of the chiefs of Mysore, Kaveripatnam and Ikkeri, headed by Śrīraṅga and Shahji himself. The accounts of Shahji's imprisonment as given by the *Shiva Bharat* and in the *Bāsatin-i-Salātin* are almost identical. After some time Shahji was released, probably because the death of Mustafa Khan, who was a personal enemy of his, might have improved matters ; also the affairs in the Carnatic required a strong and experienced man to be in their charge. Shahji was released in the course of 1649 ; and soon the Bijapur government fell into a position of inaction in the Carnatic on account of the threatening attitude of the Mughals. Shahji returned to his charge and in 1651 got a definite victory over Amir Jumla, who had made himself the effective master of a rich tract of country on the Mādras coast and also concluded peace with Śriraṅga. This defeat of Mir Jumla greatly enhanced the reputation of Shahji and gave a new vigour to the campaigns of the Bijapurians, who contrived to capture the important fortress of Penukoṇḍa. This loss of Penukoṇḍa greatly alarmed the Hindu ruler and Śrīraṅga at first appealed for help to Prince Aurangzib, the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan ; he even contrived to reconquer, with the help of the Mysore ruler, a part of his territory and to regain Vellore for a time. Vellore was quickly recaptured by the Bijapur forces and the Rāyal was forced to conclude a treaty by which he was to be

content with the possession of Chandragiri and the revenue of certain adjoining districts. Even from these, the Rāyal was ultimately driven out by the treachery of the Nāyak of Madura and had to finally seek shelter with Śivappa Nāyak.

Shahji was engaged most actively in the years 1654-58 in subduing the refractory Poligars in his dominions. In one of these expeditions, his son Shambaji (who was the elder brother of Shivāji) was shot dead by a cannon ball. In 1658 his son Ekoji who later on became the ruler of Tanjore was sent to capture the country round Śrīśailam (1658.) The poet Jairām accompanied Ekoji in this expedition and described its success. In 1658 Shahji brought over the Nāyak of Tanjore to his side and proceeded against the rebellious Muthuvīrappa Nāyak of Madura. Shahji and his colleague, Mulla Muhammed, proceeded to the very gates of Trichinopoly, which had now become the Nāyak capital, but suddenly fell back from it and assaulted Tanjore (March 1659) which was most gloriously defended. Shahji then captured Mānnarkoil and Vallamkottai from which the cowardly Nāyak fled. A second attempt on Trichinopoly was made, but with no better success.

Chokkanātha Nāyak, who ascended the throne in 1660, planned to bring about a combination of the Nāyaks for the restoration of the Rāya and to seize Gingee from Bijapur hold Liṅgama Nāyak, the general of Madura; advanced with a large army against Gingee in 1662, but Shahji contrived to sow treachery among the Madura ministers, namely, the Dalavāyi, the Pradhāni and the Rāyasam, so that they formed a combination against the young Nāyak and attempted his dethronement. Shahji also separated the Tanjore Nāyak from the alliance. Shahji himself was induced by Liṅgama Nāyak to advance against Trichinopoly, but was forced to withdraw by the courage that was displayed by Chokkanātha in its defence.

Shahji also captured the fort of Tegnapatam (Cuddalore) in 1661 and also Porto Novo. He took advantage of the departure of Mir Jumla to the Mughal court and of the consequent absence of any serious opposition from Golconda. He made Porto Novo the base of his operations against Tanjore and aimed to bring all the ports in this part of the coast into his possession. In 1663, Tegnapatam was besieged by Liṅgama Nāyak, but relieved by Shahji who concluded a treaty with him. From the Dutch Dagh-Register, it appears that Shahji made a great effort at becoming independent in the Carnatic in 1659-60. This is confirmed by an English letter; and we are led to infer that Shahji was convinced that the Bijapur kingdom would soon become extinct; and there was perhaps projected an intended combination between him and his famous son, Shivaji, for destroying Bijapur in entirety. Shahji came to an understanding with the general sent to oppose him; and the Bijapur court at that time was too weak to do anything, but to pardon Shahji and restore him to his governorship. He died soon after this in 1664, on account of a fall from his horse, while out hunting near Basavapatan. At the time of his death, the dominions under his control included Bangalore, Kolar, Nandidrug, Basavapatan, Hoskota, Arni, Gingee, Tegnapatam and Porto Novo. Into all these places, his son Ekoji (Vyankoji) was peacefully inducted on his death as governor and *jaghirdar*.

II. His achievement.

The consequences of Shahji's governorship were very momentous. He observed in his administration "as much moderation as was consistent with the indispensable object of collecting a large and regular surplus revenue, one part of which must necessarily be remitted to court and the remainder should form an accumulating fund to support the charges of future rebellion". We read that "with Shahji's counsel did Randulla, though to others intolerable, do all government business"; and that after that Mahammadan commander passed away, "each successive general that Adil

Shah sent to the Karṇātak to bring the chiefs of that country at once under his own immediate control, followed Shahji and pursued Shahji's objects."

Shahji was a very notable figure, notwithstanding the accounts of the Muhammadan historians, like Zahur and Zubair, who wanted to make out that he was not the supreme army chief, nor even the commander of an independent division, but only one of the several Bijapur captains serving under the immediate orders of the Muslim generalissimo throughout the conquest of Mysore and that it was only very late in his life, that is, in the invasion of Tanjore in 1660-62 that he rose to be the second in command. Shahji appears, almost from the very commencement of his career in the Carnatic, to have occupied a position of considerable importance. His first co-adjuster, Randulla Khan, was very friendly to him and appointed him to the charge of Bangalore when it was first conquered. Shahji appeared to have continued to govern those parts of the conquered Chennapatna vice-royalty of Vijayanagar, but shifted his government from Bangalore to Balapur and Kolar. The fact that Chikkadevarāyā Uḍayār of Mysore ultimately effected the purchase of Bangalore from Ekoji, the son of Shahji, in 1684 would seem to show that the family retained almost continuously the possession of Bangalore. The correspondence of the East India Company's servants contains references to the important positions that he had occupied almost from the very commencement of the Bijapur invasions of the south. The *Shiva Bara*t of the poet, Paramānanda, distinctly says in several places that Shahji was very important throughout his career in the Carnatic and contains the following very illustrative note on his power: "By the use of the six expedients, and by means of various strokes of policy, Shahji brought the whole Karṇātak territory under subjection. The suppliant Jagaddeva received his command with his head bent in obeisance, as if it were a flower. The lord of Madura, albeit formidable, become obedient to Shahji.

The king of Mysore, too, become subject. Vīrabhadra, through his help, once more took his seat on his throne, which had forcibly taken away by the wicked Randulla Khan. Owing to the power of the shrewd Shahji who employed each different device on each different occasion, many gave up all fear of Muhammadan". This commanding position was attained by Shahji certainly before Mustafa Khan's attempt to arrest him under the Adil Shah's orders. We may agree with Dr.S.K. Ayyangar, that, judged by the combined results of al these sources of history, Shahji the Marātha, appears as "a man of ability, both as a warrior and an administrator". "He played first an important part in the conquests of the various petty states of the Karṇāṭak for Bijapur. Slowly but surely he was able to build from out of these conquests a pretty big government for himself, certainly under the authority of his masters at Bijapur to begin with, but gradually to become more or less entirely his own in the inefficiency and division of interests that were the bane of later Bijapur history, with the Damocles' sword of Mughal conquest hanging over the head of Bijapur. It is just possible, although it is not yet satisfactorily established, that he showed himself friendly to the interests of Śrī Raṅga Rāyal once and that he tried to enter the service of the Qutub Shah another time. The supreme example of Mir Jumla in the same region offers an illuminating comparison. The position of Rustam-i-Zaman and Bulol Khan of Bijapur came very near. None the less, it would constitute treason notwithstanding the fact that such treason was in the air. The officers to whom Śrī Raṅga Rāyal entrusted his affairs behaved less badly in regard to this matter; but that would not justify an act of treason morally; and moral justification or otherwise is not the function of the historian. When Bijapur fell, Shahji's work was visible in the existence of the Mahrāṭṭa state in the south nominally called Tanjore, but extending far into the plateau and constituting a comparatively large bit of the Karṇāṭak. Shivaji had been only

a feudatory of Bijapur so far as the territory in the Mahrātta country was concerned, in spite of the fact that he made himself quite as independent as his father. The southern portion of his father's territory seemed to him more justifiably independent and could perhaps enable him to set up as successor to the now vanished empire of Vijayanagar with Śrī Raṅga Rāyal, the last of its rulers. Shahji therefore is entitled to be regarded as the founder of the Mahrāṭṭa dominion in the south, which survived a number of generations after him before it reached complete extinction".

Shahji seems to have possessed some real elements of culture and learning. From the references in the *Rādhā-mādhava-vilāsa-Campu*, a prose-poem by one Jayarām Piṇḍiya, we find that his court at Bangalore was splendid and that he patronized men of learning on a liberal scale. Shahji himself composed a *samasyā* in Sanskrit and was followed by Malhari Bhaṭṭa, Naropanth Hanmante and fifteen others in Sanskrit and thirty-five additional persons came forward from the court to set *samasyas* in the different vernaculars. Naropant and his sons, Janārdan Panth and Reguṇāth Panth are well known ministers at the court of Shahji and his son Ekoji. This pleasing picture should credit the Marāṭhas of the 17th century with a considerable amount of culture. The Marāṭha element was introduced as a result of Shahji's conquest into the north of Mysore as well as into the other districts below the Ghats that he conquered. Marāṭhi became the revenue and official language of Bijapur by the time of Ibrahim Adil Shah, the fourth king. Naturally enough, Marāṭhi came to be the dominent language of many parts of upper and lower Carnatic from this period. During the days of the rule of the Carnatic Nawabs and also or a considerable time after the establishment of the British power, a dialect of (Marāṭhi, much corrupted by its contact with Urdu and with Dravidian languages) was the official language of accounts in all the districts of the Madras Presidency

till 1855 when it ceased to be so. This official language differed as much from the Tanjore Marāṭhi dialect as the latter differed from the pure Marathi of Mahārāshṭra. Its abolition as the language of accounts in Tanjore was co-eval with the extinction of the titular dignity of the Marāṭha Rājahs of Tanjore.

The Bijapur Karṇāṭak was divided into parganas and subdivided into Samaths, Tharafs, mauzes and muzeeres. Each paragana was under a collector known as the Jamadar. The accounts were kept by officers known as Deshpandes, Deshkulkarnis, Sirnad Gauds, Deshmukhs and Kanungos. After the Marāṭhas attained to power, many Deshastas or natives of their country followed them and introduced the Marāṭhi language and written characters into the revenue accounts. Even in the territories of the poligars, Marāṭha accountants were employed to check the accounts

Shahji may therefore be appreciated in his true significance for the history of South India. "His policy, diplomacy and wars so mortally weakened the Tanjore state that it fell an easy prey into the hands of his son Vyankoji. His successors continued to enjoy the fruits of Shahji's labours for generations. In fact, Shahji deserves to be styled the founder of the Marāṭha rule in Southern India, as his famous son, Shivaji, proved to be the founder of the Marāṭha Empire in India". He can be regarded as the true inspirer of Shivaji's political and national ambition of achievement, and as the real originator of the scheme of Hindu Svarājya

AN EARLY ENGLISH ATTEMPT TO FOUND A FACTORY

ON THE TANJORE COAST

Dr. V. K. Bhandarkar, B. A., Ph. D.

The 17th century witnessed the commericial expansion of the European nations in the east, specially the English, the French and the Dutch. This expansion was signalized by the opening of factories at the most strategic places which later on developed into flourishing ports. The attempt of the English during the early part of their career in the East to establish a factory on one of the most busy parts of the eastern coast of India is interesting both from a commercial and a political point of view.

The person responsible for this enterprise was an Englishman himself, John Johnson by name. It is not uninteresting here to know the antecedents of this Englishman before he entered the service under the Company. The foundation of the Danish East India Company in 1617 [1] gave Johnson an opportunity to come to India. He was appointed a master in one of the ships of the Danish Company named the *Christian* [2], perhaps after King Christian of Denmark who had financed the Danish Company. Nothing is known about Johnson and his life previous to his service under the Danes [3]. Excepting a reference in 1629 to a

1.) Kay Larsen, *De Dansk-Ostindiske Koloniers Historie*, I, Trankebar, pp. 13-14.

(2) Cf. From President Brockedon and Council at Batavia to the Company, December 14, 1623, *The English Factories in India*, 1622-23, p. 337: see also *ibid.*, 1624-29, XXXIX, f. n. 1.

(3) It must be pointed out here that in the English factory records and the Calendars of Court Minutes of the East India Company we come across at least two John Johnsons, both contemporaries and it is just possible to either mistake one for the other or attribute to one the actions done by the other. We have exercised great care in perusing the sources and it seems that a John Johnson was living at Swally and Surat at almost the same time when John Johnson who served the Danes, was living at Tanjore. Cf., e.g., *English Factories* 1622-23, pp. 50-51.

Judith, widow of Johnson, [1] there is practically no other information about his other relatives. However, intense the mist that surrounds the earlier life of this person, his career from the time he entered Danish service as master of one of their ships bound for the East, to the time when the English traders' enterprise to Tanjore failed, can be traced with tolerable accuracy and detail from the English Factory records. It is this part of Johnson's career that is interesting not because he was a man who had made his mark in the history of the time, but because he was apparently responsible for the failure of the English to establish a factory during their early career in the East.

The circumstances leading to the decision of the English merchants to send this expedition may here be narrated. For this it is necessary to refer to Johnson's career under the Danes, because it was while he was serving them that he wrote to the English at Batavia to open trade negotiations with Raghunātha of Tanjore. According to a letter from President Brockedon dated December 14, 1623, Johnson "came out master of one of the first Danish shippes" [2] This is corroborated by a letter from President Fursland in which Johnson is referred to as "an English man which serves the Danes" [3]. An endorsement on a letter from Johnson to Thomas Brockedon written while the former was at Tanjore on the 4th of March, 1622, states "I thinck this John Johnson went out with the Danes" [4]. Elsewhere also Johnson is referred to as "late master in one of the Danes shippes" [5]. It is obvious, therefore, that this Englishman came to India under Danish service, but on the

(1) *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies*, 1625-29 p. 612.

(2) From President Brockdon and Council at Batavia to the Company December 14, 1623, *English Factories*, 1622-23, 337.

(3) From President Fursland and Council at Batavia to the Company August 27., 1622, *ibid*, p. 117.

4. *Ibid*, p. 61, f. n. 1.

5 Consultation Held in Batavia by President Brockedon and Council, January 8, 1624, *ibid*., 1624-29, p. 2.

way, according to his own version, "lost my shipp one Sealone" [1]. With some other Danes, Johnson went to Tanjore, "where", so he states, "I doe ly residente sore against my will, but I hope the Lord will in His good time free me hearof, for I doe abide heare in paune, for the Captaine of our house is gone home and the Great Naige (Nâyak) desoired to have (one?) to abide in the towne Tangore by him, whear, having lost my shipp one Sealone I was made choyse of" [2]. For at least 18 months [3] Johnson remained in Tanjore as a pawn for the goods sold to the Danes by Raghunātha. This forced stay at Tanjore was taken advantage of by this intrepid merchant to give a glowing description of the flourishing trade of Tanjore. In his letter to Brockedon already referred to, Johnson wrote, "The Great Naige demands of me what the reason is that the English doth not desoier to trade in his land as well as the Portingall, saying thay shall have pepper and anything the land doth afford, and likewise buye those commodeties that thay doe bring with them, as tine, leade, iron, and redd cloth is well sould. Little doth our nation knowe howe thay are excepted all this land; therefor the Danes doth trade under the name of the English and are marvilous well eused, hath given them a towne and place to build a castell, which is finneshed, and hath thertie sixe peeces of ordinance mounted therin" [4]. Almost identical facts are disclosed in another letter to the company written by President Farsland and Council, on the information supplied by Johnson [5]. Johnson, therefore, was responsible for inducing the English to send

1. From John Johnson at Tanjur to Thomas Brockedon, March 4, 1622, *ibid.*, 1622-23, p. 52. The *Christian* in which Johnson was sailing was wrecked off the coast of Ceylon. Cf. Kay Larsen, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Cf. From President Brockedon and Council at Batavia to the Company, December 14, 1623, *Ibid.*, p. 337.
4. From John Johnson at Tanjur to Thomas Brockedon, March 4, 1622 *ibid.*, p. 52.
5. From President Forsland and Council at Batavia to the Company August 27, 1622, *ibid.*, p. 117.

on expedition to the Tanjore coast to establish a factory there. Johnson himself, after his forced stay at Tanjore, returned to the Danish colony at Tranquebar and then went to Masulipatam and finally reached Batavia by the *Ruby* on the 23rd of November, 1623 [1], to affirm what he said and to encourage the English to equip the expedition.

Nor was the Nāyak Raghunātha, ill-disposed towards the English. He had heard of the English "to be a peaceable nation that seek not to incroach on other mens territories" and he was very earnest with Johnson "to moove unto us the favourable opinion hee had of our nation and great desire that wee should trade in his dominions" [2]. Raghunātha did not like the Portuguese and the protection of those who lived in his kingdom he had taken upon himself [3]. The Dutch he hated, and destroyed their fortifications at Teguapatam for "hee hath heard how they incroached uppon other princes dominions and countries, and therefore should not live in his" [4].

The colourful picture of the Tanjore commerce drawn by Johnson and the favourable disposition of the powerful Nāyaka of the country himself were strong incentives to opening a trading centre on the Coromandel coast. Raganātha went so far as to promise "pepper and any thinge the lande dothe affoarde and hee will buy those commoditteies which they bring, as tynne, leade, iron, and red cloathe, which is well sould" [5]. This was a splendid opportunity for the English. In January 17, 1624, Henry Hawley at

1. From President Brockedon and Council at Batavia to the Company, December 14, 1623, *ibid*, p. 337. *English Factories*, 1624-29 p. xxxix.
2. From President Brockedon and Council at Batavia to the Company, December 14, 1623, *ibid*. 1622-23, p 337.
3. *I bid.*
4. *I bid.*, p. 338.
5. From President Fursland and Council at Batavia to the Company, August 27, 1622, *ibid.*, p 117.

Batavia writing to his friend Thomas Keightley in London[1] stated that "They have received commendations of 'Tanjoer' as providing commodities 'both better cheape and more plenty then at Masulapatan, more convenient for shipping, pepper and other commodities there growinge'. Having seen samples of the cloth, they have decided to send a ship in the spring to plant a factory there". The main idea therefore was not to establish a colony and a fort there, but to secure the commerce of that portion of the Coromandel coast under the direct control of the Tanjore Nāyaka. It was with this motive and "understanding that better cloth of all sorts is made there then at Pallicatt or Musulipatam, and pepper likewise to be gotten in reasonable quantities, wee have resolved to send a shipp thither within these three months to make triall what good maie be done in those parts"[2].

No time was wasted to equip the expedition. The Council at Batavia decided to send the *Hart*[3]. This decision was finally taken because "The prince of that country has sent a letter inviting them to trade in his dominions"[4]. This letter was perhaps the one given to Johnson who affirmed "that he delivered to Mr. Mills a letter from the 'Naick' intended for the President and Council, 'which wee admire you should keepe back, being it so much importeth our masters businesse, for wee know not what his promises were

1. *Ibid.*, 1624-29, p. 3.

2. From President Brockedon and Council at Batavia to the Company† December 14, 1623, *ibid*, 1622-23, p. 337.

3. Cf. From the same to the same, January 17 1624, *ibid.*, 1624-29, p. 2. From the same to the Factors at Masulipatam, March 5, 1624, *ibid.*, p. 6; Consultation held at Batavia by President Brockedon and Council, March 2, 1624, *ibid.*, p. 4.

4. From President Brockedon and Council at Batavia to the Company†, January 17, 1624, *ibid.*, p. 2.

in the said letter nor what answeare to make him" [1]. And therefore President Brockedon and Council protested against the "gross carelessness" of Mr. Mills in detaining the Nāyak's letter [2]. However, the expedition was decided upon.

Mr Joseph Cockram (one of the Council at Batavia) was to accompany the expedition on board the *Hart* as "chiefe director in the whole action", with four others to assist him. The *Unity* was to sail together with the *Hart* as far as Masulipatam where the former was to anchor. The stock for Tanjore was fixed at 52000 rials, of which 40,500 was to be for pepper and the rest for "calicoes" [3]. The company seems to have given the greatest importance to the pepper trade than to any other commodity. The captain of the ship was John Bickley [4]. And as John Johnson had given "information regarding an opening for trade in the King of Tanjur's country, which may prove very beneficial, they have offered him 6 *l.* per month to proceed in their ship intended thither." On his refusing this he was to be granted leave to go to England by the next available ship and given 50 rials of eight towards his expenses. Johnson preferred to accompany the expedition [5].

Joseph Cockram, the leader of the expedition was given detailed instructions as to the conduct of the whole affair by the President and Council at Batavia. Cockram was first to go to Karikal and then to send Johnson or some other to

1. From President Brockedon and Council at Batavia to the Factors at at Masulipatam, March 5, 1624, *ibid.*, p. 6.
2. From the same to the same, March 26, 1624, *ibid.*, p. 12.
3. Consultation Held in Batavia by President Brockedon and Council, March 2, 1624, *ibid.*, p. 4.
4. Instructions to Captain John Bickley for the Voyage of the *Hart*, March 27, 1624, *ibid.*, p. 10.
5. Consultation Held in Batavia by President Brockedon and Council January 8, 1624, *ibid.*, p. 2.

the Nāyaka to procure a *farman* "that you may come safely unto him; which being granted, you shall present him with our letters and such presents as wee have sent, and "demand the grant of suitable privileges." [1] Cockram was not to be in haste to open a factory but was to take extra care. "The cheefest thing wee aime at is the procuring of large quantities of pepper, wherefore, if pepper be extraordinary deare, or but little to be gotten, wee hold it unfitting to remayne there, unlesse the place afford extraordinary good clothe and good cheape, and that there be hopes to vend quantities of our English commodities, which you are especially to inquire after. "[2] Besides other instructions Cockram was particularly asked to be careful of Johnson, who might be left at the new factory or not as might be found expedient; but never was he to be trusted with the Company's cash. [3] This is decidedly a reflection on the character of Johnson who perhaps had undermined the confidence of those in authority at Batavia.

With great hopes the *Hart* captained by John Bickley, and carrying Cockram, Johnson and others, set sail on the 27th of March, 1624, [4] and in its company also sailed the *Unity* and the *Diamond*, the former bound for Masulipatam, and the latter for Sumatra. [5] The voyage was a long and protracted one, the first port on the Coromandel coast to be sighted being Tegnapatam, on the 21st of May, 1624.

1. Instructions to Joseph Cockram and others for Settling a Factory in Tanjur, March 27, 1624, *Ibid.*, p. 8
2. *Idid.*
3. *Idid.*, p. 9.
4. Captain John Bickley's Account of the Voyage of the *Hart* to the Coromandel Coast, *Ibid.*, p. 13; Cf. From President Brockedon and Council at Batiya to the Factors at Masulipatam, March 28, 1624. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
5. Cf. Extracts from the Diary of John Gouing at Batavia, *Idid*, p. 18,
6. Captain John Bickley's Account of the Voyage of the *Hart* to the Coromandel Coast, *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Taking a southerly course, the *Hart* sailed past the Danish colony at Tranquebars and on the 23rd of May, anchored at Karikal, the destination.[1] The captain and the merchants went ashore and were kindly entertained by the governor of the place, "wee being the first English shipp that had even bin in theis partes beefore"[2]. The governor promised to send word to Raghunātha of the arrival of the English.

In the meanwhile, the Danes ever on the lookout to prevent other nations from entering into competition for the commerce of the southern Coromandel, used all means, fair and foul, to drive away the newcomers. "The princypall of the Danes sent a letter unto out cheife merchante, Mr. Joseph Cockram, that we were best for too departe, for there was no trade there too bee had for us, because they had formed (farmed) all the seaportes of the Kinges betwene Nagapatam and Pallacatt for the use and bennefit of the Kinge of Denmarke, therefore willed us agayne to bee gone, or else they would send us awaye in haste. We badd them doe theire worste, for wee would staye in spite of them all, they being three to one".[1] Kind persuasion and threats having failed, the Danes resorted to action. On the 1st of June, they sent three of their ships to Karikal and "demaunded of whence we were. I" states Captain Bickley in his *Account of the Voyage of the Hart*, the only source of our information, "bad them looke up too the flage; so presentlye hee departed, without any more wordes the one too the other"[3].

On the next day, *i. e.*, 2nd June, Raghunātha sent word to his Governer at Karikal that the English should be welcomed right royally and "should have anything that his country did aford" and that they should be sent to the capital without the least delay with the presents brought

1. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
2. *Ibid.*

by them for him.[1] On the 8th of June, Cockram accompanied by others including perhaps John Johnson went to Tanjore "about the affaires with the King, where they were all ryall(y) entertained both by the King himselfe and also by his noblemen".[2] It was perhaps on this occasion that Joseph Cockram presented the letter to Raghunātha from President Brockedon and Council wherein the latter begged excuse for "this abrupt coming"; but "since they have learned by Mr. Johnson's relations his good inclination towards their nation, they have dispatched the bearer, Mr. Joseph Cockram, with the aforesaid Mr. Johnson, to offer their service in the accommodation of commerce, thay 'yt may for ever remayne inviolablie a band of ametie between the howses of Tanjurr and Greate Brittaine!".[3] President Brockedon further stated that the only intention of the English was "to transport such commodities of his kingdom as can conveniently be spared, and to furnish in return such English and other goods as are wanted and in their power to supply".[4] Notwithstanding the fond hopes of the English, their mission to the Tanjore court was bound to end in failure. Other factors were at work which the English merchants had not at first reckoned with. The most important of all these was the extreme greed for money and presents which Raghunātha had cultivated. Whatever be the reason for this, he seems to have had as his principle that whoever offered more was to be granted commercial privileges within his principality. Raghunātha by "his owne mouthe promised free trade and allsoe that they should have the porte of Carracall at any (?an) easye rate".[5] But the consideration

1. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
2. *Ibid.*
3. From President Brockedon and Council at Batavia to the 'Nayge of Tanjuer', March 27, 1624, *Ibid.*, p. 7.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Captain John Brickley's Account of the Voyage of the *Hart* to the Coromandel Coast, *Ibid.*, p. 15.

of this grant of privileges was the money and presents offered by the English. The Portuguese and the Danes were against granting any privileges and much less a port in the Tanjore country to any other nation; and especially the Danes "were our deadly and most cruell enimyes"[1] writes Captain Bickley.[2] Cockram found that the powers granted to him were limited to cope with the intrigues of the Danes; and finding that "hee could doe no good with the King, because the Danes had given the King great bribes, the which hee had no order too doe as the Danes dyd", he returned to Karikal on the 9th of July.[3] Raghunātha had demanded 7,000 rials of eight per annum for the port of Karikal. The Danish influence at the Tanjore court was too great. Roland Crappe, the Danish representative, had played his cards supremely well[3] and the English were forced to abandon at least for the present, the trade of Tanjore. According to Captain Bickley's version Raghunātha cared not "whose it bee that hath his portes too rent so hee maye have for them what hee will demaund, for hee is for all what you will give him; and so are all his greate men too. But I doubt the Dane will finde all theis great bribes wanting in his purse very shortlye, if that they have but one shipp com to them a yeare, as heretoofore they have had".[4] Nor is the opinion of John Goning favourable to Raghunātha, who according to him was "very covetous, expecting very great presents yeerly, besides payment of 7,000 rials of eight every yeer for us and custome of his porte Carcall, which he would apoynt for us".[5] After visiting the Danes at Tranquebar, the *Hart* sailed for Batavia in the morning of July 17.[6] Joseph

1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid.*
3. Cf. Kay Larsen, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
4. Captain John Brickley's Account of the Voyage of the *Hart* to the Coromandel Coast, *Ibid.*, pp. 15—16.
5. Extracts from the Diary of John Goning at Batavia, *Ibid.*, p. 19.
6. Captain John Brickley's Account, *Ibid.*, p. 16.

Cockram and his merchant friends had realized too late that the country of Tanjore yielded "little pepper of a very small sort and that allwayes much wett with the fresh water in portage from the upland mountaines".[1] The *Hart* reached Batavia on the 20th November, 1624[2] and thus ended one of the disasters in the early commercial life of the English in India.

The wrath of the company naturally was directed towards John Johnson, the one person who could be held responsible for this transcendant failure. It was therefore decided to punish Johnson in one and the only way possible under the circumstances., and that was "by defalcking his wages" for deluding us in the business of Tanjour. The President and Council in Lagundy reported to the Company of the grave misdemeanour of Johnson. No time was wasted to take action. On the 27th December 1624, nearly five weeks after his landing at Batavia, Johnson "lately arived from Tanjore in the *Hart*, haveing ben entertayned for the furtherance of that fruitlesse voyage" was permitted t take his passage in any ship of his choice for going home[4] Johnson accordingly went home to plead his case. On the 9th December, 1625, the Company considered the complaint by the President and Council at Lagundy against Johnson "for putting the Company to the unnecessary charge of the Hart sailing to the Naick's country".[5] But Johnson was prepared with his reply and he condemned Cockram for the ill success thereof, because he would not follow directions or embrace the offer of the Naick to settle a factory there, in which he was confirmed by Futter and Kiddwell, surgeon,

1. Extracts from the Diary of John Goning at Batavia, *Ibid.*, p. 19.
2. *Ibid.*, Captain John Blakley's Account, *Ibid.*, p. 17.
3. Consultation Held in Lagundy by President Hawley and Council, December 1624, *Idid.*, p. 40
4. *Calendar of State papers, Colonial Series East Indies*, 1925-29, p. 128.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 123-24.

who were in that voyage".[1] On the 20th December of the same year the Court of the Company held that the accusation and the charges against Jhonson were weak and that his wages must be paid to him.[2]

Thus ended this brief episode in the early commercial life of the English people in the East Apparently this expedition resulted in fiasco but it certainly proved to be a lesson, thogh at a heavy cost, not to attempt opening of factories on unreliable and unsubstantiated information. Moreover, this expedition served the English traders as a preliminary survey of the trade of the Coromandel Coast which later on by successive stages was to come under the commercial and political hegemony of the English.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

6. Extracts from the Diary of John Goaing at Lagundy, *Ibid.*, p. 41.

SRĪ SAṄGRĀMA DHĪRA—KULAŚEKARA DEVA RAVIVARMA MAHĀRĀJA.

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He was born to Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparameśvara Jayasiṁha of the Lunar race and Umādevi, in A. D. 1266 (*Dehavyāpyaśakābdaḥ*). He belonged to the Yādava clan. He was a Vaiṣṇava. He ascended the throne in the town of Kōlaṁba, (Kollam) the capital of Kūpaka country in his 33rd year, *i. e.* 1300 A. D. He married a Pāṇḍya Princess. He was a great hero having won many battles. He made Vīra Pāṇḍya to retreat to the Koṅkaṇ country. He defeated the Colas and other Kings and assumed the Biruda Saṅgrāma dhīra'. He planted his Garuḍadhvaja on the top 'of the hills of the enemies' countries. He was devoted to the lotus like feet of the Lord Padmanābha.

He assumed the following titles—

Kolaṁbapuravarādhīśa, Kūpakasārvabhauma, Yādava—Nārāyaṇa, Yadukulaśekhara, Nāmāntarakarṇa, Dakṣiṇa. Bhojarāja, Dharmatarumūlakanda.—

He went to Śrirañgam and bowed to his *tutelary Deity*, Lord Raṅganātha. He made endowments for the celebration of Dīpotsava festival there in his honor, and provided for the payment on a fixed day every year, of 100 *paṇams* each to 50 learned men. He built there a temple within the great temple and set up an image of Hari with Lakṣmī —

He performed his Vijayābiṣeka ceremony in a maṇṭapa of Arulālapperumāl (Varadarāja) temple, Kāñcī, on the bank of the Vēgavatī and assumed the title' Trikṣatracūḍāmaṇi' in his 48th year he addresses the following order to the Śrīvaiṣṇavas of the sacred shrine in the temple of Arulālapperumāl, established at Tiruvaṭṭiyūr, East Kāñcīpuram:—

"We have given to the Lord Arulālapperumāl for the various requirements, including offerings and ornaments at the daily worship of "Kulaśekharan-Sandhi", which we have founded and called after our name; for the requirements, including offerings and ornaments, on the festival days which we have founded and called after our name and which is to be celebrated in the month of Āvaṇi and on the day-Catayam of the monthly festival etc., (from the Inscription of Attigiri temple at Kāñcī, E I Vol. 4).

He has been eulogised in 16 stanzas by the Sanskrit Poet 'Kavibūṣaṇa'.

N. B—1. I guess that the image of Hari, set up by this king at Srīraṅgam temple, is now standing in the shrine dedicated to Tirukkocci Nambi.

In the dark room facing east in the North West corner of 'Pakal Pattu Maṇṭapa' of the Srīraṇgam temple, there is an image of Goddess, who is referred to by some as 'Cōrakula valliār'. On the day of Śrī Rāma Navamī, this image is seated with the Lord Raṅganātha on the same cot and worship (bathing etc.,) is offered to both.

I guess that the person who set this image up in the temple was the king who is referred to in this article.

At one time this image had been installed in a room in the Śantaha Maṇṭapa adjacent to the shrine of Garuḍa.

2 It is well known that in the Varadarājasvāmi temple, Cāñjīvaram, there is a Goddess called Malayāla Nācciār who is treated as the consort of Varadarāja. I presume that the image should have been set up by this King, who is the subject of this article.

We understand that this king set up the two images in Srīraṅgam and Cañjīvaram where his inscriptions are found, professing himself to be the father of the two ladies and to be giving them in marriage to the two deities Raṅgarāja and Varadarāja with the necessary dowries.

The Vaiṣṇava tradition is that the Pāṇḍya King, Śrī Vallabha, professed Āṇḍāl (who was the daughter of his Guru) as his own daughter and gave her in marriage to Śrīraṅganātha. A Cola King also is seen doing the same *i. e.* giving his daughter in marriage to Śrīraṅganātha and that she was known as Uraiyūr Nācciār. In the Tamil work "Koil-oluga" (Śrīraṅgam temple history) details of the dowry given on this occasion are elaborately mentioned.

3. There is an Inscription about this king in the central shrine of Vīśrattaneyara Temple at Tiruvadikai. It was published by Dr. Hultzsch. It says that Ravivarman was at Tiruvadi in his (14th regnal year) 47th year i. e., 1313 A. D. repaired and bathed the central shrine of the said temple.

4. There is a stone lying in the yard of Śiva temple at Śālaigrmam, one of the Brahman quarters of Trivandrum. An inscription of this king is engraved upon the two faces of the stone. It is in an excellent state of preservation. It is written in Grantha characters It contains all the Skt. Birudas of Saṅgrāmadhīra as at Śrīraṅgam and Conjeevaram temples. The Inscription stops abruptly with the world 'Yāṇḍu' and the regnal year is not given. At the end of the Birudas, the name Śrīmat Dharmma-Mahārājar is found in the place of Śrī Kulaśekhara Deva. It is a new information that he bore the surname 'Dharmma Mahārājar.'

5. Within the temple of Śrīmushnam, there is a four-pillared *maṇḍapa* with excellent workmanship. There is a standing royal figure in relief (life size) in the eastern pillar of the North side, representing the king who built it. There is a label at the left hand side of the figure bearing the name 'Dharmamahārāyan.' Therefore it may be conjectured that the figure represents Saṅgrāmadhīra who is styled as Dharma Mahārāja at Śālai inscription. There is

a phrase in Tamil characters in 5 lines at the end of this Inscription i. e. *'Kōmāra Pāṇmarāna tribhuvana cakravarttikal Śrīkulaśekhara devarkkuyāṇḍu.'*

There was a great Pāṇḍya king ruling in Madura at the same time bearing the same name.

After this incomplete inscription was made, this Pāṇḍya King might have begun his inscription and left it unfinished.

Or it may be that Saṅgrāma Dhīra was the daughter's son of this famous Pāṇḍyan King and assumed his name [It has already been stated that he gained a victory over Vīra Pāṇḍya and subordinated the Pāṇḍya dominion to his authority].

Other sources of information regarding this king have been obtained. There are purely literary compositions which were brought to light by the labours of M. M. Ganapati Sastry, curator of Or-MSS. library, Trivandrum. One of them a drama named Pradyumnābyudaya is a composition of Saṅgrāmadhīra Ravivaraman. The Rūpaka is said to be enacted during the *Yātrotsava* of Lord Padmanābha. He is spoken of as well versed in Sagīta Sāhitya Sastras. He had all virtues. He patronised poets. He is called in literary sources as Dākṣiṇa Bhojarāja, Śrī Ravivarma Deva, Maharaja Parameśvara, Saṅgrāmadhīra, Sakalakalākuśala Candrakulapradīpa, Dharmmatarumūlakanda, Praṇayijana cintāmaṇi, Kolambapura Pariṣkāra etc.

Samudrabandha, was a poet in his court who in his commentary on Alaṅkārasūtras and Alaṅkāra Sarvasva refers to him as the renovator of Kolamba, lord of Kūpaka and etc. etc.

The Kūpaka country he ruled, began to be called as Jayasimha nāḍu (afterwards corrupted as jayatuṅganāḍu) after his father's name Jayasimha (Vīrakerala) Attingal

was formed the chief centre of the country where a Kūpaka princess has built a temple for Śiva, according to an inscription found there. Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao identifies this Attingal royal family with the descendants of the Jetuṅga family (page 54 vol. II) T. A. S. and further makes the following remarks "Finally, by adoption and other relationships and by conquest, the Jayasiṅganāḍu family merged in course of time, but very recently, in the present line of the Travancore Maharajas".

PART I. (INSCRIPTIONS.)

Inscriptions at Varadarāja's temple at Cāñjīpuram.

A.

1. स्वस्ति श्रीजयसिंह इत्यभिहितो सोमान्वयोत्तंसको
राजासीदिह केरलेषु विषये नाथो यदुक्ष्माभृताम् ।
जातोऽस्माद्रविवर्मभूपतिरुमादेव्यां कुमारश्रिया-
हेहव्याप्यशकाब्दभाजि समये देहीव वीरो रसः ॥

2. क्षयं नीत्वा सोऽयं कलिबलमिवारातिनिवहान्
जयस्त्रीवस्कृत्वा निजसहचरीं पाण्ड्यतनयाम् ।
त्रयस्त्रिंशद्वर्षो यश इव ययौ केरळपदं
ररक्ष स्वं राष्ट्रं नगरमिव कोलम्बमधिपः ॥

3. जित्वा सङ्गरमधीरो नृपतिरधिरणं विद्विषं धीरपाण्ड्यं
कृत्वासौ पाण्ड्यचोळान्वय इव तनुमान्केरळेभ्योप्यधीनान् ।
षट्चत्वारिंशदब्दास्तटभुवि मकुटं धारयन्वेगवत्याः
क्रीडां सिंहासनस्थश्चिरमकृत महीकीर्तिवाणीरमाभिः ॥

4. कृत्वा केरळपाण्ड्यचोळविजयं बलसाभिषेकोत्सवः
सङ्गरमाप्तजयेन कोङ्कणगतं तं वीरपाण्ड्यं रिपुम् ।
नीत्वा स्फीतबलान् ततोऽपि विपिनं नीत्वा दिशासूत्तरां
काञ्च्यामत्र चतुर्थमब्दमलिखत्सङ्गरमधीरो नृपः ॥

5. आमेरोरमलग्यादापूर्वादाच पश्चिमादचलात् ।
यदुकुलशेखर एषः क्षोणीं कुलशेखर स्वयं बुभुजे ॥

स्वस्तिश्रीः । चन्द्रकुलमङ्गलप्रदीप-यादवनारायण-केरळदेशपुण्यपरिणाम-नामान्तरकर्ण-कूपकसार्वभौम-कुलशिखरिप्रतिष्ठापितगरुडध्वज-कोलम्बपुरवराधीश्वर-श्रीपद्मनाभपदकमलपरमाराधक-प्रणतराजप्रतिष्ठाचार्य-विमतराजबन्दीकार-धर्मतरुमूलकन्द-सद्गुणालङ्कार-चतुष्षष्टिकलावल्लभ-दक्षिणभोजराज-[illegible]-महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-जयसिंहदेवनन्दन-रविवर्ममहाराज-श्रीकुल-

திரிபுவனசக்கிரவர்த்தி தோகேசின்மைகொண்டான், காஞ்சிபுரத்தில், திருவத்திபூரிய. கின் : ருவிய 'அருளாளப்பெருமான் கோயில்' திருப்ப. ஸ்ரீ வைஷ்ணவர்களுக்கு, பெருமான் அருளாளப்பெருமாளுக்கும் பேராற்றட்டி ல் 'ருவிசகரின் சந்தி'க்கு அமுது படி சாத்துப் படி உள்ளிட்ட வெஞ்சனத்துக்கும் ஆவணி மாதிரு அ எழுந்தருள நம் பேராற் கண்டதிருநாளுக்கும் திக்கை டருநாளுக்கும் அமுதுபடி சாத்துப்படி உள்ளிட்ட வெஞ்சனத்துக்கும் திருக்கொடி

B.

Inscription at Śrīraṅgam Temple.

[up to the word Śrī Kulaśekharadeva, the Skt. Text is identical with that of the preceeding Conjeevaram inscription, except that the verse 4 of that inscription is here omitted]

6. कृत्वा दुर्नय वैरिनैर्ऋतशमं संस्कारसंशोधिते
निद्राणामधिदेवतां निरुपमैरभ्यर्च्य माल्यादिभिः ।
धर्मैरन्तरधिष्ठिते सहृदयैः सङ्गामधीरः कृती
रङ्गेऽस्मिन् सुमनोऽधिवासमकरोल्लास्ये नियुज्य त्रयीम् ॥

7. लङ्घ्वा सागरनेमिभूमिविषयां रन्तुं प्रतिष्ठा यत-
स्तस्मै श्रीकुलशेखरो यदुपतिर्लिक्षत्रचूडामणिः ।
रङ्गेऽस्मिन् कमलासखाय हरये रम्यां प्रतिष्ठां ददौ
सन्तः प्रत्युपकुर्वते ह्युपकृताः सर्वे किमत्राद्भुतम् ॥

8. भूपालैरिह कार्तवीर्यसगरैर्यः पूर्वमासीत्कृतः
पश्चात्सौढतमोहरं यदुपतिस्तं भद्रदीपोत्सवम् ।
चक्रे शक्र इवाश्रयः सुमनसां सम्राट् श्रयीधर्मविद्
रङ्गेऽस्मिन् रुचिराङ्गसंश्रितरमारोचिष्णवे विष्णवे ॥

9. सम्राजामिव यः सतां समुदभूत्तैस्तैर्गुणैर्मातृका
सैव श्रीकुलशेखरः शतभिषक्कारे सकन्यारवौ ।
भट्टेभ्यः पुरतोऽत्र रङ्गनृपतेः पञ्चाशतं साक्षिणः
प्रत्येकं प्रतिहायनं पणशतान् दातुं प्रतिष्ठां व्यधात् ॥

[कविभूषणस्य]

"आर्य! समादिष्टोऽस्मि सकलकलाकुशलस्य चन्द्रकुलमङ्गलप्रदीपस्य समस्तसामन्तशेखरीक्रियमाणशासनस्य विविधशास्त्रावलम्बनधर्मतरुमूलकन्दस्य प्रणयिजनचिन्तामणेः कोलम्बपुरपरिष्कारस्य देवस्य रविवर्मणः ··· केरळदेश-सुकृतपरिणतेः यादवनृपकुलदैवतस्य भगवतः श्रीपद्मनाभस्य यात्रोत्सवे किमपि रूपकमभिनयता वयं (राजपरिषदा) विनोदनीयाः। अस्ति किल सङ्गीतशास्त्रपारदृश्वना निखिलगुणरत्नरोहणगिरिणा कविजनमयूरकालमेघेन साहित्यविद्याविचक्षणेन दक्षिणभोजराजेन महाराजपरमेश्वरेण सङ्गमभीरापरनामधेयेन श्रीरविवर्मदेवेन विरचितं प्रद्युम्नाभ्युदयनाटकम्।" (*Pradyumnābhyudaya Nāṭaka*)

"केरलेष्वस्ति नगरी कोलम्ब इति विश्रुता।
विभूषयन् पुरीमेनां यदुवंशविभूषणः॥
रविवर्मेति विख्यातो राजा शास्ति वसुन्धराम्॥
यद्याकाङ्क्षसि धीवित्तं गुणरुचे! चेतः समस्तान् गुणान्
कोलम्बाख्यमुपेहि दक्षिणदिशां सीमन्तरत्नं पुरम्।
आस्ते यत्र भुजेन कीर्तिशशिनः पूर्वाचलेनोद्वह-
न्नुर्वीमर्णवमेखलां यदुपतिः कल्पद्रुमो जङ्गमः॥
सङ्गमभीरनृपतिर्भीरुरधर्मादभीरुराहवतः।
शुश्रूषुर्निगमविदस्तद्वाङ्मयविद्यो भवत्यशुश्रूषुः॥

(Commentary on *Alaṅkārasūtras* and *Alaṅkārasarvasva* by Samudrabandha P. 53, 54, T. A. S. Vol. II.)

CANDRAKALAMĀLA.
(on Adityavarma by Kavibhūṣaṇa.)

1. स्वस्ति कुर्मस्त्रयीधर्मवर्मणे रविवर्मणे।
रणकर्मस्थिताधर्म-रम्भ-रति-शर्मणे॥

2. दुर्बलस्य बलं राजेत्येषा सत्या सरस्वती।
सङ्गमधीरो धर्मस्य दुर्बलस्य बलं कलौ॥

3. रविश्च रविवर्मा च द्वाविमौ तेजसां निधी।
एकस्याद्धि प्रतापश्रीरपरस्य त्वहर्निशम्॥

4. कृष्णश्च रविवर्मा च यदुवंशोद्भवावुभौ।
एको गोपवधूजारः स्वदारैकपरोऽपरः॥

5. राज्याभिषेककामानां रविवर्ममहीपते ! ।
पुष्पाभिषेको भूपानां त्वत्पदाम्भोजधारणम् ॥

6. गुरुकल्पद्रुमेन्द्राज्ञां यां करोषि रवे! महीम् ।
ज्ञाता दाता सतां पाता नहतां किन्नु दुष्करम् ॥

7. सङ्गमधीर! त्वद्राज्ये चोरो नास्तीति वाङ् मृषा ।
चम्पकद्युतिसर्वस्वचोरस्ते विग्रहः स्वयम् ॥

8. दृष्ट्वा दक्षिणभोजं त्वां परे बिभ्यति तद्वरम् ।
परदारानपि द्रष्टुं बिभेषि त्वं हि सर्वदा ॥

9. एकः स्वादु न भुञ्जीतेत्येतत्किन्न श्रुतं वचः ।
एकः स्वादु जगत्सर्वं भुङ्क्षे यादवभूपते ! ॥

10. कथं दक्षिणभोज ! त्वां ब्रुवते बुद्धिमद्वरम् ।
दत्तं सद्भ्यः सदा पश्चात् वित्तं यत्तन्न बुद्ध्यसे ॥

11. रिपूनेको जयामीति रणे मा हृष्य यादव ! ।
बाहुः खड्गो मनो वाजी सहायाः किन्न सन्ति ते ॥

12. प्रायो न दोषः स्त्रीहत्या राज्ञां रामसधर्मणाम् ।
सतां सहचरीं हंसि रविवर्मन्! दरिद्रताम् ॥

13. धनं सर्वं ददामीति कथं ते यादव ! व्रतम् ।
ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डागारेऽस्मिन् सञ्चिनोषि यशोधनम् ॥

14. सेव्यस्तैस्तैर्गुणैरेव सेवितुं यद्ददासि नः ।
एषा युदुपते! सत्यमिक्षुभक्षणदक्षिणा ॥

15. कुलशेखरभूपालः सिंहासनं जुषत्वयम् ।
सिंहासनजुषो लोके स्थावरा एव भूभृतः ॥

16. सङ्गमधीर इत्येतं मन्त्रं पञ्चाक्षरं बुधाः ।
जपन्तो दुर्गतिं जित्वा प्राप्नुवन्ति परं शिवम् ॥

17. इति यादवकीर्तीन्दोः कलाः षोडश सूक्तयः ।
उल्लासयन्तु कुमुदं भूषणे पर्वणि स्फुटाः ॥

18. अतसीचम्पकवर्णौ तुलसीकीर्तिसुरभीकृतस्वाङ्गौ ।
यदुनाथौ नाथौ नः कृतमपरैः चित्तदेवनरदेवैः ॥

[कविभूषणस्य]

E. I. Vol. IV. Nos. 17 & 18.

CANDRAKALĀMĀLĀ ON SAṄGRĀMADHĪRA

By

KAVIBHŪṢAṆA.

Translation.

1. We invoke blessings on Ravivarman, the bulwark of the duties enjoined by the three Vedas.....the refuge of enemies.

2. That "a king is the strength of the weak" is a true saying ; Saṅgrāmadhīra is the strength of religion, which is weak in the Kali age.

3. The sun (Ravi) and Ravivarman are both stores of light; the one abounds in splendour in day time, but the other day and night.

4. Both Kṛṣṇa and Ravivarman were born in Yadu's family; the one is the paramour of Herdsmen's wives, the other solely devoted to his own wife.

5. O King Ravivarman! for rulers who long to be inaugurated as kings, to lay hold of your lotus feet is the inauguration with flowers.

6. O Ravi ! Wise, liberal, and a protector of the good you transform the earth into heaven, possessed of Jupiter, the tree of Paradise, and Indra. What is there difficult for the great ?

7. O Saṅgrāmadhīra! it is false to say that there is no robber in your kingdom ; your own body robs the *campaka* flower of all its lustre.

8. O you Bhoja of the south! it is well that your opponents are frightened when they see you ; for you are ever afraid to look at others' wives even.

9. Have you not heard the saying that one should not enjoy a sweet thing alone? Alone you enjoy the whole earth, O Yādava king.

10. How is it, O you Bhoja of the south! that men call you the foremost of the thoughtful. When you have given riches to the good, you never think of it afterwards.

11. Do not boast O Yādava, that you, un-aided, vanquish your enemies in battle. Have you not your arm, your sword, your courage and your steeds for your allies?

12. Surely, kings who behave like Rāma, incur no guilt by killing women; (aware of this) O Ravivarman, you put an end to the poverty associated with the goods.

13. How is it, O Yādava, with your vows is to give away all wealth? You pile up a wealth of fame here in the store house of the universe.

14. That, you O Yadu lord, who can be served with many excellent qualities only, permit us to serve (you) that verily is (to us) a donation of a meal of sugar.

15. May this Kulaśekhara delight in his throne. Rulers who take delight in their thrones, are indeed stable in the world.

16. The wise who repeat the spell of five syllables Saṅgrāma dhīra, overcome mysery and attain supreme bliss.

17. As the sixteen digits of the moon, displayed at full moon time, cause the lotus to expand and so may these sixteen verses of the Yādava's fame composed by Būṣaṇa, call for the joy of the earth.

18. The two Yadu lords who have the hue of the *Atasī* and *Caṁpaka* flowers, and whose bodies are rendered fragrant by holy Basil and by fame they are our lords; no need have we of other divine and human lords.

AUDBHIJJA AS A DYNASTIC DESIGNATION IN ANCIENT INDIA.

Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri M. A. Ph. D.

The *Harivaṁśa*[1] informs us that the performance of the Aśvamedha fell into desuetude among the Kṣatriyas after Janamejaya of epic fame, owing to the curse of a Brāhmaṇa (*Brahmaśāpāgnitejasā*), but continued to exist among the *devas* and the Brāhmaṇas. A twice-born or Brāhmaṇa (*dvija*) general (*senānī*) who belonged to the race of Kaśyapa and is further described as *Audbhijja*, will revive the famous rite in the Kali Age.

"*Audbhijjo bhavitā kaścit senānīḥ Kaśyapo dvijaḥ* |
Aśvamedhaṁ Kaliyuge punaḥ pratyāhariṣyati ||"

This verse is noticed by several scholars including the late lamented Dr. K P. Jayaswal. But it has, we think not yet been sufficiently elucidated. The suggestion has been made that the senānī in question is identical with the Senānī Puṣyamitra whose name appears in the list of the Śuṅga kings in the Purāṇas, and who is known from literary and epigraphic evidence to have performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice, after it had been in abeyance for a long time at least in the homeland of the imperial Mauryas. But it has not been sufficiently explained why this famous ruler and commander should be styled *Audbhijja*. Scholars have hitherto taken the expression to mean one who "will suddenly rise into power" (*I. H. Q.* 1929, 405).

In order to understand the real significance of this designation it is necessary to say a few words about family nomenclature in ancient India. Some of the great families derive their names from real or fancied human ancestors. Other appellations originate in official designations like Pratīhāra or Rāṣṭrakūṭa or certain words which form an

(1) III. 2. 35 ff.

element in the personal names of the founders of the lines in question and their successors. The designations of another group are derived from certain animals such as birds, serpents, horses etc. Attention may be invited in this connection to the Mattamayūras,[1] the Gārulakas,[2] the Nāgas, the Aśvakas etc. Still another group prefer some objects of the inanimate world such as a river or a mountain. Thus we hear of the Jāhnaveya *Kula*, the Saindhavas, and the Kaveras; the Śaila, Śailodbhava and Śailendra families. Lastly there is a remarkable group of royal lines that trace their name to some Vegetal object The practice was by no means confined to India proper. Among the illustrious families that ruled in Campā in the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula we find reference to a Nārikela-kramuk-ānvayā, that is, the Cocoa-nut betel nut clan[3]. In Southern India we have the well known families of the Pallavas of Kāñcī and the Kadambas of Banavāsi. In the north-west numismatic evidence discloses the existence of two ruling clans or tribes namely the Audumbaras and the Vaṭāśvakas whose names are derived wholly, or in part, from some botanic object. In view of what was been stated above the conjecture may be hazarded that the *Audbhijja* family, to which the senānī, who revived the Aśvamedha according to the *Harivaṁśa*, belonged, was so called because, like the Nārikela-kramukānvaya of Campā, the Kadamba *kula* of Banavāsi and the Pallavas of Kāñcī, it derived its name from some fruit or plant. Can this family be identified with any known dynasty of Ancient India? Śuṅga, the designation of the family of Puṣyamitra in the extant Purāṇas, is no doubt connected with plant life, being a name of the fig-tree and the hog-plum. But the Śuṅgas belong to the Bharadvāja *gotra* and not, according to available evidence, to a family of Kaśyapa *dvijas*. The Pallavas, too, though they had a plant-name, claimed Brāhmaṇa extraction, and performed the

(1) Kielhorn, Inscriptions of Northern India, Nos. 403, 429, 430. E. I., 1,384.

(2) E. I., XI. 16-19.

(3) R. C. Majumdar, Champā, Inscription No. 62.

Aśvamedha, were *Bhāradvājas*. The Kadamba family is described as *Senānībṛhadanvaya* in contemporary inscriptions. It had a plant-name like the Pallava line, and it had to its credit the performance of the *Aśvamedha*. But the rulers of the dynasty, unlike the *Audbhijja* of the *Harivaṁśa*, claimed to belong to the *Mānavya*, and not to the *Kaśyapa gotra*. There is however, one famous dynastic designation which may be considered in this connection. In a note contributed to the *Indian Culture* [1] I pointed out that tradition was not unanimous in representing Puṣyamitra as a Śuṅga. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* the hero-king addressing the *bimba* lipped heroine, styles himself a *Baimbika*. The *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtras* actually includes the *Baimbakagaḥ* among the Kaśyapas. I have noted that the text has variant readings. But on the whole I think that Baimbika of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and *Baimbaki* of the *Śrauta Sūtra* afford a clue to a proper understanding of the epithet *Audbhijja* applied by the *Harivaṁśa* to the Kaśyapa *senānī* who revived the horse-sacrifice in the Kali age, and has been identified with Puṣyamitra. Baimbika may be derived from *bimbikā* which is the name of a fruit-bearing plant according to the lexicographers.

"*Tuṇḍikerī raktaphalā bimbikā pīluparṇy api*" [3]

Bimbaka is the fruit of that plant.

Apte understands by *Baimbika* in the passage

"*Dākṣiṇyam nāma bimboṣṭhi Baimbikānām kulavratam*"

a man who is assiduous in his attention to ladies. But he has cited no authority in support of this view. His interpretation is of a piece with that of the commentator of the *Kādambarī* who explains the word Gupta in the passage

"*Aneka-Guptārchitapādapaṅkajaḥ Kuvera-nāmā*"

to mean Vaiśyas and Śūdras. [4]

(1) *Indian culture*, 1937 pp. 739 ff.
(2) Vol. III. 449.
(3) *Amara, Vanauṣadhi Varga*, v. 293
(4) E. I., VIII, 29 fn. 3.

In using the epithet *Audbhijja*, 'plant-born,' the *Harivaṁśa* undoubtedly hints at the derivation of the name of the great Aśvamedha-reviver's family from a plant or fruit. As the personage in question is distinctly called a Kaśyapa, and not a Bhāradvāja, we have, in the present state of our knowledge, to prefer the dynastic designation Baiṁbika given by Kālidāsa in the *Mālavikāgnimitram*, to the appellation Suṅga found in the extant *Purāṇas*

JAIN ANTIQUITIES IN VIDARBHA, THE ANCIENT BERAR.

Y. K. Deshpande, M. A., LL. B.,

Shabadashram, Yeotmal.

The country known in history as Vidarbha, since the Vedic Period, consists of extensive area, at present occupied by Berar proper, Marāthī C. P., a Marāṭī part of the Nizam state and a part of the East Khandesh. In the session of the conference held at Baroda, I read a paper on the Budhistic Antiquities in Vidarbha. In the present paper I propose to deal with the Jain Antiquities, which are found in Vidarbha.

I may note down here that a large portion of the province has been as yet unexplored and practically no attempt has been made to collect and study the Jain antiquities. Pro. Hiralal Jain has begun editing and publishing some Jain works in Apabhraṁśa, deposited in the temples at Karanja in Berar. An attempt also has been made to publish some of the inscriptions mainly found on the pedestals of the Jain statues. There is however large scope for the organized efforts and it is expected that enthusiastic Jain brothers will start work in the direction.

All the antiquarian remains, that are found in the province, belong to the Digaṁbar sect and the Jain families, who claim to belong to the province for generations together, follow the same sect. Persons, who follow the Śvetāṁbar sect are generally from Marwar and U. P. and the temples of the sect found in the province appear to have been constructed during the last 200 years.

In the Hari Vaṁśa Purāṇa of the Jains it is recorded that Vṛṣabhī deo, the first Tirthaṁkar, had visited Vidarbha in his tour and had spread the Jain religion in that province.

Apart from the references in the Jain Purāṇas, an earliest reference is found in the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharwel the king of Kaliṅga. It is recorded therein according to the reading of late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, that the King had married the princess of Vajragarh, the present wairagad in the Chanda district in C. P. The period of the king comes to 70 B. C. according to Dr. S. V. Ketkar. In the same inscription it is noted that the king had defeated the Rastrikas and the Bhojas. King Kharwel was the follower of Jain religion and it is likely that matrimonial relation with the neighbouring locality and his raid on the Rastrikas and Bhojas, who were the people of Vidarbha might have introduced Jain religion in the province. The earliest written evidence has been found in Berar itself. While ploughing at Kāyar in Berar in a field about three years ago, a stone bearing an inscription of 8 letters in Brāhmī characters of the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. was found. The inscription has been deposited in Shāradāshram, Yeotmal. I read the letters as "Gharē dayā pēnkayēchhi" The village Kayar and its surrounding area are full of antiquarian remains such as idols belonging to both Vedic and Jain religions Jain statues are either lying scattered in neglected state or are kept as an ornament in the Hindu temples The tank which adjoins a dilapidated old fort is locally called Pāras nāth tank. The origin of the name has lost in antiquity. I take the Jain inscription to be a Jain aphorism. It is said that another inscription bearing the characters of the same period, as mentioned above, lies buried in the veranda of a Hanumān temple built about 8 years ago. A pencil sketch of the inscription prepared by a villager has reached my hand recently. An attempt will be made to secure that inscription. From all these it may safely be concluded that the Jain religion was flourishing in that part of Vidarbha as far back as 2nd or 3rd century. At present there are no Jain houses in the village nor was there any in the memory of the villagers.

About 20 miles to the East of Kayar there is a village by name Bhandak which is traditionally known to be Bhadrāvatī of the Mhābhārata fame. This village and its surrounding area of 3 or 4 miles are full of Vedic, Jain and Budhistic antiquities. They include Vedic and Budhistic caves, tanks and statues of all the three religions. The inscriptions, so far discovered there, range from the 9th century to the 14th century. A big statue of Pārasnāth was lying under a stone canopy in jungle in the vicinity of the village. About 25 years ago the Jains have built a magnificient temple over the statue spending about 2 lacs of rupees. There are several other statues of Ghoumukhji, Padmāvatī and other Tīrthaṅkaras. They have now been collected in the precinct of the newly built temple.

In the Kelapur Taluk of Berar we come across many Jain statues lying in abandoned state in several places. I noticed fragments of Jain statues in the ruined fort of Kelapur itself, various statues both in tact and in fragments along with those of Vedic religion at Wai also in the same condition. The village Wai has got ruins of about 20 temples in stone. These statues have been carved in marble and other kinds of stone. There is no means to fix the date of these statues so far. In the same locality about ten miles to the West there are two statues of Tīrthaṅkaras half buried in earth in the vicinity of the village Jiremire.

There is an ancient and famous place of Jain pilgrimage at Muktagiri on the top of a branch of the Satpuda hills. There are several small temples of Tīrthaṅkaras. The place is said to be sacred to the memory of several *munies who* have attained *mokṣa* at that place. There are inscriptions on the padestals of some statues which date from the 12th century A. D. Few miles from Muktagiri is Achalpur, at present named Ellichpur, which is known for the issue of two grants on copper from the early Rāṣṭrakūṭa king. A legend goes that a Jain king by name Il was ruling at Ellichpur in

the 10th century A. D. He was killed in a battle with the Mahomedans headed by Shah Dula Rahman, nephew of Mahmud of Gazni who also was killed in the battle along with hundreds of his followers. There are tombs of the Shah and his followers at Ellichpur and in the foundation of the building a tomb of Rājā II is still shown. It is just possible that the holy place of Muktagiri came into prominence as a result of the support given by the said Jain kings.

In the province of Vidarbha there are only two rock cut temples of Jain religion. Both of them are in the Nizam's state, one is at Dharasheo and the other in the group of the famous cave temples at Ellora. From the characters of the inscriptions the period of the construction of these Jain cave temples range from the 9th century to the 13th century A. D. The peculiarity of this place is that these Budhistic, Vedic and Jain caves are in the same range of hills.

The temple of Parāsnāth at Sirpur in Berar is equally famous with the one at Muktagiri. There are no means to know the age of the temples there as the inscriptions are blurred and hence could not be deciphered. But we find reference to that temple in an ancient Marāthī work of the Māhanubhāo sect by name Nagdevācārya Caritra. That work was composed in the 13th century A. D. The main temple in the centre of the village is an underground one. In that temple there are several statues of Tīrthaṅkaras while a still older temple built in carved stone is outside the village. It had originally no image but recently a group of statues have been unearthed from within its precincts. Nearly two dozen Jain statues have been discovered while digging earth at a village named Barsi Takli in Berar. The village has got an extensive area of abandoned wells and foundations of ruined houses. An old temple in the village bears an inscription of the 10th century A. D. in Sanskrit. It describes the temple to be that of Viṣṇu while the present presiding deity is Devī.

Most noetworthy piece of antiquity came across in my tour is a pedestal of a Jain statue in possession of the manager of the famous temple at Mehkar in Berar. The beautifully carved statue of Bālāji itself was unearthed about 60 years ago. We find reference to this statue in Līlā-carita, the famous work of the Mahānubhāos of the 13th century A. D. The pedestal bears an inscription of 1216 A. D. describing the dedication of the statue of Nemināth by a devotee named therein. Another place of Jan pil-grimage is Bhatkuli in Amraoti district of Berar. Local tradition describes this as an ancient town by name Bhojkat the town connected with Rukmi the brother of Devī Rukmiṇī. About 150 years ago a Jain statue was unearthed at the old mound of the ruined mud fort. A temple has been built there later on. Subsequently other statues were added on.

Manyakhet and Lattalur at present called Malkhed and Latur respectively are Villages in the Nizam's state. They are very important in the Jain point of view. The first village was a capital of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings for nearly 150 years. It was built by king Amoghavarṣa in 815 A. D, and it was destroyed by the Cālukyas in 973 A. D. During this period Malkhed formed a centre of literary activities and revival of the Jain learning. Amoghavarṣa himself was an author and patron of learned men, Jinsen and Guṇabhadra composed Ādi Purāṇa and Uttar Purāṇa respecti-vely. Puṣpadanta was a famous poet of the reign of king Kṛṣṇa III. He composed three famous works in Apabhra-ṁśa language. His first work was completed in 965 A. D. or so. There are several other Jain Paṇḍits who flourished in the regime of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas at Malkhed. Many authors like Ponna composed works in Kannada also. These Rāṣṭra-kūta kings had sway over the whole of Vidarbha and it was therefore natural that the Jain religion had spread all over the province.

This fact leads us to Karañja the most important town in Berar so far as the Jain religion is concerned. In this town there are three Jain temples *viz* Balatkar gana, Sengana and Kasta Sangh. These temples are wellmanaged and possess well preserved collections of manuscripts of Jain literature. The oldest manuscript in the Karañja collection is dated in the year 1359 A. D. Balatkar Gana temple has been, it is claimed, established in 1519 A. D. as a branch of the Many a khet PIṭha. The other two temples are older still, as yet no date has been ascertained. The collection of the Balatkar temple is valuable for its old, unpublished manuscripts in Apabhraṁśa and other languages, while the Kasta Saṅgha temple is famous for its collection of several old statues of Jain religion. They are over 200 in number; many of them bearing inscriptions on their pedestals giving the year and the name of the person who dedicated the statue. The oldest year noted on the pedestal of the statue of the TIrthañkars is 1216 A. D. These statues are kept in a cellar of the temple. The oldest of the statues in the collection of the main shrine is dated about 1276 A. D. This temple also possesses a collection of Jain statues carved out of various kinds of jewels and other precious stones. They are deposited in the safe of the temple and are open to inspection on request to the manager. Some of these statues are half an inch in size and many of them bear the date of their construction. I noted on two of them years corresponding to 1714 and 1716 A. D. respectively. This temple is famous for its beautiful maṇḍap richly and artistically carved out in wood. Traditionally it is dated about 400 years ago. The manager told me that the maṇḍap was first lined with gold but it was removed by the raiders in the general loot caused years ago. Thus it will be clear that the temples at Karañja will amply repay a visit by a research scholar for the purpose of study of the Jain iconography and the Jain literature consisting of rare and valuable manuscripts many of which are yet un-published. It is known to the Jain scholars that Prof.

Hiralal Jain of the King Edward College, Amraoti, has begun editing of Apabhraṁśa manuscripts from those collections. He has published two works of Puṣpadanta and the third one is nearing completion.

In conclusion I note down that there are several remains of Jain antiquity in Vidarabha dating from the 2nd or 3rd century. Historically it can be shown that the province was in touch with the Jain king as far back as 170 B. C. There is a field for the research scholars to study the Jain iconography of several centuries and also the Jain literature of various languages. Like the statues of the Vedic faith statues of Jain faith are also being unearthed. The statues might have been concealed in earth to save them from the hands of the iconoclasts probably under the Mahomedan rule. Many statues of the best workmanship are lying scattered in various places without being cared for. Jain gentlemen of the province, who are religious minded or who have got antiquarian interest at heart, should organize into a body to collect these statues into a museum and also to preserve other objects of antiquarian interest and also to publish rare manuscripts and thereby extend the study of the Jain tenets.

It is not possible for the Archaeological department to devote its attention and spend money towards the work suggested above. Its hands are already full and the funds at its disposal, as has been so many times declared, are limited. I am confident that the organized efforts of a private body of enthusiasts will achieve much in co-operation and under expert advice of the officers in charge of the said Department.

Murad Shah's contemplated invasion of India.

D. B. Diskalkar, M. A., Satara.

This invasion is not known to historians. The only source of information about it consists of six Marāṭhī letters two of which were published by Parasnis in his *Itihāsasaṅgraha*(1) under the title 'Diplomacy at Delhi' and the remaining four are published in the Satara Historical Research Society's volume I called 'Historical papers of the Sindias of Gwalior'.(2)

The account runs thus—

Murad Shah(3) who is the King of Balkh(4) and grandson(5) of Nadir Shah has the ambition to invade India and set right the confused affairs of the Mughal emperor of Delhi. For more than a year he has been making preparations. He collected an army of 120000 men which was subsequently increased to 300000. As he had to pass through Afghanistan for India he thought he must either make Timur Shah, the ruler of that country his ally or defeat him. Consequently he entered into correspondence with Qazi the minister of Timur Shah and contemplated murdering Timur. But Qazi's secret letters to Murad were intercepted by Timur's men, who at once killed him, put his relatives in prison and confiscated all his property. Thereupon Murad Shah with his army of 300000 men began his march towards Kabul. He first sent a message to Timur Shah stating that it was not his wish

(1) Vol. I, Nos. 208 and 341.

(2) Nos. 192, 225, 302 and 308.

(3) Murad Shah belonged to a Turkey family that asserted its independence on the death of Nadir Shah in 1747 and ruled over Bukhara and Transoxiana. His father was named Danial.

(4) Now a district in Afghan Turkistan. Its ancient name was Bactria and it was the birthplace of Zoroaster.

(5) This is wrong. Nadir Shah's grandson was Shahrukh who ruled in Khurasan and not in Balkh.

to fight with a Muhammedan, he was desired by God to invade Delhi and destroy the infidels and establish the sovereignty of the Iranians, just as Nadir Shah had done in the time of the Dalhi emperor Muhammed Shah ; if Timur Shah would help him with an army to conquer India from Kashmir and Lahore to Calcutta he would give him half the territories conquered. Timur Shah refused to help him or to allow him to pass through his country as it would be devastated by the march of his army. But Murad Shah advanced. Timur Shah who had himself crossed the Attock and was encamped at Peshawar, at that time thinking of invading Delhi, left India at once and hastened to defend his country with an army of 200000 men against the invader. He sought the help of the Sikhs, but they refused to do so demanding large sums of money. On the contrary they revolted when Timur had left for his country. Both the armies met at a place called Champāwal(6) on the bank of one of the two rivers called Darya-e-Amu(7) and Darya-aJuhu(8) not far from Balkh, and a severe fight took place in the month of Shawal(9). The Afghan army was defeated. Timur Shah was captured. His son Humayun Shah fell in the battle.(10) Murad occupied Kabul and Kandhahar.

Two more Marāṭhī letters published in the second volume mentioned above(11) state thus—To the north-west of Delhi has risen a Mussalman who has an army of

(6) Wrong translation from Persian-Chepāwal is a Turki word meaning a foray.

(7) *i. e.*, the Oxus.

(8) *i. e.*, the Jaxartes.

(9) Corresponding to July 1788.

(10) This is obviously wrong. For Humayun Shah is found mentioned as living in many letters 1791 and 1792. He was blinded and killed by Zeman Shah on the death of Timur Shah in 1793. Secondly of Murad Shah had been victorious in the battle he would have at once invaded India. The fact seems to be that Timur successfully repelled the invasion.

(11) Nos. 285 and 286.

five thousand men. He has coined a rupee, weighing fourteen māśas, and bearing the figure of an elephant on one side[12]. He is capturing forts. Mahadji Sindia on learning this declared "If it is the will of God we all chiefs will obey him, but if it is in the hands of man it is not difficult for me to destroy him in a short time."

Although the information contained in these letters is a bazaar rumour and contains some wrong statements there seems to be some truth in it which is supported by an English letter of 10th January 1789 stating thus[13]— Reports have prevailed for these 3 or 4 months of an intended invasion of India from Kabool by Timur Shah, who was said to bear the expense of an army he had raised to repel an invasion from Balkh by employing it on a foreign expedition.

Murad Shah seems to have been emboldened to attack Afghanistan when he saw the weak condition of Timur Shah who had to face another enemy in a nephew of Nadir Shah, who is mentioned in a Persian letter in the Peshwa Daftar at Poona, an abstract of which is published in the volume of miscellaneous Persian Papers edited[14] by Dr. Nazim. The letter states thus—The wife of Shah Wali, Wazir of the Abdali brought about a reconciliation between Timur Shah and a nephew of Nadir Shah. In a Marāṭhī letter[15] a grandson of Nadir Shah is said to have attacked Kandahar and seized the places of Timur Shah there. It

(12) See my note on this published in the Indian Historical Quarterly Volume XIII. page 146.

(13) *Poona Residency correspondence* Vol. 1, Mahadji Sindia and N. I. affairs, ed. by Sir Jadunath Sarkar No. 248.

(14) No. 1964 published on page 19.

(15) Published in the volume of the *Itihāsasaṃgraha* mentioned above No. 156.

is not known whether Nadir Shah's nephew or grandson—or both—was the enemy of Timur referred to in the letters.

Murad Shah's wars(16) with Timur Shah seem to have continued for some more years as some Persian news letters of 1791—92 A. D. from Kabul preserved in the Poona Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka maṇḍala and published in its Quarterly(17) show.

(16) One of the wars is described in detail in the Persian Tarikh-i-Husain Shah. I have to express my obligation to Sir Jadunath Sarkar for kindly making some valuable suggestions in this article.

(17) For the year 1936

TIRUMALAIDEVA MAHARAYA

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Though from the points of view of the expansion of the empire and the systematisation of the administration, the reign of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, the great Vijayanagar emperor was one of dazzling brilliance, yet his domestic life like that of Akbar, the great Mughal emperor, was not happy. According to the Portuguese chronicler Paes, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya had twelve lawful wives. Of them, four appear to have been the principal ones, namely Tirumalādevi, Cinnādēvi Jaganē mōhini and Annapūrṇādēvi. It is difficult to say who among them was the chief queen. If however the inscriptions can give us any definite idea about that question, it was probably Tirumalādēvi who was the chief queen for an epigraph specifically mentions that Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya ascended the Karṇāṭaka throne with his queen Tirumalāmbikā. [1]

Though Kṛṣṇa Rāya had so many wives, he had no issue till very late in his regin and this fact was not only the cause of anxiety to the emperor himself but also was the cause of concern for many in the kingdom. In 1517 Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya, one of the trusted lieutenants of Kṛṣṇa Rāya made a gift to the temple of Cowḍēśvarī at Coḷasamudram (Anantapur) "in order that the king may be blessed with children." [2] It appears that the prayers of the Rāysam were heard and Kṛṣṇa Rāya was blessed with a child in the next year by his queen Tirumalādēvi. We have to infer this from the details contained in a record dated Saturday, Kārtika 12, Bahudhānya (expired) Śāka 1440 (A. D. 1519) coming from Kamalāpuram, near modern Hospet. The inscription registers a gift of land made by the king and the queen Tirumalādēvi to the God Tiru veṅgaḷanātha of Añjanagiri (Tirumala at Tirupati) for the

1. M. E. R. 1912, P. 55. See also 87 of 1912.
2. *Ibid.*

merit of Tirumalairāya Mahārāya.[3] If a conjecture is possible the gift was perhaps made on the day on which Tirumala Rāya completed his first year. But it is difficult to explain how the prince came to be called a Mahārāya even in 1519. Perhaps the epigraph was inscribed on the walls of the temple some five years later when he came to be called a Mahārāya and was associated with the administration of the empire.

After 1519 for about 5 years we do not hear of prince Tirumalai Rāya. But he comes into prominence in 1524 both in the epigraphs of the year and the account of Nuniz the Portuguese chronicler who came to Vijayanagar during the time of Acyutarāya Mahārāya. The Portuguese cronicler says: "The King (Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya) perceiving that he was already advanced in years desiring to rest in his old age and wishing his son to become king when he died, he determined to make him king during his life time the boy being six years old and the king not knowing what would happen after his death wherefore he abdicated his throne and all his power and name and gave it all to his son and himself became his minister."[4] Though Nuniz does not give the name of the prince who was six years old in A. D. 1524 it was evidently Tirumala who according to the epigraphs was aged exactly so many years then. According to Nuniz the reason for the so-called abdication of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and the installation of his son on the throne was the fact that he was afraid that there might be a dispute as to the succession to the throne after his own death which fear after all turned out to be well-founded.

It is worth examining here if this literary evidence afforded by the chronicle of Nuniz is supported by the evidence of epigraphy. The inscriptions do not refer to the

3. 697 of 1923.

4. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, P. 350.

abdication of the father in favour of his son. The inscriptions of Tirumalaidēva Mahārāya which are about thirteen in number and are all dated Ś 1146 (A. D. 1524-25) mention him as ruling over the empire with all imperial titles and are scattered throughout the different parts of the Vijayanagar empire. The following is the list of the inscriptions of the prince:

Reference.	*Date.*	*King.*	*Details.*
E. C. IV Hs. 58	Tārana Vaiśāka Śud. 8. Friday	Tirumalai Raya	His minister... Dannāyaka made a grant.
E. C. IX Mg. 6	Tārana Vaiśāka Śud. 13	Do.	Timmanna Dannāyaka made a grant for the merit of the king.
683 of 1923. Rep, Para 79 Anantaśayana-guḍi, (Hospet Taluk.)	Tārana, Jyeṣṭha Śud. 7 Sunday	Tirumalaidēva Mahārāya.	Kṛṣṇa granted a number of villages to the temple of Anantapadmanābha at Śole Tirumala Mahārāyapura founded in the name of his son.
261 of 1929—30. Śrirangam, 1p.	Ś 1446, Tārana Simha Śud. Dvitīya Uttarām, Wednesday	Do.	Records certain grants to the temple.
115 of 1918 Kugaiyūr, (Sa.	Ś. 1446 Tārana, Māgha Bahula, Di, Hasta, Monday	Do.	
139 of 1896 S. I. I., V. 1004 Dāmal (Cg.)	Ś. 1446 Tārana, Kārtika Śu. Di. 12 Monday, Uttarādvādaśi Citrai	Do.	

Reference.	*Date.*	*King.*	*Details.*
181 of 1913. Gorantla (Ap.)	Ś. 1446 Tārana Kārt. Śu. Di 12 Monday Uttānadvādaśi (7-11-1524)	Viraprātāpa Tirumalaidēva Rāya Mahārāya.	
605 of 1929—30. Matpadi (Sk.)	Ś. 1446 Vyaya Kārtika Śu. Tuesday	Tirumalaidēva	
116 of 1918 Kugalyūr (S. A.)	Ś. 1446 Tarana, Dhanus Śud. Di Pau-rṇima Ārdra, Sunday	Do.	
117 of 1918. Kugalyūr. (S. A.)	Ś 1446 Tārana, Dhanus Śud. Di. 1 Ārdrā, Sunday.	Do.	
E. C. IX. Ma 82	Ś. 1446 Tarana Margs Śu. 2	Tirumalaidēva Mahārāya 'The moon to the ocean of Kṛṣṇa Rāya'.	Timmanna Dannyaka makes a grant
91 of 1912 *M. E. R.* 1912. P. 55. Lepākṣi (Ap.)	Ś. 1446, Tārana	Viraprātāpa Tirumalaidēva Mahārāya	

Not even one of the above records refers to the abdication of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and the installation of Tirumala as the Mahārāya. It was the custom in the Hindu courts for the reigning sovereigns to nominate their heirs apparent and bequeath their empire to them ; and that was generally done to avoid unnecessary disputes on the question of succession to the throne after their own death. It was in accordance with that practice that Kṛṣṇadēva appears to have crowned young Tirumala as the *Yuvarāja* so that he could succeed to the throne on his own death and avoid unnecessary palace feuds. This was misunderstood by Nuniz as the regular coronation of the son and the abdication of the father. The fact that Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya did not abdicate his throne in favour of his son is proved by a large number of epigraphs o

Kṛṣṇa bearing the dates from Śāka 1446 Tāraṇa, Vaiśāka to Mārga of the same year, which are found scattered throughout the empire. Further much reliance cannot be placed on the evidence of Nuniz for it is contradictory in nature. The Portuguese chronicler says that one of the reasons why Kṛṣṇadēva abdicated his throne in favour of his son and became his minister was that he wanted to take rest in his old age. In an earlier connection, the same chronicler says that Kṛṣṇa was a little over 20 when he ascended the throne in 1509, and if there can be any truth in that it is incredible to believe that within a period of some 15 years he would have become "too old" to rule efficiently and hence was anxious to retire. Even granting that Kṛṣṇa became old and hence wanted retirement, it is doubtful if he could have had any rest if, as Nuniz says, he had become the minister of his son who was only six years old and therefore could not be expected to bear the burden of the administration of the empire. Besides we have a large number of inscriptions belonging to Kṛṣṇa dēva Rāya bearing the dates between 1525 and 1530 and these clearly show that he continued to rule over the empire till five or six years after the installation of Tirumala as the *Yuvarāja*. It should have been a very inopportune time for Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya to have thought of abdicating his throne in favour of his son when the empire was just beginning to enjoy the fruits of peace after a hard period of strenuous warfare with the refractory feudatories on the one hand, the Gajapati ruler on another, and the ever troublesome Muhammadan Sultans on the third. It was barely three years since Vijayanagar came out successful from the battle of Raicūr and Kṛṣṇadēva would not have thought of retiring at that time.

But Tirumala does not appear to have reigned long. We do not hear of him in the epigraphs after Śāka 1446 (A. D. 1525). He died a premature death, Nuniz is specific on the point and says that the "great festivals (connected with the installation of Tirumala as *Yuvarāja*) lasted 8 months

during which time the son of the king fell sick of a disease of which he died." Thus according to him Tirumala died about the middle of 1525. We find the earliest inscription of Acyutarāya in 1526 which states that he was ruling from Vijayanagar. This indicates that he was anointed Crown prince after the death of Tirumala and hence he appeared with all regal titles since then.

According to the Portuguese chronicler Tirumala died under suspicious circumstances ; and hence Kṛṣṇadeva learning that his son had died by poison given him by Timmaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka, the son of Sāḷuva Timma sent for his minister, his brother and two sons and put them into prison. Timmaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka however escaped from the prison, but was defeated and brought back. Subsequently, all the four were ordered to be blinded and cast into prison where Timmaṇṇa died. The description of Nuniz is too graphic and full of details to be cast aside. But it is extremely doubtful if Sāḷuva Timma who was on very cordial terms with his royal master, was the *Dharaṇīvarāha* of the empire and "Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's own boly" could have been punished in that manner by the king, though it might have been, if there can be any truth in the charge, due to the fact that he was subject to certain fits as observed by Paes.[1]

Towards the close of his reign the heart-broken Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was blessed with another son. He was barely 18 months old when Kṛṣṇa died in 1530 and hence not "of fit age to ascend the throne." Therefore Kṛṣṇa at the time of his death nominated his half-brother Acuyutadēva Rāya to succeed him.

1. *A Forg. Emp.* page 357.

AUSTIN DE BORDEAUX AND THE TAJ MAHAL, AGRA.

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Similar to Geronimo Veroneo of Venice another name of a Frenchman, Austin de Bordeaux, as the designer of the Taj is suggested. My researches trace that Lt. Col. Sleeman is the first person who is responsible for suggesting his name in his "Rambles and Recollections".[1] It is really a pity to find that Lt. Col. Sleeman absolutely set aside the historical facts and based his arguments merely on legends in a very curious and ludicrous way. He says:

> "This magnificent building and palaces at Agra and Delhi were, I believe, designed by Austin de Bordeaux, a Frenchman of great talent and merit in whose ability and integrity the Emperor placed much reliance. He was called by the natives Oostan Eesau[2] 'Nadir-al-Asar', (the wonder of the age) and for his office of 'Nuksha Nawees', or plan drawer, he received a regular salary of one thousand rupees a month, with occasional presents, that made his income very large. He had finished the palaces of Delhi and the Mausoleum and palaces of Agra; and was engaged in designing a silver ceiling for one of the galleries in the latter, when he was sent by the Emperor to settle some affairs of great importance at Goa. He died at Cochin on his way back and is supposed to have been poisoned by the Portuguese, who were extremely jealous of his influence at court. He

1. See *Rambles and Recollections* edn. 1844. II.P. 34 and 275.

2. The same Oostan Eesau (Ustad Isa) who is invariably referred to by every one as the real architect of the Taj, has also nothing to do with the Taj, which is discussed separately.

left a son by a native wife called Mohammad Shurreef, who was employed as an architect on a salary of Rs. 500 a month and who became as I conclude from his name a Mussalman. The death of Austin de Bordeaux and war between his sons that followed, prevented the completion of these magnificent work."

We are very fortunate that we have by chance four letters of Austin de Bordeaux himself addressed from India to his friends overseas.[3] Three letters out of them have been written from Lahore on respective dates *viz.* 20th July 1620; 26th April 1626 and 27th April 1626; and the fourth from Chaul near Bombay on the 9th March 1632. From the useful extracts of his four letters noted below particularly concerning India as well as his occupation, we come to the conclusion that he has not the least connection with the construction of the Taj and of course, he had made a throne for Jahangir. Moreover he had married an Indian wife from whom he had a son whose age was of about twelve years in 1630 when Mumtaz, the lady of the Taj, died. During the reign of Shahjahan he spent two years at Agra in the preparation of a throne for him just after which he left for Goa, while the king was at Burhanpur and Austin's family at Agra. He used to sign his name as "Augustin Hunarmand" (Hunarmand)—Persian name which Jahangir gave him and which means inventor of arts:—

"I have been in this country (India) eight years. I took service with this king Jahangir (the great Moghul). I made him a royal throne in which there are several millions of

3. Journal of the Punjab Historical Society Vol. IV P. 3-17 "four letters by Sir Edward Maclagan."
The MS. of these four letters exists in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris; vide cinq-cents Colbert vol. 488, fol. 436-439 and also they have already been published by the great French scholar M. Ch. de la Roncière with illustrious notes under the heading of "*Un artiste Francais a la Cour du Grand Mogol*" in the La Revue 1905 P. 181 197.

gold and of silver and several other inventions such as cutting a diamond of 100 carats in ten days. It is impossible to realise the magnificient characteristics of this king and I shall mention only three of them, his large diamonds, his large balas of rubies of which he alone has more of these than all the men in the world.—I am married and have a child of two years.[4] Among others things I was expert at counterfeiting precious stones. But as my age increased my ambition increased also, and in order to obtain public esteem it was necessary for me to render some remarkable service to my king and lord[5]—but I have invented a machine by which the person in charge were it even a child can by a contrivance which he holds bind and unbind him with large iron chains a hundred times an hour and let him run about as much or as little as he likes—I have prepared a design for the construction of a royal throne * for the King on which he sits once a year for nine days (Nouroze) when the sun enters the sign of Ram, when their year commences. This throne is supported by four lions weighing 150 quintals of silver covered with beaten gold leaf and the canopy is supported by 12 columns in which there are 10 thousand ounces of enamelled gold. The canopy which is the form of a dome has been covered by me with 4 thousand of my artificial stones but the genuine stones corresponding to these are of inestimable value, for the king has a great number of pearls and it is certain that he also has more large diamonds and large rubies than all the princes of the universe[6]—The king my last master (Jahangir) knowing that I had some knowledge of all arts wished to employ me in making engines of war to the prejudice of the Deccanis—I had employed these two years at Agra in making plans for a new throne which the

4. From the 1st letter.
5. From the 2nd letter.
6. From the 3rd letter.

* This is not the proper place to deal with, wether this throne was really the same famous "Pea-cock throne" or someone elre ; therefore I leave it for the present.

King (Shahjahan) had ordered before he left Agra for the Deccan. The king had required that two hundred times a hundred thousand lives should be spent on this throne in gold, diamonds, rubies, pearls and emeralds. But I do not think he will ever have the benefit of it—I have left Burhanpur where the king's court now is and am going to Goa on business and should return in two months time to fetch my family, my wife and one child, who is left to me from the affliction about which I have written to you."[7]

Jahangir has mentioned in his Memoirs almost the same words justifying that Austin was really honoured by him on the construction of a throne and conferred upon him the title of Hunarmand as he signs his name—Augustin Hunarmand—which is apparent from his letters. The Taozak's rendering runs thus :

> "……Among the offerings of that Madar-Us-Saltna there was a throne of gold and silver, much ornamented and decorated the supporters of which in the form of tigers. It had been complete with great assiduity in the space of three years, and was made at the cost of Rs. 4,500,000. This throne had been made by a skilful European of the name Hunarmand (skilful) who had no rival in the arts of a goldsmith and a jeweller and in all sorts of skill (Hunarmandi). He had made it well and I gave him this name in addition to the offerings he had brought for me ; he offered the value of Rs. 100,000 in jewelled ornaments and clothes to Begams and other ladies of the palace…… Hunarmand, the European who had made the jewelled throne, I presented him with 3,000 darbs, a house and an elephant."[8]

7. From the 4th letter.

8. Jahangir's Taozak (Roger and Beveridge Translation) vol. II P. 89,

Further we find from Austin's word that he was preparing another throne for Shahjahan about which we do not find any mention in the Persians histories of Shah-Jahan's time but the well known traveller Tavernier has thrown some light in this respect too. And Austin was poisoned on his way back from Cochin. Tavernier says :

> "Shahjahan had intended to cover the arch of the great pavilion gallery which is on the right, with silver, and a Frenchman named Augustin de Bordeaux was to have done the work. But the Great Mughal seeing there was no one in his kingdom who was capable to be send to Goa to negotiate an affair with the Portuguese, the work was not done for, as the ability of Augustin was feared, he was poisoned on his return from Cochin."[9]

Apart from it Austin has been mentioned by many other Europeans who had either met him or had seen him at Agra such as Von Paser etc. In short it is quite manifest from all the accounts that he was not an architect and he had never meddled in this branch of art. Lt. Col. Sleeman has not only attributed to himself the designership of the Taj but also he has entangled his son in it whom he had named Mohammad Shurreef without any authority. From Austin's own account noted above we gather that his son whose actual name is known was hardly twelve years old when the Taj was going to be founded at Agra. Sorry to say nothing is available about Austin's family after him. When Austin was sent to Goa on a royal mission in 1632 from Burhampur the building of the Taj at Agra had just begun.

I should add here one thing more that the old MSS regarding the Taj which are not authentic,[10] bear the

9. Tavernier's Travel, Ball's Edition, Vol. I P. 108.

10. I am dealing with the MS. about the Taj separately.

mention of a good many names of the craftsmen who are supposed to have worked in the building of the Taj. There we find two names Isa Nadirul Asar and his son Mohammed Sharif whom Lt. Col. Sleeman has erronically interpreted the same persons Oostan Eesau (Austin de Bordeaux) and his son Mohammad Shurreef. Practically Austin had nothing to do with any building during the reign of the Mughal kings. Sleeman has mentioned that Delhi's buildings were also built by Austin. And it is quite clear that Jahangir had not built any such building at Delhi which could easily be attributed to Austin.

There is another reference showing that Austin was really popular even among the Indian at that time with his title Hunarmand, because Na'mat Khân-i-Ali has mentioned in his well known work Husn-o-Ishq (Beauty and Love) Ustâ Hunarmand Frangi as Austin Hunarmand European merely in the course of other such persons, and nothing particular.[11]

11. (Husn-o-Ishq) of Na'mat Khan-i-Ali, Nawal Kishare Edition 1890, P. 20.

A LETTER OF MAHARAJA AJITSINGH RELATING TO THE DEATH OF EMPEROR FARRUKHSIYAR.

PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU, SAHITYACHARYA,
JODHPUR.

In 1713 A. D. Emperor Farrukhsiyar, who had seated himself on the throne of Delhi, sent Sayyad Husain Ali Khan at the head of an army against Jodhpur. When this news reached Jodhpur the Maharaja went towards Tilwara (Western part of Marwar) for the war-preparations and appointed his premier noble Champavat Bhagvandas, with detailed instructions, to look after the administration of the country. But soon a treaty was concluded and Farrukhsiyar recognised Maharaja Ajitsingh as the lawful ruler of Marwar.

In 1718 A. D., displeased with the growing power of Sayyad brothers, Emperor Farrukhsiyar sent for Maharaja Ajitsingh, but before he saw him some courtiers found an opportunity to poison his (Emperor's) ears against him; and the king, being thus displeased with the Maharaja, wanted to get him murdered. The events which took place since the arrival of Maharaja Ajitsingh at Delhi to the accession of Rafiuddarjat and the causes which compelled the Maharaja to join in the assassination of the Emperor can best be known from the translation of Maharaja Ajitsingh's own letter, to his loyal official, Sobhavat Dayaldas, given below:—

Top lines written in Maharaja's own hand writing.

.....now we are soon returning home. You should feel happy. Written under our command.

Contents of the Royal Seal.

By the grace of almighty goddess Hingulaj, glory be to sovereign ruler, King of Kings, Mahārājādhirāj, Mahārājā Shrī Ajitsingh Deva who shines like the sun on the earth.

Viṣṇu, Aṁba, Śiva, Sun and Vināyak—may these five deities always bestow favours.

Approval of the letter in Mahārāja's own calligraphy.

It is our command.

Letter.

By order of nobleself, graced with all the good qualities King of Kings, Sovereign ruler, Mahārājā Shri Ajitsinghjī and his heir-apparent Shri Abhaisinghji, the City Magistrate Dayaldas should note their favours.

Your requests and the reports of the events were submitted to us and the detailed account became fully known.

In the beginning Farrukhsiyar had sent for us with some other motive, but during the time of our reaching here (Delhi) short-sighted Jaisinghji poisoned his ears and set him against us. Farrukhsiyar had already been hostile with the Sayyads and therefore we and Abdullakhan after taking stock of the situation sent for Husain Ali Khan to come post-haste from the Deccan. He reached here on the 14th of the dark half of Phagun (7th February 1719 A. D.) and the two Sayyad brothers and we thought it advisable to depose Farrukhsiyar, and seat any of the grandsons of Bahadurshah on the throne, as the former is quite unfit to be a king and his manners are mean and debased. Accordingly on the 2nd of the bright half of Phagun (10th February 1719 A. D.) the fort was surrounded by troops and on Wednesday, the 10th of the bright half of Phagun (18th February 1719 A. D.) Farrukhsiyar was imprisoned and in his place Rafiuddarjat, the son of Rafiulkadar, after being released from prison, was placed on the throne and proclaimed king. Further by the grace of God we got the jazia (the tax levied on the non-Muslims) abolished and restrictions on the holy places removed.

These twelve successes, which we have achieved by the grace of God, were never acquired by any Hindu up till now and therefore you should feel it a cause of great satisfaction

On the 10th of the bright half of Vaishakh (18th April 1719 A. D.) Farrukhsiyar was dispatched by fastening a cord round his neck and on Sunday, the 11th of the dark half of Jeth (3rd May 1719 A. D.), when we obtained the permission from the Emperor to return to our country, he honoured us with the following things:— Robe of honour, horse with studded saddle, priceless pearls, which the Emperor himself put in our ears, studded "Sarpech" (a head ornament), which was also tied by the Emperor by his own hands, a studded sword, a male elephant, a female elephant, not bestowd on any noble but the princes of royal blood only ere this was awarded to us and "Tumantogh" a great rank, which too was not conferred on any other noble ere this except on princes only, was conferred on us.

Besides this the Emperor asked us not to leave before seeing him once again and it is concluded that he will bestow more favours, which will be communicated to you later on. Now we are coming soon to our country and hence you should feel happy.

Further when we saw Farrukhsiyar for the first time he after consulting Jaisingh (of Amber) and Miyan (Mirjumala) devised means to get us killed. A second time he sent for us keeping murderers concealed inside the chamber. For the third time he summoned us and wanted to kill us during the hunt. A fourth time he calling us at a lonely place wanted to finish us. Afterwards he, spreading gun-powder in the garden and appointing sharp shooters, clad in armour, sent for us. In short he contrived by various means to make short work of us. But as the Goddess Hingulaj always guards us the mouths of Jaisingh and Miyan were filled with dirt. Jaisingh deserved all this for his misdeeds. We

would have killed him and depriving him of Amber seated some one else there on the "Gaddi", but for the sake of God we saved his life.

At first we intended to finish him here, but he had already fled away in the life-time of Farrukhsiyar. So a detachment was sent in pursuit, but however on a second thought we, being a great noble of Hindustan, deemed it proper to over-look malicious deeds of Jaisingh and to save his life and state. Accordingly after holding consultations with the Sayyad brothers we recalled the detachment and giving him Amber and 'Mansab' sent him to Bidar to take command of the forces there. The place in the Deccan is fourteen hundred miles away from Amber and he will soon leave for it. We thought that after mounting on an elephant the other conveyances are below our dignity and as we could dethrone and imprison Farrukhsiyar and after releasing the other one of our choice from prison put him on the throne, this Jaisingh does not deserve our attention. Once before we aided him to take possession of Amber and this second time also we, the sovereign of Marwar, saved his life and gave him—Amber—his native land, and 'Mansab'.

We have sent Purohit Kesarisingh to assure Jaisingh and have taken words for the 1st of the bright half of Jeth (9th May 1719 A. D.) when report will be submitted to us.

By the grace of Goddess Hingulaj Durbar's words deserved supermacy and they have achieved the same. You should feel satisfaction. Written under our command.

11th day of the dark half of Jeth, Samvat 1775 (4th May 1719 A D.)

Camp—Jahanabad (Delhi).

SECTION VIII.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. M. H. KRISHNA, M. A., D. LIT. (LOND.),
Professor of History, University of Mysore
and
Director of Archaeology, Mysore State.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is with much hesitation that I rise to address you to-day as president of the Archaeological Section, since there are so many among you who have done greater service to Archeology than my humble self. I think the election of the Director of Archaeology in Mysore to this office is due primarily to the appreciation by the world of scholars of the excellent work done by the Mysore Archaeological Department especially under the lead of my honoured predecessors : Mr. B. L. Rice, Mr. R. Narasimhachar and Dr. R. Shama Sastri.

Archaeological and historical research has been passing through hard times in our country. During the years of economic depression following the Great War, Archaeological research began to be regarded in certain quarters as a luxury. I remember a responsible officer once telling me that he wondered why so many intelligent men were wasting their life in digging up useless brick-bats and broken pottery. I hope the time has come now for the tide to turn. A nation's ideas and feelings about its own past have a great influence on the reconstruction of its future and it is essential that the truths about the past should be discovered and broad-cast. I appeal to those who hold the purse-strings of Governments to provide more liberally for archaeological

work. The interest shown by those in power in the work of the Historical Records Commission gives rise to the hope that a better day may dawn very soon on Archaeology. A tower of strength to our cause has been our learned and beloved colleague Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit whose appointment as Director-General of Archaeology in India has met with universal welcome.

As president of this section at the Mysore Session two years ago, Mr. Dikshit has given us such a masterly review of the work that is being done by the various governmental departments and private agencies that it is needless for me to cover the same ground. Good work has been done in various fields during the last two years like the exploration by Sir Auriel Stein of the hinterland between India and Persia, the starting of excavation at Kauśāmbi, Paithan and elsewhere and the detailed study of the mural paintings in Travancore. I shall not attempt to review this work; and with your permission, I propose to devote this brief half hour to the contemplation of the work before us so that we might organise ourselves to discharge our duties to the best of our ability. You will pardon me if I illustrate my points here and there with my experience in the State of Mysore.

These are days all over the world of large scale national surveys and planned economy. I believe it is high time that all the groups of workers in the various fields of Indian archaeology met together, took stock of the present position of their studies, pooled the nation's resources and put into operation a planned programme of work on an All-Indian scale. I plead for the organisation of an Archaeological Conference followed by the establishment of an Archaeological Commission, which would, for all academical purposes, include the whole of India in its scope with the co-operation of the various Governments and learned associations. Let it be the privilege of this Oriental Conference to make this proposal and offer its whole-hearted co-operation. There is

a large amount of varied and important work which such a commission can take up for consideration.

Till now considerable attention has no doubt been devoted, perhaps rightly too, to the preservation of the great architectural monuments. There are, however, thousands of the smaller and more out-of-the-way structures which deserve attention. They need to be properly classified, periodically inspected and carefully conserved. I am aware that our Superintendents of Archaeology find it a very difficult task to attend adequately to the needs of all the monuments in their charge, since often they number several thousands and the finances are inadequate. Perhaps it is unfair to expect them to do more than they are doing for research work; but many of these monuments are yet waiting for detailed study at the hands of those interested in Indian history and fine arts. For on such a detailed restudy of the monuments of Belūr, Halebīḍ and elsewhere in the Mysore State it has been possible to collect a great deal of fresh information, highly useful for the history of architecture, sculpture and even for social and religious history. A connected study from the Āgamic and comparative points of view of the various styles of Indian architecture is another desideratum. The monographs published by Dr. Gravely, Mr. Longhurst and others are highly welcome and there is need for very much more work in this direction. Detailed studies of the monuments at Abu, Khajuraho, Konark, Ellora and of the great monuments of South India would be highly useful and may lead to a revival of Indian architecture and sculpture in the same way as the publication of the Ajanta frescoes has given rise to a new school of Indian painting.

The architectural wealth of our country is so vast that there is a good field even for new discoveries. Not a year is passing in Mysore without some new monument of interest being found; one of the latest discoveries has been a

unique monument of nearly a thousand years ago situated Narasamangala whose stone and stucco sculptures evoke admiration.

In the field of epigraphy, though we are now celebrating the centenary of Princep's decipherment of Brāhmi, there are yet large areas from which the cloud has not lifted. A more thorough survey of the Karnāṭak districts of Bombay, of nearly the whole of Hyderabad and of the Central Indian States would, I am sure, yield interesting results. Our experience in Mysore makes us very hopeful. In spite of the fact that Mr. B. L. Rice collected nearly nine thousand inscriptions and Mr. R Narasimhachar five thousand more, we are yet lucky enough to meet with new epigraphs in almost every district, some of them being records of importance.

Even where the inscriptions have been collected already, we have been slow in their publication and it is no great credit to us that we are just now publishing records copied nearly 30 years ago.

In the numismatic field we have yet large collections awaiting study and publication. How we wish that all the fine collections existing at Madras, Mysore and Bombay and at the British Museum, London, could be published to the research world more speedily than is being done now.

In the study of old pottery, beads, implements and things connected with the daily life of the common folk in the past there is a vast field for study. We are thankful to the Royal Anthropological Institute for studying Indian beads and pottery; but what have we done in the shape of an organised study in India?

I am aware of the excellent work that is being done by specialised bodies like the Indian Historical Records Commission in the field of documents, and the Numismatic Society of India in the study of coins. But more such societies are necessary for taking charge of the numerous lines of study.

I propose that the workers in Indian Archaeology should form themselves into groups for the purpose of specialising in these branches and also that committees should be appointed for the solution of definite problems to the best of their ability. You will kindly bear with me if I place before you some of the many great problems which appeal to my fancy as worthy of a grand attack.

It is a well known fact that the countries around the Indian Ocean from Java to South Africa and from China to Palestine were inhabited in the early pre-historic periods by various races of anthropoid apes, ape-men and sub-men. When the Sivapithecus of the Sivaliks and the Gibbon of Malaya are considered to be the nearest anthropoid cousins of early man and when our traditions like those embodied in the Rāmāyaṇa suggest that some of these extinct sub human races were actually inhabiting the caves of the Deccan, even a few thousand years ago, is it not worth our while to study these caves, particularly those in the valleys of the Kṛishṇā and the Tuṅgabhadrā and in the Vindhyan jungles for tangible evidence of pre-historic man in India? Should we be content to stand where Brucefoote left us long ago?

The discovery of the Indus civilisation came upon the world as a surprise and gave rise to numerous problems among which is its relation to the Vedic civilisation. Much is being written on this subject without the spade being used. A satisfactory answer to this problem can be obtained when we discover strata bearing Vedic settlements and showing their relative position to the Indus civilisation. Is it not worth our while to explore, study and excavate some of the old sites on the banks of the Sarasvatī and the Dṛiṣadvatī in the home-land of the Vedic folk?

Another large black cloud that hangs over ancient Indian history is connected with what is generally called the Epic period. Was the Śaiśunāga dynasty the first to establish an empire in India? Or is there any truth in the legends of the epics that several great emperors and empires

lived and flourished in the pre-Buddhist days also? Is all the greatness of Ayodhyā and Laṅkā, of Hastināpura and Indraprastha a fiction of the poet's imagination? Are the Purāṇic lists of the early kings of India fictitious tissues; or could there be any chance of corroborating them just as Manetho's list of the rulers of Egypt was more or less borne out by the discoveries of the excavators of that land? Even many of the traditions of the Bible are now leading to important discoveries in Western Asia. To my mind the whole history of India during the long period previous to the Mauryan epoch is a field for Archaeological research where the excavator who would devote himself to the task is likely to come upon new and highly valuable information.

Even in the post-Mauryan periods, though inscriptions and literary sources have revealed a considerable amount of basic information, yet excavation could place before us many new facts and help to fill up the skeleton. For instance, the modest excavations carried out at Chandravalli have helped to place before us a more substantial and fuller account of social and economic life in the Śātavāhana period than has hitherto been possible. Our conclusions can now be based on substantial positive evidence. I am happy to learn that the excavations conducted by the Hyderabad Archaeological Department at Paiṭhan have similarly yielded highly encouraging results. But a great deal more remains to be done in almost every part of India and even in little Mysore. The extensive mounds of Kanauj and Ramnagar of Ujjain and Vidiśā, of Kalyāṇi and Malkhed, of Devagiri and Suvarṇagiri, of Aihole and Banavāsi, of Talkād and Dōrasamudra, and many more which sometimes cover extensive fields of ruined buildings are waiting for the excavator. Here in the extreme south of India and particularly round about ancient places like Korkai and Kayal, the cultures of various countries met and influenced one another. Their history ought to begin from the prehistoric days, when corals and pearls began to be valued by human beings. How little we know of these and what a fine field there is for South

Indian excavators? Mr. Rea's finds at Adichanallur and about a score of coin-like pieces which found their way from Tinnevelly to the Mysore Archaeological office point to the extreme south of India as a promising field for study.

I believe most archaeologists would agree with me when I say that the future progress of Archaeology in India is considerably bound up with excavation. Perhaps the general doubt among us would be as to who should take on the work; and it is here that I beg to place before you my humble suggestion. It is strange that the various Archaeological Departments and the numerous Universities and learned institutions in India have not yet come into close co-operation. As one privileged to be a Professor of History and the Director of a State Department in Archaeology, I plead for closer co-operation between Universities and learned associations on the one side and the Archaeological departments and museums on the other. India is so vast that the official departments alone with their limited finances find it impossible to do all the research work that is needed. We should welcome the co-operation of not merely all qualified workers in India but even of those from outside our country who desire to participate. For these reasons I am proposing that a special conference of the representatives of the chief Archaeological institutions in India be called together for founding a central organisation and for drawing up a scheme of planned activity. The Government of India Archaeological Department would necessarily have to be our mainstay and the Director-General the pivot of the whole movement. All those organisations which are able to find finances enough for archaeological work may co-operate and depute firstly for training and then for field work promising members, particularly teachers of the Universities, assistants of the museums and other scholars having special aptitude for the work.

I submit that the duty of the universities in this connection has not been adequately discharged. We are surprised to find that so few of our Indian universities have found a

place for Archaeology in their curricula of studies and so much fewer of our academical institutions have men trained for field work. Every university in India should arrange to start an archaeological department and as a beginning, archaeology should be introduced as an optional subject in the higher history courses. One member at least of each history department should undergo a complete course of training in archaeology and should make it his business to serve the cause of Indian History as a field worker, more particularly as an excavator.

I am aware that many of our universities would plead financial difficulties. While I am entirely in sympathy with them when they pray for better grants and larger endowments to carry on the torch of learning, I would exhort them to find a few thousands of rupees every year for carrying on field work in archaeology in some area regionally connected with themselves and to create public enthusiasm for archaeological discoveries. Labour is cheap in India and the climate is so well suited that we could find at least three or four months in a year for working in the field without undue hardship. Honours and post-graduate students in history, anthropology and geology, who could very well be trained to work as overseers, would find their work of thrilling interest. Learned societies which have got funds to spare for such work could also follow the lines suggested for the universities.

It is evident that some of the larger pieces of work could only be adequately handled by Government Departments or by well-financed foreign expeditions. I believe we ought to welcome workers of foreign universities and museums to co-operate with us in discovering India's past. Their better resources would enable them to handle some of the larger bits of work just as they have done in Egypt, Mesopotomia and Palestine. Of course they would want some of the finds for their museums. I believe it would be quite possible to arrive at an understanding regarding the distribution of the finds.

The above proposals would necessitate the organisation of some kind of training course at some central place with practical field work in selected fields. The responsibility for giving this training would of course have to be taken up by the Government of India Archaeological Department, which may also be empowered to issue certificates and licenses to people authorised to excavate on behalf of recognised institutions. Universities like those of Calcutta and Mysore which have special equpiment for teaching Archaeology may also co-operate with the Director-General. Adequate supervision would also have to be maintained by the governments concerned. The Archaeological Commission proposed by me may prepare chronological and regional lists of possible fields of work and circulate them among the universities and learned societies calling upon them to get their men trained and to undertake field work in selected areas for which licenses could be issued.

India is passing through a period of unemployment and the world of scholarship eagerly awaits the publication of correct facts about the past of this great country. Young India is inspired with a spirit to act and do things and not merely to be satisfied with talk. Could we not divert a number of our own graduates and research students to the field of Archaeology, giving them a living and helping them to work for the discovery of truth?

In conclusion, may I hope that the governments and the generous public in India and lovers of learning abroad will come forward to finance archaeological research on a more intensive scale? May I hope also that the historians and archaeologists will join together and speed up their efforts so that a fuller history of this great country and her people may be revealed to the world in a generation or two instead of lying buried for centuries to come.

If this Conference can light this torch it will have discharged a great duty.

THE SARPAVARAM INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGIRI REḌḌI

Dr. M. Rama Rao M A., Ph. D. Ed.

The reign of Kumāragiri, the fourth monarch of the Reḍḍi dynasty of Koṇḍavīḍu, is very important for the history of madieval Andhra. Several events of his reign yet need elucidation based on a reinterpretation of the sources in the light of contemporary history. The Sarpavaram inscription of this monarch, which is the subject of this paper, throws much new light on the reign and enables us to solve some of the important problems connected with it.

The record which runs into 79 lines of Sanskrit verses is engraved on a pillar in the celebrated Bhāvanārāyaṇa temple at Sarpavaram in the Cocanāḍa Taluk of the East Gōdāvary District. Its text has been included as No. I of S. I. I. Vol. V. The purpose of the inscription is to record the gifts made to the local diety by a certain Dēvaya, who calls himself a subordinate of Kumāragiri. [1] The donor is described as the son of Goggaya and Gaurama and the brother of Rāmaya and Mallana. [2] He was a native of Muñjalūru. This Dēvaya is said to have made costly gifts to the temples at Śrīkākulam, Peḍana and Rajahmundry. [3] In the Śaka year 1321, he purchased a garden and gifted it to god Bhāvanārāyaṇa of Sarpavaram for the prosperity of his overlord, Kumāragiri. In his own native village, this chieftain constructed a tank called Komaragirisamudram as a token of his devotion to his overlord. [4] The inscription informs us further that this Dēvaya was also a great fighter and that he vanquished the forces of the Gajapati king before the Viharaṇagiri.

1. S. I. I. V. No. 1. lines 53-55.
2. Ibid verse 1.
3. Ibid verses 1, 3, 4, 5.
4. Ibid 3 & 6.

The record under consideration is important for several reasons. Firstly, it disproves the general opinion of scholars that no inscription of Kumāragiri's time has so far come to light. This inscription is definitely ascribable to the time of this Reḍḍi monarch. Secondly, it proves beyond doubt that this king's authority was recognised in the trans-Gōdāvary region till 1399 A. D. Lastly, it brings to light a latter Gāṅga attack on the Reḍḍi territory about this time, a fact lost sight of by previous writers, on the Reḍḍi territory. The last two points deserve careful consideration as they throw much light on some of the obscure aspects of Kumāragiri's reign.

This record enables us to solve the most important problem of Kumāragiri's reign viz. the division of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom. The Tottaramūḍi plates of Kāṭaya Vēma mention that "being pleased with the former's valour, king Kumāragiri gave him as a present, the eastern country with Rajamahēndravara at its head".[6] The truth of this statement is borne out by the rule of Kāṭaya Vēma in this region.[7] The Tottaramūḍi plates do not, however, furnish any clue for the determination of the date of this important event. One fact which fixes the lower limit of this date is the termination of Kāṭaya Vēma's conquests in the trans-Gōdāvary region by 1390 A. D.[8] Obviously, the eastern country could not be gifted away to this general before that date. Similarly, the upper limit of this period is indicated by the succession of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma at Koṇḍavīḍu in 1403 A. D. after Kumāragiri. It is also certain that Kāṭaya

6. Ep. Ind. IV. p. 318.

7. This extended between 1404 and 1414 A. D. (M. E. R. Nos. 422 and 453 of 1893.)

8. The presence of Vijayanagara inscriptions at Tripurāntakam in 1386 and at Mōṭupalli in 1390 A. D., both of which places were till then included in the Reḍḍi territory, indicates Vijayanagara aggressions at this time and the probable absence of Kaṭaya Vēma from the Reḍḍi kingdom.

Vēma took possession of the Rajahmundry kingdom by 1404 A. D. The inscription under consideration enables us to fix the date of this event more definitely within this period. As stated already, this record proves clearly that Kumāragiri was recognised in the Gōdāvary region in 1399 A. D. as the overlord. Thus it is evident that the Reḍḍi kingdom was in tact and undivided till this date. The Kommuchikkāla plates of Anavōṭa Reḍḍi[9] indicate that his father Prōlaya ruled for some time at Rajahmundry and there is reason to believe that the latter's rule preceded that of Kāṭaya Vēma. Prōlaya must have held the Rajahmundry region for at least two or three years so that he might be described as a ruler in the grant of his son. Taking these facts into consideration, I think it reasonable to assign the division of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom to 1400 A. D.

The next point of interest contained in the inscription under consideration is the fight between the Gajapatis and the Reḍḍis. The conspicuous absence of the name of Kāṭaya Vēma in this connection, indicates that this fight was not an episode in the famous Kaliṅga campaign of that general during 1385-1390. It must therefore have taken place in 1399 A. D. the year of the record. Dēvaya, who is credited with the achievement of victory over the Gajapati forces, was a native of Muñjalūru, a village in the Bandar Taluk of the Kistna District. His marching all the way to Simhāchalam in the Visagapatam District and making gifts in the Sarpavaram temple also suggests that he might have halted there on his way back from the victorious battle-field and that he made those gifts in commemoration of his victory over the Gajapati forces. One apparent anamoly contained in this inscription is the reference to a Gajapati king in 1399 A. D., for it is very well known that the Gajapati dynasty was founded by Kapilēśvara in 1435 A. D.[10] This

9. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc. Vol. III. Pp. 222-233.
10. R. Sabbarao—History of Kaliṅga p. 213 (Telugu).

anamoly is explained by a Simhāchalam inscription [11] which describes the latter Eastern Gāṅga king Narasimha dēvā IV (1378-1414) with the title "Gajapati". It must be the forces of this monarch that Dēvaya vanquished.

Another interesting question that arises in this connection is that pertaining to the cause of the conflict between the Reḍḍis and the Gajapatis in 1399 A. D. This question may be answered with the aid of the other known facts of the reign of Kumāragiri. This monarch was deeply absorbed in intellectual pursuits and neglected the affairs of the state. The viceroys of the Vijayanagara rulers in the Nellore District, who were waiting for an opportunity to pounce upon the Reḍḍi kingdom, pushed northwards and annexed a large part of it in the south. [12] In order to compensate for this loss, Kāṭaya Vēma, the genralissimo of Kumāragiri undertook a grand military march to the north and pressed into the heart of the Gāṅga territory as far as the Āska taluk of the Ganjām district. [13] These events took place, as already stated, between 1385-1390 A. D. In view of this, Dēvaya's engagement at Simhāchalam with the Gāṅga forces seems to have been the result of an attempt made by the latter to reconquer the region which was formerly taken from them by Kāṭaya Vēma. It is also possible to derive another cause for this Gāṅga invasion besides vengeance. The division of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom, referred to above, seems to have been the result of serious developments at the Reḍḍi capital. Kumāragiri is known to have had an only son called Vīrānnavōta, who seems to have pre-deceased the father. This event must have created a serious problem with regard to the future of the succession at the Reḍḍi capital. Kāṭaya Vēma was at that time the *de facto* ruler

11. S. I. I. V. No. 731.

12. See Note No. 8.

13. See verse 14 of the extracts from Kāṭaya Vēma's Kumāragirirājīya in Ep. Ind. XI. p. 325. Rāmagiri, which marks the farthest point of this general's penetration, is situated in this taluk.

in the kingdom and his chances for the future succession became too obvious. But in spite of this, Kumāragiri was succeeded at Koṇḍavīdu by a distant cousin of his, named Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. This indicates that the latter had a strong party behind him and that he emerged successful from a bitter conflict with Kāṭaya Vēma. This rivalry was continued between these two chieftains for a long time after the death of Kumāragiri. It is likely that a civil war became imminent between both of them even during the lifetime of that monarch. I believe that the division of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom and the assignment of its eastern half to Kāṭaya Vēma was the result of Kumāragiri's anxiety to avoid this great disaster. It is likely that these troubles cropped up in 1399 A. D. and culminated in the division of the kingdom in the next year. The fact that the onerous duty of repelling the Gāṅga attack on the newly conquered territory in the east was entrusted to Dēvaya, indicates that Kāṭaya Vēma was at this time engrossed in matters more important than this viz. the struggle with Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. The Gāṅgas therefore must have taken advantage of these troubles at the Reḍḍi capital and ventured an attack on the northern frontier of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom.

Thus the Sarpavaram inscription contains many points of interest and enables us to solve two important problems of Reḍḍi history viz. the date of the division of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom and the circumstances that lead to it.

A NEW DYNASTY OF THE WEST COAST.

Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu B. A., Madras.

In August 1933, Mr. Panduranga Pissurlencar, M. A., of the Archaeological Department of Portuguese India, Nova-Goa, sent me, at the suggestion of the Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, a set of photographs belonging to a hitherto unknown dynasty called Gōmins, for transcription and translation for his use. The photo-prints being not very helpful for a thorough study of this new and important record, I asked for the originals for detailed examination, but Mr. Pissurlencar pleaded inability to send them as their owner did not allow their being sent out of Goa. As the next best step I had to send for mechanical ink-impressions of the plates which too did not serve my purpose quite to the required extent, but all the same I furnished a preliminary note on these with a tentative transcript that could be made from them. These Mr. Pissurlencar published in his Portuguese brochure *Subsidios Epigraphicos para a sua historia* (Separata *Do Oriente* Portuguese N. °6, da nova serie) in 1934. The transcription then made was not quite satisfactory to myself and so by appointment with the Portuguese Government Archaeologist and with the sanction of the then Director-General of Archaeology in India, Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahini, M. A. C. I. E., I arranged to visit Nova-Goa in July 1934 and examined the plates on the spot. The owner of the plates, who is a native of the village Siroda near Chandor in Portuguese India, would not loan the plates out under any conditions. According to the Portuguese Government's Regulations all the Archaeological remains are the property of that Government so much so that the owners always hesitate to disclose historical or epigraphical documents in their possession. So the examination of the plates had to be finished on the spot, though I entertained even then a hope of securing the originals with their seal for better

printing and photographing. But that was not to be. Several attempts in this direction have been disappointing and that hope was never fulfilled. And subsequently when, at my instance, the Director General of Archaeology attempted to secure a loan of these plates through the Government of India and the latter addressed the Portuguese Government through the British Consul in Goa in 1936, they replied saying that the plates were not immediately available and that they 'watched' that no archaeological relics or antiquities left their territory. Under these circumstances we have had to rest satisfied with the imperfect impressions and photographs of these plates for purposes of reproduction. Their readings were, however, verified from the originals.

The set consists of three plates of which the first contains four lines of inscription on one side only. The second plate has four lines of writing on its first side while the second side has five lines. The third plate has five lines of writing on one side only. Thus in all there are eighteen lines in the inscription. The plates measure about $5\frac{1}{2}''$ to $5\frac{1}{8}''$ by $1\frac{1}{4}''$. At the proper right hand top corner of the plates is a small hole about $\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameter, through which passes the ring holding the plates together. Fixed to this ring is a circular seal on which is represented in relief the figure of a swan facing the proper right. It is interesting to note that this bird figures as an ornament on several house-tops in Nova Goa even at the present day.

The characters of the inscription belong to the archaic variety and from their general shape and style of execution they somewhat resemble the script of the Mydavōlu Plates of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman[1] and more closely those of the Koṇḍamuḍi Plates of Jayavarman.[2] It is also possible to glean a slight resemblance between the characters of this grant and those of the plates of the Pallava kings

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, No. 8
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 31.

Vijaya Skandavarman and Vijaya-Buddhavarman.[3] All the above charters are written in Prākṛt, while the present plates, though written in Sanskrit, have some Prākṛt expressions interspersed here and there. On this account the inscription may be assigned to the period following the age to which the Prākṛt charters of the Pallavas have been ascribed, *i. e.*, to the period of the mixed Prākṛt charters like the Maṭṭēpāḍ Plates of king Dāmōdaravarman.[4] The late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri has, on valid grounds, ascribed these plates to about the 4th century A. D.,[5] to which period may be assigned the present inscription.

The charter is addressed by (king) Dēvarāja of the Gōmins from the prosperous Chandrapura to the future *bhōgikas, āyuktakas* and *sthāmyas*[6] (?) (lll·1 and 2). The object of the inscription is to record the gift of tolls etc. (?) in (the village) Thānniyarka Kottiḥkayyā in the country or division of Jiyayā, to two Brahmans named Gōvindasvāmin and Indrasvāmin of the Bhāradvājasa-gōtra, with the income accruing in the village (*parivṛtta*) and also the income realised on things brought into it (*ānīta*), evidently articles of merchandise, together with a house-site (*gṛhasthāna*) and pasture-land for cows (*gō-prachāra*) to each (ll.3 to 7). The charter further enjoins the proper supply to the donees of the grass from the pastures and of fuel (*kāṣṭha*) (ll.7 and 8). This is followed by the well-known imprecation calling down the five great sins and the minor

3. *Ibid* Vol.VIII, No. 12.

4. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, No. 18.

5. *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, 1920, page 95, para 1.

6. The original reads *sthāmyas* which may be a clerical mistake for *grāmyas*, cf. *grāmika* (see *C. I. I.* Vol. III, p. 112n) and *grāmyakāḥ* (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVII, p.327). Probably it may also be derived from *sthāman* meaning 'a seat' or 'place' and may denote 'the local officials'. This may correspond to the *sthānādhikaraṇika* of the later inscriptions (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 323) and *sthānādhikṛtas* (cf. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 135 n).

ones on those, whether of the king's family or others, who would molest the enjoyment of the gift, and the two familiar verses beginning with *Bahubhir-vasudhā* and *ṣaṣṭiṁ varṣa-sahasrāṇi* (ll.8 to 14).

From the wording of the record it appears as if the king proclaims his ratification or sanction of the above-mentioned gifts made by Prabhu Nāga-Bhōgikāmātya, for the acquisition of (his own) spiritual salvation (*puṇya*) (l 4 f.).

The executor of the grant (or the royal ratification) is the *Sarvatantrādhikṛta* (Superintendent of all departments) Amarēśvara who was a very righteous man (*paramadhārmika*) and one devoted to truth (*satyasandha*) (ll.14 and 15).

The charter was written or composed (*likhitam*) by the *Rahasyādhikṛta*[7] (Private Secretary) Prabhākara (ll.15 and 16).

The inscription is dated in the 12th year of the victorious and prosperous reign of the king, on the 12th day (*dvādaśī*) of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha ll. 17 and 18). At the end comes the invocation of prosperity which partly reminds us of the closing expression in the Hirehaḍagalli Plates of the early Pallava king Śiva Skandavarman.[8].

The king Dēvarāja who is compared to Indra (Dēvarāja) is not known from other sources so far. The family of Gōmins is also new to epigraphy and may be the one from which the patronymic name Gaumāyana is derived.

The localities mentioned in the inscription are Chandrapura, the town from which the charter was issued, the territorial division Jiyayā (Jiyayāṛu) and the village granted Thāṇiyarka Kōṭṭiḷḷkayyā. None of these is possible

7. For other early instances of this officer being employed to compose copper-plate charters, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 7 and Vol. VI, p. 13.

8. *Ep. Ind*, Vol. I, p. 7, text. l. 52.

to identify definitely. Regarding these Mr. Pissurlencar informs me that the places are in Goa, chiefly in Salsette. He is not able to identify or explain Jiyayā, which evidently indicates some local territorial division. He thinks that Chandrapura is Chandor of Goa and identifies Thānniyarka-Koṭṭiḥkayyā with Taṇemkuṭṭal in Salsette.

TEXT.[9]

First Plate.

1 @[10] Svasti Śrī [I*] Vijaya Candrapurād-Gōmināṁ Dēvarāja-vacanāt

2 bhaviṣya [d-bhōgik]-āyuktaka-sthāmy[11]-ādayo vaktavyāḥ [I²]

3 iJya[yā]su Thānniyarka-Kōttiḥkayyā-parivṛ-

4 ttēna c-ānīt[12]ēna yan-niṣpadyatē [tat*] Prbhu Nāga-

Second Plate.

First Side.

5 bhōgik=āmātyaḥ[13] puṇy-opacayāya Bhāradvāja-sa.

9 gōtrā [bhyāṁ] Gōvi[nda]svāṁ = Indrasvamī-bhyāṁ dattaṁ-gṛhasthāna[14]

7 ñ-ca gō-pracārav-ātatam[15] ॥ Gō-pracāra-triṇa-kāṣṭh-ādika.

8 -ñca [su]-prati [ba]ddhavyam ॥ Yō-smat-kul-ābhyantarō-nyo va.

9. From a photograph supplied by Mr. Pissurlencar.

10. The spiral probably stands for 'Śrī'; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVIII, p. 342.

11. Read *sthāmya* or *grāmya*.

12. Read *ānītena*.

13. Read *amātyaḥ*.

14. Read *Indrasvamibhyaṁ dattaṁ*.

15. Read *ātatam*

Second Plate.

Second Side.

9. rāga-dvēṣa-lobha = moh-ābhibhūto hi[ṁ] syāt sa pañcabhir-mmahā-

10. bātakair[16]-upapātakaiś-ca sa[ṁ]yuktaḥ syāt ॥ uktañ-ca ॥ Bahubhi-

11. r-vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis-Sagar-ādibhiḥ [।] yasya yasya yadā

12. bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā [pha]lam ॥ Ṣaṭṭhim[17] varṣa-sahasrāṇi

13. svarggē tiṭṭhati[18] bhūmidaḥ ॥ āchēttā[19] c-ānumantā ca

Third Plate.

14. tāny-eva narake [20]vrajed-iti ॥ Sarvvatantrādhikṛtaḥ-parama-

15. dhārmmikas - satyasandho-Amarēśvarā [jña] ptiḥ [॥*] Rahasyādhikṛte-

16. na Prabhākareṇa [Dē]v arāja-pratimasyā[21] [Dē] varājasy-ājñayā likhi-

17. tā paṭṭikā [।] Vijaya-pravarddhamāna-rājya-saṁvatsarē dvādaśame

18. Māgha-bahuḷa-dvādaśyām [॥*]Svasty-astudhāra ka-vācaka-śrōtṛibhya[22] iti [॥]

16. Read *pātakair=*
17. Read *ṣaṣṭiṁ varṣa-sahasrāṇi.*
18. Read *tiṣṭhati.*
19. Read *acchettā* or *ākṣēptā.*
20. Read *vased-iti.*
21. Read *pratimasya.*
22. The Hirahaḍagaḷḷi Plates have the expression "*Svasti pāṇḍurakmāṇḍalikānāṁ vacaka-śrōtṛibhya iti*"; see f. n. 8 above.

THE BRĀHMI INSCRIPTIONS OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

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Certain Brâhmî inscriptions were brought to light in 1912 in the Pāṇḍya country and referred to in the Epigraphical Report for the Southern circle in that year. Attention was drawn to them in the Reports for 1915 and 1918. Rao Sahib H. Krishnasastri, the then Epigraphist read a paper on them at the first All-India Oriental Conference held at Poona in 1919. Mr. K. V. Subramanya Aiyar again read a paper on the same subject at the third session of the Conference held at Madras in 1924. Both these papers attempted to conjecture the meaning of these epigraphs. But the attempts were vitiated by two factors : (i) Certain letters in the epigraphs could not be properly deciphered on account of their non-occurrence in other Brâhmî writings ; (ii) Both of them assumed that there were some Tamil words occurring in them.

Mr. Kṛishṇaśāstri's readings varied from time to time. For example, in the Report for 1915, he read the Sittanna-vâśal inscription as :

e ô mi t (u) ku mu th (û) (û)ra ?
pi jû na tâ kâ v(u) t(î) î tê nâ ku chi
tû pô (Chi) la îl (â) gha (?) ra che(gha) (?)
t (ô) a (su) (?) ta na nâ ma.

While he changed it in his paper at the Oriental Conference into :

e u mi nâ t (u) ku mu ttha (u)ra
pi dâ na tâ kâ vu ti î tê nâ ku
chi tu pô chi la î lâ ya ra che ya
tô a ti ta a nâ ma.

The same is read by Mr. Subramaṇya Aiyar as :

E ôṁi nâtu Kumathur piRântâ kâvuḍi
Iten-ku Citupôcil ilâyar ceytâ atithanam.

Similarly, there are uncertainties with regard to certain letters in the other inscriptions. Mr. Subramaṇya Aiyar has brought about greater confusion by giving unknown values to certain letters on account of his preconceived notion that they are Tamil inscriptions. This untenable hypothesis about their Tamil character has made Mr. Aiyar to proceed further and make all sorts of changes in the readings to suit his theory. Mr. Kṛishṇa Śâstri also was not free from this bias and he made the whole lot of the inscriptions a jumble of Prâkṛt and Tamil forms.

To my mind, the records appear to be Prâkṛtic. There is no warrant for assigning such an early date as the third century B. C. for any Tamil inscription. To distort the readings of extant records to fit in them up-to-date modern Tamil forms in records of the third century B. C. is, I beg to submit, to put the unwary on the wrong track. It is on a par with the recent attempt of Rev. Heras in his lectures delivered under the auspices of the Madras University to read the most up-to-date Tamil forms into the writings on the seals found at Mohanjo Daro and Harappa.

I do not pretend to be so positive about the interpretation of these records and where two epigraphists like Messrs. Kṛishṇa Śâstri and Subramaṇya Aiyar differ so widely, it may seem unwise to step in. Yet I shall try to give my interpretation of the records on the supposition that, because they are in Brâhmî characters and all contemporary Brâhmî inscriptions contain Prâkṛt records, these also may be only Prâkṛt records. Scholars may accept my interpretation for what it is worth.

Before proceeding to interpret the records, it is pertinent to allude to the general features of the sounds recorded by the letters of the epigraphs. Mr. Subramaṇya Aiyar ha

summarised them and I shall give them below with such remarks on them as are necessary.

"(1) The *vargaprathama's* have been generally used." But see Anaimalai inscription - third letter 'je'; fifth letter 'ḍu'; Tirupparankun Ram inscription A. seventh letter 'ja'; Arittâpatti inscription: A. thirteenth letter 'dha'; D and E. fourth letter 'dhi'; Siddharmalai inscription G. 'Dhi.' These are the only places where *varga-tṛtîyas* occur but Messrs. Sastri and Aiyar differ at these places. What Mr. Śâstri reads as 'je' in the Anaimalai inscription, Mr. Aiyar reads as 'ku' (!) and 'ja' of Mr. Śâstri in the Tirupparankun Ram record is read as 'la' by Mr. Aiyar (!). The 'dhi' of the Siddharmalai record G. is read as 'ti' by Mr. Śâstri himself in his original reading as given in the epigraphical report for 1915. What Mr. Śâstri reads as 'ḍa' and 'ḍai' Mr. Aiyar reads as cerebral 'Ra' and 'Rai' but leaves it as 'ḍu' in certain other places. Thus there is great uncertainty with regard to the reading of these letters and it seems better to stick to the 'surd' readings until paleographists come to an agreement on this point.

"(2) The soft consonants, *i. e.*, the *varga-tṛtîyas* are conspicuous by their absences."

This is true, but in spite of this remark Mr. Aiyar leaves 'ja' and 'ḍa' unaltered. *See* remarks on (1).

(3) "*ś*' and *ṣ* are not met with, though '*s*' is occasionally found."

'*s*' occurs eight times in these inscriptions. Saṃskṛt 'sa' is represented in these records by 'cha,' 'ya' and 'a' except when it is not changed as in the eight places mentioned. I consider this 'cha' from Samskrit 'sa' as having a dental value as in Telugu, Marâthi and some other modern Indian languages.

"4. The lingual 'l' occurs frequently."

l and ḷ occur with equal frequency; each of them occurs eight times,

(5) "Almost all the vowels with the exception of ai, au, ṛi, ḷṛi, aṃ and aḥ, are represented,"

But Mr. Aiyar allows some 'ai's in his readings.

(6) "In the case of combined consonants, the occurrence of short 'e' and short 'o' deserve special mention, the two being the special characteristics of the Dravidian alphabets."

Short 'e' and short 'o' are not special to the Dravidian languages. They are found in the Prâkṛts also. All Prâkṛt grammarians are agreed especially on their occurrence before conjunct consonants.

(7) "The aspirates are seldom used; the only two letters that are met with are 'tha' and 'dha.'"

Messrs. Śâstri and Aiyar differ as regards 'dha.'

(8) "Some symbols which are never found used in the contemporary Aśôkan edicts are here employed and the sounds which they represent remain to be determined. This is a factor which at once points out that the language employed in the inscriptions contains in it sounds that could not be represented by the symbols extant in the Aśôkan code."

Mr. Subramaṇya Aiyar is not sure about what he says in this regard, for he mentions six symbols as being peculiar to the present epigraphs, but admits the presence of all of them except in other Brâhmî records. He does not mention what is the peculiarity about Ƨ. It does occur in some other Brâhmî records. So, the only letter that admits of any doubt is Ƨ. which Mr. Śâstri reads as 'ḍa' or 'ḍai' but Mr. Aiyar would have it read as the Dravidian lingual r̈ to suit his theory of the Tamil nature of the records. To my mind, the letter seems to represent 'ṭṭ' for no part of the letter resembles Brâhmî 'ḍa' and *varga-tṛtîyas* are absent in these records, while the suggestion of a cerebral 'r' value to it is unwarranted.

The peculiarities of the alphabet presented in the epigraphs under discussion have led Mr. Subramaṇya Aiyar

to think of Tamil as their language. But if we remember that the same peculiarities characterize the Paiśâcî Prâkṛt, we should be under no doubt as to the language which these writings register.

I proceed to attempt an interpretation of the records. I take them in the order given by Mr. Krishṇa Śâstri in his paper read before the first All-India Oriental Conference :

I. Marugaltalai Inscription.

vê na kô (kî) si pâ nâ
ku ṭu pi tâ k(â) (la) kâ na
cha na ma.

Mr. Krishṇa Śâstri's remarks on this are : "The word 'kôsipânâ,' if it has been read correctly, may be compared with the Sanskrit 'Kâśyapânâm,' and 'kuṭupitâ,' which often occurs in these inscriptions, with the Tamil 'Koṭṭuviṭṭân' "Caused to be cut," cf. also Childers : koṭṭêti."

Mr. Śastri is not sure about the reading 'kô.' The equation 'kuṭupitâ'—Tamil—'koṭṭuviṭṭân' is gratuitous, especially as he himself recognizes the existence of the Pâli root 'koṭṭêti' in the same sense. There is no warrant for supposing that final 'na' is omitted in 'kuṭupitâ.'

Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar's emendation is—

Vên Kôsipân kuṭupitâ kâlakâñcanam.

This is based on the supposition that 'na' in the epigraphs is a basic letter to suit the Tamil approach to its interpretation. There are certain other suppositions made by him. 'Vêna' is amended into 'Vêu' and is identified with a territorial division now represented by the Travancore State. There is no authority for the statement that the Travancore State was ever called 'Vên.' The equation 'Vên'='Vêl' is equally unacceptable. The emendation of 'Kôsipânâ' into 'Kôsipân' is also not proper. The existence of 'an' as the ending of masculine nouns is a later

phenomenon in Tamil, says Caldwell. The insertion of 'n' after 'kuṭupitâ' is equally unwarranted. 'p' is a casual particle both in the Dravidian and the Sanskritic languages. As for 'kâlakâñcanam,' Monier Williams' remark that Hêmâdri uses this word to denote 'a particular form of building' in the Caturvargacintâmaṇi is the only one that is applicable to this record.

My interpretation.

If the third letter is to be read as 'kô,' the record has to be read as,

vênâ Kôsipânâ kuṭupitâ Kâlakâñcanam.

vênâ = Vaiśyânâm ; vaiśyâ = Vêssa = vêyya = vêya = vê ; nâ Skt. gen. pl. suffix 'nâm' as in Prâkṛt ; Kôsipânâ = Kâśyapânâm' ; kuṭupitâ = kuṭṭâpitâ 'caused to be cut' ; 'kâlakâñcanam' = a particular form of building ; 'kuṭâpitâ' is a past passive casual participle agreeing with 'kâlakâñcanam' ; the difference in gender between the adjective and the noun need not give trouble. The agreement between the adjective and the noun is not strictly followed in the Prâkṛte.

Meaning: "The 'kâlakâñcanam' or building caused to be cut for (or by or, belonging to) the people, the Kâśyapas."

If the third letter is to be read as 'kî' as Mr. Krishna śaśtri suggests, it should be read as :

"vênâkî śipânâ kuṭupitâ kâlâkâñcanam"

'vênâkî' = skt. 'Vainayakî' *i. e.*, a woman follower of the Vinaya or Buddhist doctrine; śipânâ = skt. s'ilpânâm = belonging to the sect of the 'śilpin's, architects or artisans.

Meaning: The kâlakâñcanam or building caused to be cut or built by a woman-follower of the Buddhist Vinaya doctrine (or a woman whose personal name was 'Vênâkî or 'Vainâyakî',

This second meaning seems to me more probable.

II. Anaimalai Inscription.

Mr. Krishna Śaśtri's reading:—

(1) i va (m) je nâ ḍu tu u
ḍai yu la (pâ) ta nâ tâ nâ ê
ri â ri ta nâ

(2) a tâ tu vâ yi ara ṭam
ṭha kâ yi pâ nâ.

Mr. Krishnaśâśtri's remarks on this are:

'Ivañje nâdu' is the name of a country; 'uḍaiyn'= uḍaiyan (Tamil word)—'êri'=a tank (Tamil word) = 'aritinâ; Hîrtânâm; 'tâtuvâyi'—a weaver. Mr. Śaśtri is not sure about ḍu, and ḍai. Of "l" he says that it is broader than in the ancient inscriptions of Ceylon. He sees a clear dot after 'tâ' in 'tâ tu vâ yi a'. 'pâ' in line 2, he says, may also be possibly read as 'pô'.

Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar's emendation is:

Iva kunrâtu urai yulnâtan-a tâna
Eri Aritan Attuvâyi Araṭṭha Kâyipân.

In this, Mr. Krishna śaśtri's 'm' disappears; 'je' becomes 'ku' (why?); 'ḍu' becomes cerebral 'Rai'; he is not sure whether 'y' should go with 'urai' or 'ulnâtan'; (pâ) becomes 'n', 'tânâ' becomes 'tâna'; 'atâtuvâyi' becomes 'attuvâyi'. All the 'na's are given a basic value. He slyly slurs over the meaning of 'ai' in his own reading 'urai'. He sees in this record the Tamil pronoun 'iva'—these.

My interpretation will be based on the following grouping of the letters in the record:

Ivaku—nâṭṭu-tu Uṭṭuyuḷa-pôṭana-tânâ
Eri âritanâ Atâṃtuvâyi– âraṭṭha—Kâyipânâ.

I accept the dropping of 'm' after 'Iva' which Mr. Krishnaśaśtri himself thinks doubtful. I also accept the change of 'je' into 'ku' for no other reason than that it does not make much difference because it occurs in a proper name, though what exactly the letter is has yet to be determined.

I would read as 'ṭṭu' what Messrs. Śâstri and Ayyar have read as 'ḍu, (ḍai)' and ('Ru Rai) respectively. I do not expect 'ḍ' in these records; I reject the reading 'r' as highly improbable. 'Nâḍu'-country need not be considered a Dravidian word. It is derived from the skt. root 'naṭ', to wander.—'ṭu' in 'nâṭṭu –tu'stands for Skt,—'ṭaḥ' 'from'; pôtana' stands for 'putrâṇâm'; or Pautrâṇâm 'tâṇâ, for dânam', 'dânâni'; 'Eri' âritauâ' for 'Airâvatânâm', 'raṭṭha' for 'râṣṭra' and 'Kâyipânâ' for 'Kâśyapânâm'. The meaning of the epigraph will be: 'The gift (s) of the sons (grandsons?) of Uttuyula belonging to the Airâvata sub-sect of the Kâśyapa's of the Atântuvâyika—râṣṭra, and (who had come) from Ivaku-nâḍu'.

XI. Śittânavâśal Inscription.

Mr. Krishnaśâstri's readings,

E u mi nâ ṭ (u) ku mu ṭṭha u ra
pi ḍâ na tâ kâ vu ṭi 1 te nâ ku
chi ṭu pô chi la 1 lâ ya râ che ya
ṭô a ti ṭa nâ ma

Note—'nâṭu' and 'ura' denote the district and the village respectively. For Mr. Krishnaśâstri's first reading of this inscription and the emendation of the same by Mr. Subrahmanya Ayyar, see beginning of this paper.

Mr. Subrahmanya Ayyar fits in the following meaning into this inscription.

"Cirupôcil Ilayar made this 'adhiṭṭhânam (monastery) for Kâvuḍi I ten who was born at Kumuṭṭur, a village in Eôminâḍu."

I would group the letters thus,—

E'umi-nâṭṭa Kumuṭṭha 'ura-piṭṭânâ tâ-kâ vuṭi itenâku

Chiṭṭapôchila 1lâya-râcheyatâ a'iṭanâma

Skt. E'umi-nâṭṭa Kumuṭṭha'ura piṭakânâṁ trâṇa-kritê vriddhi-hitêna-kritê Simhala-râjyanaḍu adhish-thânaṁ,

" An institution of Kumuṭṭha'ara in E'umināṭṭa from the kingdom of Ceylon for the protection and with the wish of the increase of the Piṭaka's (the three baskets or collections of Buddhist scriptures.

XII. The Uṇḍâṅkal Inscription.

Mr. Subramanya Ayyar brought to light another inscription of this series from the cave known as Uṇḍâṅkal. He gives the following reading of the same.

(1) Antai Pâkân Mâkan Vêṉ tâṉa.
"This bed is the gift of Vêṉ, the son of Pikân."

(2) Potilai Kuviran : Vêṉ Kuvira koṭupitân
"Pôtilai Kuviran' is the name of the occupant of the cave. Vêṉ Kuviran had it cut."

In the absence of the impression of the original inscription and from the trend of the emendations of Mr. Ayyar of the rest of the inscripdions discussed above, I fancy the the original to be,

(1) a na tai pi kâ nâ mâ ka vê nâ nâ tâ na

(2) pê ti lai ku vî ra nâ vê nâ ku vî ra nâ ko ṭu pi tâ Tentative Saṃskṛt rendering :

"anyam dêyam bhikshunâm mahar âm vaiśyânâm dânam; putraḥ Kubê ânâm vaiśyânâm Kubêrânâm koṭṭâpita (vân)"

"Another gift for the Bhikshu's; the gift of the great householder merchants; the son of the Kubêra s, the merchant (householder)-Kubêra's had it cut."

Conclusion.

The above discussion leads us to the following conclusions.

1. Mr. Krishnaśâs'tri had done well in giving us his readings and leaving them there when he could not give a cogent interpretation of the records. But he gave a wrong lead by identifying certain of the groups of letters as Tamil

He failed to reconcile how Prâkṛt grammatical forms could be found side by side with those in Tamil.

2. Mr. Subramanya Ayyar made a mess of the whole lot of the inscriptions acting on the wrong lead given by Mr Krishnas âs'tri concerning the existence of Tamil words. For his purpose of making them appear as complete Tamil records, he took undue and unwarranted liberty with them; he cut off vowels as well as consonants, added others, twisted some more, made wrong groupings of the letters, tried to force meanings into the words he had created, and when he failed to draw any sense out of them, as very often he could not draw, he was satisfied with saying that they are all proper names, names of persons or places.

3. It should be remembered that the inscriptions are in the Brâhmî script. All inscriptions in this script so far discovered have been only Prâkṛt records. The letters, except for two, in these epigraphs, are very clear and ably deciphered by Mr. Krishnaśâstri. The existence of the two peculiar letters in these records should not lead one to suppose that they belong to a non-Prâkṛt scheme of letters. In fact, in these Brâhmî inscriptions, letters are found in certain of them which are not found in others, and certain letters in some acquire new and peculiar shapes elsewhere.

4. The most peculiar feature of the epigraphs under discussion is that they contain a form of Prâkṛt described by the Prâkṛt grammarians as Paiśâcî. The Aśôkan edicts found at Shâbâzgarhi and Mansêhra are considered to register a form of Prâkṛt which reveals a resemblance to Dardic forms, which Sir George A. Grierson has popularized as representing the old Paiśâcî dialects, but the present epigraphs are strikingly and more directly representative of the form of Paiśâcî known to the Indian grammarians. The Pâṇḍya country, according to these grammarians, is a tract where the prevailing language is Paiśâcî. These inscriptions conform to their statement in a remarkable manner.

5. If my interpretation of these records as containing the Paiśâcī form of Prâkṛt is correct, as I feel it is in the main, we have here a clue to the source of the so-called Dravidian languages. Readers will have perceived how Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar could in a large number of cases detect Tamil forms in the records; he had only to go a step farther back and find out the Paiśâcī originals for the Tamil forms. The pity is that Dravidists shut their eyes to this fact of striking resemblance between Dravidian and Prâkṛt. Perhaps the reason for this attitude towards the Dravidian linguistic problem is that the Prâkṛt languages are not studied by native South Indian scholars with a much zest as they should be, and those few who have studied the Prâkṛts well outside Dravidian India have not cared to acquaint themselves with the Dravidian languages with equal thoroughness. Unless and until the torch of a mastery of the Prâkṛt languages is directed towards the study of the Dravidian dialects, the Dravidian linguistic problem will continue to be kept in mysterious darkness, and in the meanwhile scholars will go on a wild goose chase for finding linguistic affinities here, there and everywhere to the exclusion of the only direction which is sure to provide a clue, considering the linguistic and cultural history of Southern India. All South Indian records before, say, the fifth century B. C. are in the Prâkṛts. There are, of course, some Sanskrit records too. But there are no dated records in any of the Dravidian languages before that date. The period before the fifth century B. C. is considered an age of darkness in Dravidian linguistic history. The only languages that held the field here during the so-called dark period were the Prâkṛts. Is it not yet time, then, to investigate the possibility of a Prâkṛt origin of the Dravidian languages and see in records like those discussed in the present paper the beginnings of their formation?

KHAṆḌAPĀLA, KHOLA, AND MAHĀKAṬUKA

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Among the titles of administrative officers occurring in the land—grants of the Pāla kings and their Eastern contemporaries, we find three very rare terms, *khaṇḍapāla* (and its equivalent *khaṇḍarakṣa*), *khola* and *mahākaṭuka*. They are found conjointly in one inscription, namely the Rāmgañj Plate of the *mahāmāṇḍalika* Īśvaraghoṣa (ed. N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, pp. 149 ff.). The term *khaṇḍarakṣa* occurs by itself in three eastern inscriptions of this period, namely, Nālandā Grant of Devapāla (ed. Hiranānda Sastri, *EI*, XVII), Monghyr Grant of Devapāla (ed. L. D. Barnett, *ibid.*, XVIII), Bhāgalpur Grant of Nārāyaṇapāla (ed. E. Hultzsch, *IA.*, XV), while *khaṇḍapāla* occurs similarly in the Panchobh Grant of *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja parameśvara mahāmāṇḍalika* Saṅgrāmagupta (ed. J. N. Sikdar, and Amareswar Thakur, *JBORS*, V, pp. 582 ff.) Of the mention of the two other terms in these eastern grants, we have only one instance apiece. *Khola* occurs in the Khālimpur Grant of Dharmapāla (ed F. Kielhorn, *EI*, IV) and *mahākaṭuka* occurs in the Panchobh Grant above-mentioned. Evidently because of the extreme obscurity of these terms, their connotation has been left unexplained[1] by the editors of the above grants. No more

1. The Antirigam Plate of Jayabhaṭṭāraka (*EI*, XIX, pp. 41 ff) has in the concluding phrase of its list of administrative officers *Maṇḍapāla-purañjaya-saraḥ* on which Dr. Hiranānda Sastri (*Ibid.*, p. 44 *n*) writes: "Read *śūrāḥ*, the adjective *kīrttīta* being in the plural; the mention of only two heroes *Khaṇḍapāla* and *Purañjaya* must be taken to include other heroes." But apart from the grammatical difficulty hinted at by Dr. Sastri, the form of the immediately preceding phrase "*Vīra—Bhaṭṭāraka—akṣapaṭali—Vajrahasta-sāmbhivigrahi-Pramāṇa-pratihāra-Bhaṇḍapāla-rāṇaka* etc." would seem to require a reading like *khaṇḍapāla-Purañjaya-purohārān* in place of *khaṇḍapāla-purañjaya-saraḥ*. If so, we have here a fourth instance of the title *khaṇḍapāla* in an Eastern grant.

success has attended the efforts of some recent scholars who have undertaken a systematic survey of Pāla and Sena administration (cf. Dr. R. G. Basak, in the Bengali *Pravāsī*, *Āśvin* 1343, and Mr. Promode Lal Paul in *Dacca University Studies*, Vol. II, No. 1 *The History of Bengal*, pp. 122 ff), for they have either left the terms without any explanation or else offered suggestions which lack any confirmation.

The clue to the proper identification of these terms has to be sought, as in many other instances of the same kind, in the Jaina canonical and post-canonical literature. To begin with *khola*, it is included in a list of *Deśī* words in Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā* (II 80). But none of his synonyms *laghugardabha*, and *vastraikadeśa* suits our present context. On the other hand, a welcome light is offered by the Jaina lexicons. The great Jaina lexicon *Abhidhāna-Rājendra* gives among the synonyms of *khola* '*Rājapuruṣa*', while the handy *Ardha-Māgadhī Dictionary* of Muni Ratnachandraji more specifically mentions the sense of *guptacāra* (or spy). Either of these senses would admirably suit our present requirement; for in the list of officers in the two inscriptions concerned *khola* is immediately preceded and followed by a number of minor administrative titles:

Dūta-khola-gamāgamika-abhitvaramāṇa (Khālimpur Grant)

Khola-dūta-gamāgamika-lekhaka-dūtapraiṣaṇika (Rāmganj Grant)

The term *kaṭuka* is derived from Sanskrit *kaṭu*, under the rule *svārthe kan*. But this etymology does not help to throw light upon its technical significance. It occurs twice in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* (Bombay edition, 1892, pp. 228, 250), meaning, according to the commentator Śaṅkara, *hastipakayoktrā* (or elephant-rider) in one case, and in the other where it is used as a *double entendre* having the senses of *ikṣṇa* and *pratīhāra* (cf. F. W. Thomas, *Two lists of words from Bāṇa's Harṣacarita*, *JRAS*, 1892, p. 510).

Leaving aside the first two senses which are quite inapplicable in the case of our inscriptions, it may be doubted whether the technical administrative significance of the term has been correctly found out by the commentator. The second passage from the *Harṣacarita* reads :

kaphavikāriṇa iva dine dine kaṭukairudvejyamānasya, which Cowell and Thomas, following the commentator, translate as 'like a phlegmatic patient, he is daily worried by acrid doorkeepers' (*Harṣacarita* tr., p. 221). From all that we know of the chamberlain's duties, it is extremely doubtful whether he may be taken as the type of a vexatious official, such as was evidently the author's intention. Here again the clue is found in the valuable Jaina literature. The *Abhidhāna-Rājendra*, quoting from the *Cūrṇī* of *Niśīthasūtra* gives for *kaḍuga* (evidently the Prākṛt form of Sanskrit *kaṭuka*) a synonym *daṇḍaparicchedakārin* which may be translated as 'one who measures (proportionately deals out?) punishment'. This may be mean an officer entrusted with administration of criminal justice, or more probably one charged with punishment of criminals. It is evident that an officer of this type has so many opportunities for misuse of his powers as to make his name a by-word for oppression in the olden times. This has apparently been done by Bāṇa in the passage above mentioned. With this explanation in mind, we may offer a plausible interpretation of the term *mahākaṭuka* of the land grants. The Rāmganj inscription has been assigned on palaeographical grounds to the 11th century (N. G. Majumdar, *loc cit.*, p. 149) and the Pauchobh grant to the latter part of the 12th century (R. D. Banerji, *JBORS*. V, p. 586). It may be suggested that in Eastern India by the 11th and 12th centuries the order of *kaṭukas* had been organised with a chief at its head, or more probably the *kaṭuka* himself had been raised with a higher designation to the status of other first-class officers. It is at any rate significant that both in the Rāmganj and the

Panchobh grants, *mahākaṭuka* occurs in juxtaposition with a number of more or less well known high dignitaries with the same prefix added to their names :

mahāsāndhivigrahika-mahāpratīhāra-mahākaraṇādhyakṣa-mahāmudrādhikṛta-mahākṣapaṭalika-mahāsarvādhikṛta-mahāsenāpati - mahāpādamūlika-mahābhogapati-mahātantrādhikṛta-mahāvyūhapati-mahādaṇḍanāyaka-mahākāyastha-mahābalakoṣṭhika - mahābalādhikaraṇika-mahāsāmanta-mahākaṭuka (Rāmganj Grant).

mahāsādhanika-mahākṣapaṭalika-mahāpratīhāra-mahādharmādhikaraṇika-mahābalādhyakṣa-... mahākaṭuka-mahauttthitāsanika-mahādaṇḍanāyaka-mahādāṇḍika (Panchobh Grant)

We now turn to the term *khaṇḍapāla* and its equivalent *khaṇḍarakṣa*. This term has been tentatively translated as 'Superintendent of repairs' (N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, App. X, p. 184 ; to the same effect, R. G. Basak, who compares *op. cit.*, his functions with those of a P. W. D. engineer) and as 'Superintendent of (Municipal) wards' (J. N. Sikdar and Amareswar Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 593). These explanations evidently rest upon the supposed etymological significance of the base—*khaṇḍa*, for which however we are furnished with no independent authority. Here again the valuable Jaina literary evidence comes to our rescue. The *Ardha-Māgadhī Dictionary* has under the caption *khaṇḍarakkha* the Hindī synonyms *dāṇī* '(Customs Inspector') and *kotvāl* '(Head of Police'). With this is identical the explanation in the great Jaina lexicon which gives for the same term the synonyms *dāṇḍapāśika* and *śulkapāla*. The latter explanation is also given by Leumann in his edition of the *Aupapātikasūtra* (*Das Aupapātikasūtra, erstes upāṅga der Jaina*, I Teil, glossar). Though these authoritative explanations may be accepted as correct, it is difficult to understand their connection with the root-word *khaṇḍa* for which the *Deśīnāmamālā* (II, 78) gives the

synonyms *muṇḍa* and *madyaḥhāṇḍa*, none of which is applicable here. What is still more to the point, a different sense is required for *khaṇḍapāla-khaṇḍarakṣa* in the inscriptions under notice; for there we have *dāṇḍika*, *dāṇḍapāśika* and *śaulkika* mentioned alongside *khaṇḍarakṣa* and *khaṇḍapāla* (cf. also Chamba Inscriptions, Nos. 15 and 26 in Vogel, *Antiquities of the Chamba State*, p. 166 and 199). Let us try to find out whether any clue is afforded by the juxtaposition of the title in the inscriptions concerned. This is as follows:

> *·cauroddharaṇika-dāṇḍika-dāṇḍapāśika-śaulkika-gaulmika-kṣetrapa-prāntapāla-koṭṭapāla-khaṇḍarakṣa-tadāyuktaka-viniyuktaka-hastyaśvoṣṭranauḥalavyāpṛtaka-kiśoravaḍavāgomahiṣājāvikādhyakṣa* etc.
>
> (Monghyr, Bhagalpur, and Nālandā Grants)

In the above, the titles evidently have been arranged in a number of closely-related groups. *Cauroddharaṇika*, *dāṇḍika* and *dāṇḍapāśika* belong to the class of police officers, *śaulkika* and *gaulmika* to that of customs officers, *prāntapāla* and *koṭṭapāla* to the group of military officers, and *kiśoravaḍavāgomahiṣājāvikādhyakṣa* to the class of officers in charge of State herds. What, then, is the significance of *khaṇḍarakṣa*? We suggest that it should be taken to belong to the group *prāntapāla* ('Warden of the Marches') and *koṭṭapāla* ('Officer in charge of the fortress or fortified city'). It is is supported by the context of the term in the Rāmganj grant:

> *autthitāsanika-antaḥpratīhāradaṇḍapāla-khaṇḍapāla-duḥsādhyasādhanika* etc.

Here the immediately preceding term *daṇḍapāla* evidently stands for *daṇḍanāyaka*, which, according to the standard lexicons (*Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, II, 9; *Kalpadrukośa*, I, 6, 17) means *senānī* or commander. We may mention in this connection the significant fact that in the other land-grants of the Pālas the term *aṅgarakṣa* (evidently a military title)

occurs in place of *khaṇḍarakṣa* of the Monghyr, Bhāgalpur, and Nālandā grants :

prāntapāla-koṭṭapāla-aṅgarakṣa-tadāyuktaka-viniyuktaka etc.

(Bāngarh grant of Mahīpāla I, and Manahali grant of Madanapāla)

It follows from the above that *khaṇḍarakṣa-khaṇḍapāla* is a military office of nearly the same status as that of the *prāntapāla* and *koṭṭapāla*.

TWO UNPUBLISHED BARODA MUSEUM COPPERPLATE GRANTS OF THE S'ILĀHĀRA KING APARĀJITADEVA OF THE S'AKA YEAR 915. SUMMARY.

A. S. GADRE, M. A.

Out of the copperplate grants preserved in the Baroda Museum, two sets still remain unpublished. Both are of the S'ilāhāra king Aparājitadeva and are dated in the S'aka year 915. They were found at Muruḍa-Janjirā in the Kolaba district of the Bombay Presidency, placed in a stone box and were purchased for the Baroda Museum in 1923. Both record grants of land to a Brāhmaṇa named Kolama who migrated from Karahāṭaka (modern Karhād, Sātārā Dt.) and was the son of Harideva. One of these sets comprises 3 plates of which the second one is engraved on both the sides and the remaining two on the inner side only. The plates measure 11" x 9" each. The grant registered in this inscription consisted of a field called Palachchha—Uchchhikā in the village of Vihale (modern Valasle) in the Chikkhalāda district of the Purī Koṅkaṇa of 1400 *grāmas*. The other set also consists of three plates (of about 9¼" x 7") of which the first is incised on one side and the rest on both the sides. The grant registered in this document consisted of an orchard named S'yāma and lay in Chammelevā-Khāḍī in the village of Sālāṇaka lying in the Pāṇāḍa district.

Both these grants were made by Aparājitadeva at the time of the solar eclipse on Sunday the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of S'rāvaṇa in the S'aka year 915. They both mention the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings as the overlords of S'ilāhāras. The place names given in them are Mānyakheṭa (Mānkhed), Tagara (Ter), Saṁyānabhūmi (Sanjān), Punakadesa' (Poona), Chipulaṇa, Saṅgames'vara, Purī (Elephanta) and Sthānaka (Thāṇā).

II

AMRELI PLATES OF KHARAGRAHA I OF G. E. 297 SUMMARY.

These two plates, each measuring $13\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{5}{8}$, were found in the *wāḍī* of Mathur Nārāyaṇ Parekh in about 1931 and were noticed by me long before in the Annual Reports of the Watson Museum at Rajkot. Here I am submitting my detailed article on the same. It is dated on the 10th day of the bright half of S'rāvaṇa of the Gupta year 297. It was issued by Kharagraha I., who succeeded S'rīlāditya I. Kharagraha I was assassinated by his own soldiers for violating the modesty of women. It was issued from Valabhī the modern Valā to register the grant of two stepped wells to a Brāhmaṇa named Āpta a student of the Vājasaneya *S'ākhā* of the *Yajurveda* and was a resident of [Tra]maḍī. The *dūtaka* was Dharasena and the *lekhaka*, Vattrabhaṭṭi.

In this article besides noting the details of the grant proper, I have discussed literary and epigraphical sources of the Valabhī Dynasty and examined the references to Valabhī rulers in the *Mañjus'rī-mūlakalpa* published by the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal.

"FOREIGN DENOMINATIONS OF ANCIENT INDIAN COINS."

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The earliest Indian Coins were of the punch-marked variety. Though there is much difference of opinion about the time when these coins came into use, yet the scholars are all agreed, at present, about their indigenous origin. It was in the Brāhmaṇa period, from about 800-1000 B. C, that these coins were gradually evolved in this country; and most probably copper was requisitioned earlier for the purpose of coinage. Their shape, fabric, system of manufature, the weight-system etc., are all different from those of other countries that evolved their coinage independently of each other *e. g.*, Lydia in the West and China in the East.

The Indian denominations of punch-marked coins were Purāṇa or Dharaṇa for silver and Kārṣāpaṇa for copper. That these terms were originally the denominations of weights goes without saying. In Manu and Yājñavalkya,[1] we have two weight systems—one for silver and the other for copper. The weight of the Purāṇa coin was 32 ratis or approximately 58 grains, while Kārṣāpaṇa weighed 80 ratis or 146 grains. The term Kārṣāpaṇa signified a particular weight and also a class of punch-marked coins which were of copper. But in course of time, it came to be used for coins in other metals also and became a general term for a coin. Kahāpaṇa, the Pali word for Kārṣāpaṇa signified a coin of copper as well as of silver,[2] though it was generally used for copper coins as it frequently implied "a coin of very little value".[3] It is used in Pali Literature "in a general sense for

1. Bhandarkar, D. R.—Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics (The Carmichael Lectures, 1921)—p. 212.
2. Law—Bimala Churn—Buddhistic Studies—(Some Numismatic Data in Pali Literature—C. D. Banerjee), p. 418.
3. Ibid—p. 419, footnote 2.

a coin or money piece without any reference to its metal", though sometimes the metal is specified *e. g.* Sīsa-Kahāpaṇa or the Kahāpaṇa of lead. The other coin-denominations were the Māṣa, Kākaṇī, their multiples or submultiples ; these terms, however, did not signify the same weight in the different periods of history. "There is no certainty that a particular measure of weight corresponding to a particular coin denomination would remain the same throughout the ages, or would even be of the same weight all over the country in a particular period of time. Even if the denominations would remain constant, the measures might vary. This may explain the variations in the weight of Māṣa, Kākaṇī etc."[4] There is no doubt about the correctness of the statement that "the various systems of weight used in India combine uniformity of scale with immense variations in the weight of units."[5]

The indigenous coin-weights and their denominations had a long history. They had to pass through many vicissitudes no doubt, but appear now and then, and testify to the persistence of the old traditional system. The ancient Purāṇa weight of 32 ratis for the punch-marked coins was adopted by the Tomara Rājās of Ajmer and Delhi in the 11th century A. D., for their "Bull and Horseman" Type coins, usually of billon—a mixture of silver and copper in varying proportions [6]. The denominations of the coins also persisted throughout the ages. As pointed out by Dr. Bhandarkar—"The tradition of the Kārṣāpaṇa and its token money prevalent in the early Buddhist period was thus preserved so late as the 5th or 7th century A. D. as we find from Kātyāyana. No reasonable doubt can therefore be entertained as to Kārṣāpaṇa having continued to circulate

4. Chakraberty, S. K.—A study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, p. 59'

5. Rapson, E. J.—Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra Dynasty etc.—p. CLXXXI—quoted from "The Imperial Gazetteer of India"

6. Smith, V. A.—Catalogue of the Coins in Indian Museum, Calcutta, p. 257.

up to the 7th century" [7]; though here the Kārṣāpaṇa was a copper coin. But silver Kārṣāpaṇa was also known in the Mediaeval period, and Bhandarkar draws our attention to the statement of Nārada "that silver Kārṣāpaṇa was current in South India".[8] Not only is this term referred to in the Bijapur inscription of 997 A. D., but is also mentioned in the Gayā stone inscription of Govindapāla of the Pāla Dynasty (1175 A. D.).[9] It has come down to us in Bengal in the form of Kāhan which is, however, valued in Cowries. Similar is the case with its submultiples—the Māsa and Kākaṇī.

The traditional coin-denominations have thus come to us, even though the significance and the ratios with each other had varied in the different periods. But the people were not dependent only on those indigenous terms but they freely used foreign words to signify coins, not only for those issued by the foreign rulers based on foreign weights standards, but also for those issued by the Indian rulers, even when the traditional weight standard of this country was employed.

With the advent of the foreign conquerors, the Persian-Greeks and others, complications came to be introduced in the coinage of the country. The foreign rulers naturally followed the weight-standards, the denominations and the systems of manufacture with which they were familiar. But gradually the Indians came to influence the coinages of the foreign rulers; and as the effect was reciprocal, the Indian rulers also adopted some elements from them.

With the conquest of the Punjab and the Sindh region by the Persians, the sigloi or the silver coins of the Achaemenian Empire were introduced in this country; and as a

7. Bhandarkar, D. R.—Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics—p. 186.
8. Ibid.—p. 187.
9. Ibid—p. 188.

large number of these coins have been discovered in India, it is but reasonable to infer that the Persian coins circulated freely in the region under the Persian domination. The Indo-Greeks naturally introduced their own coinage based on the Attic standard. The Persian siglos had a weight of 86·45 grains, while the drachm of the Attic standard weighed only 67·5 grains. The Indo-Greek princes in course of time began to use both the weight-standards side by side, but gradually the Attic standard was replaced by the Persian which was actually, however, a few grains less than the standard weight and has been designated the Indo-Persic.

Eucratides was the first Indo-Greek king to issue silver coins, approximating to the hemi-drachms of the Persian standard, though he retained the other silver issues the tetradrachms, drachms and obols of the Attic standard. This practice was followed by Heliocles, Antialcidas and others; and under the later Indo-Greek rulers, the Indo-Persic standard generally replaced the Attic. These silver hemi-drachms based on the Indo-Persic standard became very popular. "In respect of weight, size, and fabric, these silver pieces set a standard, which was followed not only by the Śakas, Pallavas, and the Audumbaras but also by Mahārajā Amoghabūti of the Kuṇindas, Rājā Jñāgaṇa of the Vṛṣṇis, Svāmī Brāhmaṇya (Deva) of the Yaudheyas, Mahākṣatrapa Rañjubula (Rājula) of Mathura, and the Kṣaharāṭa Kṣatrapa Nahapāna[10]". The coins of Nahapāna were restruck by Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi who boasts of being the "exterminator of the Kṣaharāta family." The new dynasty of Śaka Satraps founded by Caṣṭana adopted the prevalent type and his successors continued it with slight modifications. On the conquest of western Malwa or Avanti by the Imperial Guptas, the silver coinage of the Śaka Satraps as regards weight, size etc., was continued. These silver hemi-drachms circulated under Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta in all parts of the Gupta empire as subsidiary coins.

10. Law, B. C.—Buddhistic Studies—p. 398.

The silver coins of the Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and the Indo-Parthian kings approximated to the hemidrachms of the Persian standard of which the theoretical maximum was 43·2 grains, but the actual specimens are much below the standard weight ; and therefore the weight system is generally known as Indo-Persic. The silver coins of the Western Satraps and the Gupta Emperors are based on the same standard and it has been pointed out that from Nahapāna to Skandagupta, (a period of about 350 years) "the average weight of these degenerate descendants of Indo-Greek hemidrachm" varied from 33 to 36 grains.[11]

There is no doubt that these silver coins were at first known to the foreigners by their Greek denomination of the drachm which was an Attic weight as well as a coin, probably meaning "as much as one can hold in the hand". Thus it had practically the same significance as Dharaṇa, the silver punch-marked coins of ancient India. As we do not know exactly when the term Dharaṇa came to signify a silver coin, it is difficult to come to a definite conclusion ; but it might have been the Indian term for the Attic drachm when the foreign coins entered into the country and were adopted by the foreign rulers. It is however certain that, generally, the old coin denomination the Kārṣāpaṇa was used to signify the hemidrachms of silver which had become the standard coin in certain parts of the country in the few centuries at the beginning of the Christain Era. In the Nāsik Inscription of Ṛṣabhadatta of the year 42, there is a mention of a gift of 70,000 Kārṣāpaṇas equal to 2,000 Suvarṇas. Ṛṣabhadatta was the son-in-law of Nahapāna and evidently these Kārṣāpaṇas refer to the silver coins of the time which were issused by Nahapāna and had a maximum weight of 36 grains. But there can be no doubt that the foreign term *drachma* came to be acclimatised and adopted by the Indians as a coin denomination, Bhandarkar points out that the denomination *Dramma* was prevalent all over Northern

11. Ibid—p. 407.

India "in the late mediaeval period, that is, from the ninth to the thirteenth century.[12]" In his opinion "the earliest record, where this word has been traced, is the Gwalior inscription of Bhojadeva of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty and dated 875 A. D. Obviously the word Dramma has to be traced to the Greek Drachma. But it is curious that although the Greeks ruled over the North-West India from 200 B. C. to 200 A. D, the word is not found in any literature or epigraphic record of that period. It is really not till the middle of the ninth century that we hear of this word at all". On the face of it, the statement might appear strange, and Bhandarkar is driven to conclude that the term was introduced to India in the 6th or 7th century A. D., by the Gurjaras who were influenced by the Sassanians of Iran where the term Drachma was prevalent. This seems to be a far-fetched argument. Surely the Indians referred to these silver coins as Dharaṇas or Kārṣāpaṇas—one was the translation of the Greek term Drachma, and the other—the age-old coin denomination. But we have the evidence of the term Drachma being actually used by the Indians which had however escaped the notice of scholars so long. It is however a copper coin and this might be due to the fact that the tribe referred to had no silver issues. On the obverse of Coin No. 18b (in Smith's Catalogue) issued by the Yaudheyas we have the legend which was read by Smith—"devasya drama Bra(hma)ṇa." In the footnote, Smith writes: "The word *drama* seems quite clear, but I cannot explain it. Cunningham notes—'on several specimens I find the word *damz* or *drama* over the back of the deer[13]". Evidently the word is Dramma—the sanskritised from of Greek Drachma and the legend should be properly read as "Brahmaṇya devasya drama", or the coin dedicated to the titular deity of the Yaudheya tribe *i. e.*, Brahmaṇyadeva or Kārttikeya; and it is dated by Smith to about 2nd century A. D. So we have no doubt that the term Dramma was used from a

12. Bhandarkar, D. R.—Ancient Indian Numismatics, p. 206.
13. Smith, V. A.—Catalogue of Coins in I. M., p. 182.

very early time and was not restricted to the Mediaeval period, though it appears to have become far more popular during this time as compared with other denominations of silver coins. "Various rulers of this period issued Drammas which are therefore named after them. We have thus Srīmad-Ādivarāha-dramma called after Bhoja Ādivarāha of the Pratihāra dynasty, Vigrahapālīya-dramma supposed to be named after Vigrahapāla of the Pāla dynasty, and Ajayadeva-dramma struck by Ajayadeva the Chauhān king, who founded the city of Ajmer in Rajputana. Of course, there were other kinds of Drammas which apparently were not-connected with the name of any king."[14] The word Kāñcana—Dramma referred to in a Kaṇherī cave inscription of Amoghavarṣa the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king surely signifies a gold coin : Dramma is here a general term for a coin and evidently Dramma signified generally only coins in silver. The sub-multiples of the Dramma were the ardha and pāda ; Viṁśopaka was perhaps a copper coin which was "One-twentieth part in value of the original dramma[15]".

Another foreign designation for a coin was Dīnāra ; it was generally restricted to gold, just as the Drammas ordinarily signified coins in silver. The Dīnāras were introduced during the time of the Kuṣanas and Hima Kadphises was the first king to issue them. These were based on the Roman weight-standard of 124 grains. Hima Kadphises issued "pieces of the weight of two aurei ; the actual weight of the extant coins is however a few grains less".

The word Denarius was an ancient Roman coin in silver and its original value was 10 asses of copper (*i. e*, about 18 d. of modern English money). Here, however, it is the gold coin of the Roman Emperors—the Denarius aureus that is referred to and it was worth 25 silver denari. The weight of an aureus was 124 grains. It is perfectly correct to say

14. Bhandarkar, D. R.—Ancient Indian Numismatics, p. 208.
15. Ibid—p. 209-210.

that the Kushanas issued gold coins based on the Roman standard to facilitate the trade with foreign countries, specially the Roman Empire, "as the Roman coin was accepted almost all over the world at this time."[16] The Roman coin had the same credit behind it in the international market as the English gold coin 'sovereign' has at present. In a number of inscriptions the gold coins of the Imperial Guptas are referred to as Dīnāras; in one inscription probably dating from the time of Kumāragupta, both the terms Dīnāras and Suvarṇas are mentioned. The Roman standard was abandoned during the reign of Skandagupta; so there can be no doubt about the statement "that the same coins are referred to, in the first case by the foreign name, while in the latter case they are given the Indian name *Suvarṇa*, although not actually of that standard; unless perhaps, *Suvarṇa* here is a money of account"[17]. The suvarṇa coins were based on the old Indian standard of 80 ratis or 146·4 grains, but we are not certain whether these were introduced during the reign of Skandagupta or previously, though there is no doubt that the Roman Dīnāra standard was given up during his time.[18]

The term Dīnāra was in use throughout the Mediaeval period. It is mentioned as a synonym for Suvarṇa in the Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana Smṛtis of the 7th century A. D., and an inscription from Bodh Gayā "of about the same age refers to the "plastering and whitewashing of the temple at the cost of 250 Dīnāras[19]". In the latter Mediaeval period, it became a general term for a coin. In the Rājataraṅgiṇī of the 11th century A. D., "dinnaras" refer to coins of gold, silver and even of copper. Evidently no particular coin is mentioned, but it is a general reference to coins only[20]. The gold coins

16. Ibid—p. 203.
17. Allan, J.—Catalogue of the coins of the Gupta Dynasties etc. p. CXXXIV.
18. Rapson, E. J.—Indian Coins, p. 25. (Sec. 19).
19. Bhandarkar, D. R.—Ancient Indian Numismatics, p. 204.
20. Ibid—p. 204.

of some of the Mediaeval dynasties are designated 'drammas' *e. g.*, the gold coins of Kumārapāla of the Tomara dynasty, the gold coin of Govindachandra of the Gahaṛwār or Rāṭhor dynasty etc.,[21] and their prototype, the gold coins of Gāṅgeya-deva of Chedi or Dāhāla.

Two other terms which came into use in the Kushana period, *i. e.*, in the first or second century A. D., are Kushaṇa and Nāṇaka as coin-denominations of foreign origin. In the Nāsik inscription of Ṛṣabhadatta the son-in-law of Kshatrapa Nahapāna, we have the mention of an investment, and this is said to have "provided the monks with Kushaṇa-mūla". I have shown elsewhere that Kushaṇa is evidently a gold coin and refers to the coins of the Kushana Emperors. "The gold coins of Kanishka for example, have the legend—"Shāonano shāo Kaṇēshki Koshaṇo", but the copper coins omit the word "Koshaṇo". So it may be inferred that the gold coins of Kanishka are referred to in the inscription in the word "Kuṣaṇa-mūla" - the value of a Kushaṇa, the gold coin of Kanishka ; because gold was the standard coin of the Empire."[22] Nāṇaka is also another name for a coin ; Yājñavalkya refers to it in his law book. Most probably this term also refers to a Kushana coin. In a gold coin of Kanishka (No. 7, p. 70, Smith's Catalogue), we have a draped Goddess with the legend "Nana" below. The suggestion of Jayaswal, therefore, seems to be a correct one, and we may tentatively accept the identification.

We now take up another foreign designation for a coin. Bhandarkar gives a quotation from Kāśikā which refers to 3 kinds of coined money -Dīnāra, Kedāra and Kārṣāpaṇa. We are already familiar with Dīnāra and Kārṣāpaṇa ; Kedāra is also therefore a kind of coin. Bhandarkar's suggestion is the only one which is acceptable as regards its identification. " What the real significance of Kidārā is, we

21. Smith, V. A.—Catalogue of Coins in I. M., p. 257.

22. Chakraborty, S. K.—A study of Ancient Indian Numismatics p. 98-100.

do not definitely know. But this appears to be almost certain that the Kedāra of the Kāśīkā is to be connected with the Kidāra of the Little Kushana coins. Most probably the coin Kedāra was called after this Kidāra dynasty"[23].

In our discussion we have seen how foreign terms for coins came into use in our country, and were gradually acclimatised. There were many changes in their weights, systems of manufacture etc., no doubt, but it is surprising how tenacious they had been, and what an important part they played in the history of coinage in this country. The use of foreign terms for coins, sometimes side by side with Indian designations or on occassions alone, clearly points out the foreign influence on Indian coinage, though we have always to remember that in the evolution of coinage in this country, our indebtedness to Greece and Rome was not at all a negligible factor ; and the clearest proof is supplied by the acceptance of foreign designations for the coins which circulated in this country for centuries.

23. Bhandarkar, D. R.—Ancient Indian Numismatics, p. 205.

THE TITLE "TRIKALIṄGĀDHIPATI,"

'THE LORD OF THE THREE KALINGAS.'

L. P. Pāṇḍeya Śarma, Bālpur.

From the Jirgingi copper plates of Indra Varman, we find that he is styled as 'Trikaliṅgādhipati,' Lord of the Three Kaliṅgas—a title which is not met with in any of the Gaṅga grants up to the time of Vajrahasta (Circa—1045 A. D.)

About the date of the Jirgingi copper plates there is a difference of opinion among those scholars who have made a special study of the Gaṅga records *

The Jirgingi plates are recorded in the box-headed characters, the age of which falls between 400 to 600 A. D.

Mr. Ghose reads the date of the Jirgingi plates as 39 (Vide his paper in the J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XX) and accepts it as a Gaṅga Era, which is equal to 535 A. D. The script of the charter is quite in favour of assigning it to the first half of the sixth century A. D.

Assuming the date 39 of the Jirgingi Plates to be correct, there is an absence of the use of the title "Trikaliṅgādhipati" in the grants of the Gaṅga Kings from about 530 A. D. to 1038, with which year begins the reign of Vajrahasta III, the grand father of Coḍa Gaṅga (Śaka year 998 = A. D. 1078).

From, the Khairahā Plates of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva (dated Cedi Era 823 = A. D. 1072), we find that the title 'Trikaliṅgādhipathi' was assumed by the Kalachuri Rulers of Dahala by about 1070 A. D. Yaśaḥkarṇadeva and his successors used in their grants and eulogies, the high sounding title of *Svabhujōpārjita Aśvapati, Gajapati, Narapati, Rājatrayādhipati*, along with the title *'Trikaliṅgādhipati.'* Yaśaḥkarṇadeva

* The initial date of the Gaṅga Era J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XX. Pp. 33 to 40. The dates of the Trilingi and the Jirgingi Grants—J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XX Pp. 44 to 48.

is stated in the aforesaid charter to have won a victory over the *Āndhrādhīśa* (the lord of the Āndhras). The late Raj Bahadur Dr. Hirālāl identifies this Āndhrādhīśa with Rājarāja (1022-62) or his brother and successor Vijiyāditya VII who occupied the throne of *Veṅgi* with some interruption till 1077 A. D.

What I mean from the above is that about 533 A. D., this title is found used with the name *Indra Varman I* (Jirgingi Grant dated 39 Gaṅga era). And about 1072 the same title is assumed by the Kalachuri Rulers of Ḍahala (present Jubbalpur Division in Central Provinces)

Between 533 A. D. and 1072 A. D. who were the Lords of the "Three Kaliṅgas" is not known for certain from any dated records. Let us now examine the assumption of some scholars that this title was used both by the *Chedi* or Kalachuri and *Gaṅga Rulers* simultaneously between 1042 A. D. and 1072 A. D.

Karṇa—the Kalachuri king uses this title in 1042 A. D. while the earliest inscription giving *Vajrahasta* this title is the Naraspatanam plates of 1045 A. D. So either one has to assume that this title was used by both the *Chedi* and *Gaṅga* rulers or that Vajrahasta wrested it from the Kalachuris after 1042 A. D. but Yaśaḥkarṇa who uses the title regained it sometime before 1072 A. D.

I would do well to quote the late Dr. R. B. Hiralal in this connection who writes in his Hindi book Jabalapura-jyoti as follows :—

Karṇadeva conquered the country of Trikaliṅga and assumed the title of Trikaliṅgādhipati (in 1042 A. D.) After he left that country Vajrahasta of Kaliṅganagar—the ruler of Trikaliṅga, defied his authority and began using the same *title*. For this audacity Karṇa's son Yaśaḥkarṇa had to march against Vajrahasta, and finally defeated him again.

Vajrahasta's assumption of this title was in vain protest of the conquest of his kingdom by Karṇadeva—the Kalachuri Ruler, whose son had to teach him a lesson by marching against him, dispoiling him of his riches and dedicating the entire '*loot*' to god Bhīmeshwara Mahādeva, whose temple is at Daksharama in the Godavari district.*

Yaśaḥkarṇadeva's grandsons (1) Narsiṅghadeva (Chedi era 909—1158 A. D.) and (2) Jayasimha-deva (Chedi era 928—1177 A. D.) and his great-grand-son Vijayasimha deva (Chedi Year 932—1181 A. D.) are described as "Trikaliṅgādhipati" in the copper charters discovered at Kekkaredi in the Rewah State (Ind Ant: Vol. XVII. p. 235).

The gold, silver and copper coins of the Kalachuri Kings have the figure of a four armed Gajalakṣmī with representations of elephants on both sides of the figure. Their banner-emblem is a bull which is expressive of the fact that they were worshippers of 'God Śiva'.

Our Society—the Mahākōsala Historical Society (Bālpur Via Raigarh, B. N. Ry.) is in possession of a set of three copper plates written in the acute-angled Nāgarī script belonging to Mahābhavaguptarājadeva of Somavaṁśa who is styled as 'Trikaliṅgādhipati'—the lord of Tri-Kaliṅga. The seal attached to these plates contains the figure of a standing bull with horns and hump and a crescent above it.

This charter was brought to light in October 1932. Similar charters in the very same script have been discovered in the Paṭnā and Sonpur States but the seals attached to them have the figure of a squatted *Gajalakṣmī* with elephants on both sides. The villages granted are mentioned in them as situated in the Kōsala, apparently Mahākōsala kingdom. In some charters belonging to Mahābhavagupta Janamējaya

* Gazetteer of the Jubbalpur District in C. P. written in Hindi by the late R. B. Hiralal B. A. M. R. A. S.

* Epi. Ind. Vol. II P. 5.

and his son Mahā Śiva Yayātirājadeva... the donors are called 'Kōsalendra' *Lord of Kōsala* with the title '*Trikaliṅgādhipati*' used for them. These charters have been edited and published by Dr. Fleet and Mr. B. C. Mazumdar (Refer to "Orissa in the making & Sonpur Tract") Our society's charter appears to be the earliest of the records of these Soma-vaṁśi kings of *Kōsala cum Trikaliṅga*. The geneology would stand :

1. Mahārājādhirāja Somakulatilaka Mahābhavagupta (no personal name is given) with bull device on the seal.
2. No charter yet come to light of the son of No. I.
3. Mahārājādhirāja Somakulatilaka Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, seal Gajalakṣmī figure.
4. Do. Mahāśivagupta Yayātirājadeva.
5. Do. Mahābhavagupta Bhīmaratha.

Nos. 3 to 5 had their *capital* at Vinītapura and Yayātinagara in the Sonpur state. The dates of these kings have not yet been fixed.

P. S. No. I.

The recent discovery, at Mallār (Dist: Bilaspur. C. P.), of a set of three copper plates issued by Mahāśivaguptarāja 'Bālārjuna,' son of Harshagupta or Harshadeva, of Mahākōsala, goes conclusively to prove that neither he nor his father was the '*Lord of three Kaliṅgas*'. This charter like the Rājim and Balōdā plates of Mahāśiva Tīvararāja is recorded in the *box-headed* characters. Mahā-Śiva Tīvararāja's plates don't describe him as a '*Trikaliṅgādhipati*'. It is quite certain that this title was assumed by the successors of Mahāśiva-Tīvararāja and Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna of Śrīpura.

The plates of Mahāśiva Bālārjuna are not dated but they belong to the end of the 6th century A. D. The seal of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna has couchant Nandi (Bull) and a trident and a Kalaśa (water vessel) on either side of the Bull figure.

It appears that the son and successor of Mahāśiva Bālārjuna, who was a Mahā-Bhavagupta would have been the first victor of Trikaliṅga. But not a single charter of this king has yet come to light. If we take the donor Mahābhavagupta of Mahākōsala Historical Society's Plates having a seal with the bull device and the crescent and containing the title 'Trikaliṅgādhipati,' then we shall have to accept that the use of the box-headed script was discontinued with the reign of the successor of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna. It is to be noted that there is no similarity of the style and phraseology, in the records belonging to Mahāśiva-Gupta Bālārjuna and to Mahabhavagupta referred to above, not to speak about the wording of the charters of Mahāśiva Tīvaradeva, the sovereign lord of Kōsala. Mahāśivagupta Bālarjun's charter has Somavaṁśa=Saṁbhava while the charter of Mahābhavagupta has in addition to the epithets parama Bhaṭṭaraka Mahārājādhirāja.

There is an absence of the word Mahārajādhirāja in the Mallār plates issued by Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna.

P. S. No. II.

The Government Epigraphist's D. O. No. 367—1288/1166 dated Ootacamund the 23rd October 1936 has the following :—

The reading of the date of Jirgingi plates is certainly 39 expressed in decimal notation (c. f. the last figure of the date of the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman Epi. Ind. Vol. III, p. 133 and the second figure 3 in 137, the date of the plates of Indravarman Ep. Ind. Vol. XIV, p. 262).

As to the argument that the year 39 refers to the regnal year of Indravarman, it may be pointed out that all the Eastern Gaṅga grants are dated either in the Gaṅga era or in the Śaka era or in both. Palaeographically also the plates may be assigned to about the 6th century of the Christian era as their alphabet resembles that of the Badami inscription of Maṅgaleśa of Śāka 500 (Ind. Ant. Vol. X p. 58) and other early Chālukya charters as also that of some of the Viṣṇu-kuṇḍin grants. The Jirgingi plates, therefore, appear to be dated in the Gaṅga era.

JAMES PRINSEP.

Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, M. A., Ph. D.

James Prinsep was born in London on the 20th August 1799. He was the seventh son of Mr. John Prinsep, for sometime alderman of London and also member of Parliament for Queenborough. In his earlier life John Prinsep earned a considerable fortune in India and after returning to England in 1787 became engaged in business. Seven of his sons were employed in India in some capacity or other.

James Prinsep received his early education at a school at Clifton for two years. The remainder of his education was at home and irregular. At the age of fifteen he was sent to qualify for the profession of an architect towards which he had a leaning from the beginning, but he had to give up his study owing to defective eyesight. Afterwards he received training under the Assay Master of the Royal Mint in London with a view to finding employment in the Assay department of the mints of India. In 1819 he came out to India as Assistant to the Assay Master of the Calcutta Mint. Here he served under Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson, who was then the Assay Master at Calcutta. A few months later Dr. Wilson was sent to Benares to remodel the mint at the place. On finishing his work there he was recalled to Calcutta and Prinsep was sent to Benares as Assay Master and Secretary to the Mint Committee. While at Benares his active and scientific mind was not content with his official duties alone. He gave sufficient proof of his remarkable talent by preparing various designs and undertaking public works for the general improvement of the city of Benares. He also published an article on the measurement of heat and with his own hands made a balance of such delicacy as to show the three-thousandth part of a grain.

Towards the end of 1830 the mint at Benares was abolished and Prinsep was transferred to Calcutta as deputy Assay Master under Dr. Wilson. This re-association with the learned scholar was a turning point in his life so far as it concerned his future literary pursuits. Here he came into contact with the Asiatic Society of Bengal of which Dr. Wilson was then the Secretary. In this short memoir we shall be content with considering only a few of his activities at Calcutta with which we are directly concerned.

In 1832 Dr. Wilson retired from service on his appointment as the Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford. Prinsep succeeded him as the Assay Master and also as the Secretary of the Asiatic Society. Soon after, with the approval of the Managing Committee, he altered the name of the 'Gleanings of Science', a scientific periodical which was first edited by Major Herbert and subsequently by himself, to that of the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society' the issues of which were supplied to the members free of cost.

It was through his connection with the Society that Prinsep began to devote himself largely to the study of Indian antiquities. He started with the study of the ancient coins for which task he was eminently fitted through his experience as the Assay Master. His first work in this direction was in the assistance he gave to Dr. Wilson in 1831 in the latter's preparation of an account of Select Hindu Coins in the cabinet of the Society. This gave him a stimulus in the study of this branch of science which resulted in his publishing in 1832 a description of the "Ancient Roman Coins in the cabinet of the Asiatic Society" and in the following year that of the Greek Coins in the same cabinet. His next article was on the Bactrian and Indo-Scythian Coins which Lt. Alexander Burnes brought from the Punjab and the Oxus valley. On one of the copper coins procured in the neighbourhood of Mānkiyāla, the *tope*

at which place had already been excavated by General Ventura in 1830, Prinsep read the name Kanerkes and for the first time identified this ruler with Kanishka, mentioned in the Tibetan works and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Two months later he published a description of 18 coins, Bactrian and Hindu, mainly from the collection of Dr. Swiney amongst which he recognised, also for the first time, some of the coins of Menander and Apollodotus.

In the thirties of the 19th century, the discovery of several hoards of coins created a great sensation among the numismatists and the effect of these discoveries also was reflected on the work of Prinsep. As already stated, General Ventura, a French military officer in the service of Mahārājā Ranjit Sing, had opened the *stūpa* at Mānkiyāla in 1830. This officer, in consequence of a wish expressed by Prinsep in the Society's Journal that a more precise account of the General's discoveries should be published in the journal, magnanimously placed his treasure at the disposal of Prinsep through Captain C. M. Wade, Political Agent at Ludhiana. Prinsep described this collection consisting mainly of Sassanian and Indo Scythic coins, in two articles. The legend on the former was still unintelligible and was not completely deciphered by Prinsep himself till 1838. Captain (later General) A. Court 'Engineer Officer', also in the army of Mahārājā Ranjit Sing, opened another *stūpa* at Mānkiyāla where he found among other antiquities 4 gold coins of Kanishka and 7 Roman silver coins. A description of these was also published by Prinsep which in one point was corrected by Cunningham. By the end of 1834 a vast number of coins was obtained by the discovery of a hoard at Behat, north of Sāhārānpur by Captain P. T. Coutley and of another at Beghram by Charles Masson, the Political Agent in the Punjab and Kābul, besides others collected by individual collectors. Many of these coins belonged to the Bactrian and Indo Scythian rulers; and Prinsep now devoted his special attention to the study of these coins in their

historical sequence. The result of his investigation, embodied in several memoirs, was most important for the history of India. From the Greek legends he brought to light the names of several rulers unknown till then and they also furnished him with a clue to the reading of the legend in 'unknown script' found on the reverse of these coins. He also gave expression to the opinion that the 'Hindu coins of Kanouj' several of which were found in Captain Coutley" hoard were connected with the Indo Scythian coins and that the Hindus, before the Greeks came to India, had no proper coin stampage of their own.

But his greatest achievement and his most important contribution to the study of ancient Indian history was his epoch making discovery of the key to the Brāhmī alphabet. As Dr. Hoernle remarks in the Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, "within the short period of those few years (1834-1839), and through the labours, in the main, of *one* man, those great discoveries were made which form the foundation of our knowledge of the ancient art of writing, language, and history of India".

Prinsep's decipherment of the monumental inscriptions started with the Allahābād pillar. It is well known that this pillar contains two important inscriptions. The characters of the first, which comprises the seven pillar edicts of Aśoka and the characters of which were not yet deciphered, was at this period designated as No. 1 and those of the second, the celebrated inscription of Samudragupta, as No. 2. Lt. T. S. Burt while describing this pillar in 1834 recognised that the script of the latter was similar to that of an old inscription from Bodh Gayā which had already been read by Charles Wilkins as far back as 1785. But for a long time after that no systematic attempt was made at the decipherment of numerous inscriptions in the same script that had been discovered from time to time. Though a key was furnished by Wilkins still it required much careful handling

and study in order to discover the complete alphabet and the system of writing and the whole mystery was unravelled through the joint works of Captain A. Troyer, Dr. W. H. Mill and Mr. James Prinsep. Troyer with the help of his Pandit Mādhava Roy, published an incomplete text and translation of the record and Prinsep read the names of Chandragupta and Samudragupta in it. The name of Chandragupta at first misled the scholars in identifying him with the Maurya ruler of that name and thus placing the inscription in the early centuries before the Christian era. But as the name Samudragupta did not appear in the list of Maurya rulers known from the Purāṇas, Prinsep did not believe that Chandragupta of the Allahābād inscription should be identified with the Maurya ruler of the same name. Both Mill, who also published an improved reading of the text of this record, and Prinsep produced other facts against this identification but both of them erred in the opposite direction as regards the age of the inscription. Mill, while rightly identifying the Gupta dynasty with that mentioned in the Purāṇas proposed 9th century A. D. as the probable date and Prinsep from the similarity that the Gupta script offered with the Tibetan script, known to have been introduced into Tibet from India in the 7th century A. D., was in favour of this latter date. But not satisfied with the text and translation hitherto published, Prinsep with the help of his Pandit Kamalākānta, gave in 1837 a new translation of this record basing his reading on an excellent impression prepared by Captain Edward Smith, which agreed very little with that published by Mill, particularly in the most important portion of the text which contains the names of kings and peoples subdued by Samudragupta. He was then inclined to identify the Chandragupta of this inscription with the ruler " whom the Chinese Buddhist travellers found reigning in the fifth century, having a name signifying 'cherished by the moon ". During the years 1837 and 1838 several other Gupta inscriptions were translated by Prinsep including the Girnār inscription of Rudradāman. But in

the meantime in 1835 W. H. Wathen, Persian Secretary to the Bombay Government, published an account of two sets of Valabhī plates found in Gujarāt. The striking similarity in characters of these plates with those in the Gupta inscriptions finally led Prinsep to the discovery of the nearest correct age for these inscriptions which he announced in 1838.

Prinsep's highest achievement was, however, in the decipherment of the edicts of Aśoka. The characters of these records were found to be as widely different from those in the Gupta records as the latter were from Nāgarī. Here we shall not deal with the socalled discovery of Lieut. Wilford who fell an easy victim to the cunningness of a Pandit nor on the Greek theory of the origin of these alphabets, which was in the field even as late as 1834. Prinsep's study of these inscriptions began with some of the pillar edicts which were known at the time. In 1834 he received good impressions of the Allahābād and the Mathia (Lauriyā Nandangarh) pillar inscriptions and in 1835 one of the Rādhiā (Lauriyā Ararāj) pillar edicts. Comparing these with the inscriptions on the Delhi pillar of which an estampage was already in the possession of the Bangal Asiatic Society, he made the most interesting discovery that the inscriptions on all these four pillars were identical. He was also convinced that the resemblance of certain letters in these records to some of the Greek letters was purely accidental and that the script was really 'of the Sanskrit family'. With a view to proving his theory he minutely analysed and classified all the symbols found in the Allahābād pillar edicts and perceived in them five signs which corresponded with the five vowel marks found on the Gupta inscriptions, the language of which was known to be Sanskrit and thus established that the unknown letters were also of Sanskrit and not of Greek origin.